

THE MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY OXFORDSHIRE

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Synopsis

Although entitled The Marketing of Agricultural Produce in Eighteenth Century Oxfordshire, because of problems with source material, this thesis is primarily an examination of the organization of the open market, the marketing of corn and the period 1750-1800. Chapters II and III concentrate on public marketing institutions in Oxfordshire; II being an account of where markets and fairs were held and the relative importance of the different market towns, and III an investigation of who owned public markets; the type of facilities provided and the charges for using them. Chapter IV is on the corn trade; each section covering a different aspect. Section I is a discussion of sources; II and III an investigation of the role of the open market in the sale of corn; II concentrating on the local trade and III the long distance; IV is a summary of the alternative ways corn might be dispersed; V an investigation of the use of barley as a bread-corn and VI an examination of the assize of bread. Chapter V is on the marketing of products other than corn and VI is on the regulation of marketing and internal trade. Both chapters are very largely surveys of problems connected with the survival and interpretation of evidence, which is then displayed in tabular form. Finally, Chapter VII is an account of Oxfordshire food rioting, included both because material on riots is used throughout to illustrate many points and because the enforcement of marketing laws was often a product of crowd action.

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Abbreviations

A.H.	Agricultural History.
A.H.R.	Agricultural History Review.
A.R.	Annual Register.
Assi	Assizes.
B.G.	Banbury Guardian.
B.H.S.	Banbury Historical Society.
C. and C.	Cake and Cockhorse.
E.H.R.	Economic History Review.
G.M.	The Gentleman's Magazine.
H.O.	Home Office.
J.O.J.	Jackson's Oxford Journal.
J.T.H.	Journal of Transport History.
L.G.	London Gazette.
L.M.	London Magazine.
N.M.	Northampton Mercury.
O.C.B.B.G.	Oxford Chronicle and Berks and Bucks Gazette.
O.G.R.M.	Oxford Gazette and Reading Mercury.
O.H.S.	Oxford Historical Society.
O.L.V.	Oxford Loyal Volunteers.
O.R.S.	Oxfordshire Record Society.
O.U.A.	Oxford University Archives.
P.C.	Privy Council.
P. and P.	Past and Present.
Q.S.	Quarter Sessions.
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
The U.B.D.	Universal British Directory.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.
W.O.	War Office.

Chapter I: Introduction

The marketing of agricultural produce and the organization of internal trade are subjects which, until recently, have attracted relatively little attention⁽¹⁾; a major problem in any investigation of this area of agricultural history being that very few obvious bodies of source material exist. Certainly there are blocks of material available, for example pamphlets and letters to parliamentary committees or newspapers on such subjects as high prices, the operation of the Corn Laws, the activities of middlemen or the decline of the open market and the existence of this type of evidence does enable an accurate picture to be developed both of changing attitudes towards markets and trade during the eighteenth century and also of the 2 major schools of thought on the organization and control of marketing; the traditional, paternalist school, consumer orientated, favourable to the retention of the open market and the enforcement, at least in times of dearth, of Tudor regulations for controlling the activities of farmers and middlemen and the free market school, pro-farmer and particularly commercial sector, championing the freedom of owners of property, even property in food, to profit from what they owned and favourable to the ending of intervention by government and local authorities in

(1) Thus, as late as 1971, E.P. Thompson could write, "There has been little detailed investigation of marketing." E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," in Past and Present No.50 (Feb. 1971) P.91.
The principal secondary works on marketing and internal trade, including those not actually referred to in the text, are listed in the bibliography.

the operation of marketing and internal trade. However, while this material does therefore give a clear indication of what people thought about marketing, as it was produced frequently by interested parties and as propaganda for a particular theoretical stance, it is unclear the extent to which it can be used to establish what actually happened within marketing and trade - how the farmer did dispose of his produce, who the middlemen were and what their precise role in the dispersal of agricultural produce was and whether the ability of the consumer to purchase in the market place and directly from the farmer did, in fact, decline. Moreover, while an expanding internal trade certainly provided part of the background to the production of the pamphlet literature and several of the works, for example D. Defoe's A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724-26), do include discussions of the major routes by which agricultural produce reached the consumption centres, particularly London, it is rare to find any detailed analysis of either the extensiveness or organization of internal trade.

Given the nature of the sources known to be available, it was originally thought that there would be insufficient data to permit a detailed survey of the marketing of agricultural produce in one county. However, as the study progressed it became clear both that for Oxfordshire at least, largely because of the role of the University in supervising Oxford market, there was a considerable body of material on the marketing of certain products, particularly corn, horses and meat and also that sources traditionally used for the examination of other subjects, for example popular movements, might, in fact, be employed to elucidate many aspects of marketing history. However, as a major difficulty in studying

marketing in Oxfordshire was, therefore, that of finding relevant source material, a considerable part of this study is, in fact, an examination of the data available, the reasons for its survival and the problems encountered with interpretation, both of the material which has survived and as a result of the fact that on certain subjects, for example market regulation, it can be demonstrated that major blocks of evidence are almost certainly missing. In addition Chapter VII, which is a descriptive account of the Oxfordshire food riots, is designed, at least in part to draw attention to the way in which material not specifically on marketing and trade, might be used to illustrate points on, for example, the development of new marketing techniques and changes in consumption patterns.

Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that a large part of the work is therefore taken up with an assessment of the source material and doubt is cast upon the extent to which definitive statements can be made from it, it has still proved possible to produce moderately detailed analyses of certain subjects and to isolate a number of themes which seem to recur throughout marketing history. Thus, Chapters II and III are a fairly full examination of the general role, fortunes and organization of the open market in the eighteenth century and also contain evidence which suggests the principal general points which emerge from the study. These broad conclusions may be summarized largely as follows: Firstly, that it was very difficult for contemporaries, and hence is problematical for historians, to distinguish between public and private marketing facilities and actually establish meaningful definitions of such terms as "open market", "retail",

"forestalling" or "toll"; secondly that public marketing facilities and the organization of marketing and internal trade were very much the concern of the urban public; thirdly that responsibility for the regulation of marketing began to devolve upon such informal groups as those involved in the marketing process and fourthly, and related to this, that the local authorities largely found it very difficult to influence marketing and trading practices, except by such relatively informal means as relinquishing their right to collect tolls or erecting new market buildings in order to make public marketing facilities attractive to the farming and commercial community.

Turning to Chapter IV, evidence concerning the City of Oxford is used in an attempt to produce a detailed analysis of the marketing of and trade in corn and while conclusions are tentative it is hoped that a picture of at least the role of the open market in the dispersal of corn in Oxfordshire does emerge. What does not emerge, however, is whether the situation which prevailed in Oxford was, in fact, typical of that to be found in other towns, and therefore wider generalizations on the eighteenth century corn market would need to await comparative studies. This chapter also includes an account of the alternative ways in which corn might be marketed outside the open market setting; an account which illustrates both the enormous complexity of marketing in the eighteenth century and also the very great difficulty involved in determining precisely what occurred within the private sector. A subject which is not considered in any depth in this chapter is the movement of corn prices within the County. However, the inclusion of the Oxfordshire price

data as an appendix to the thesis is felt to be justified both because assumptions on periods of harvest failure have been made from the tables and also because it is believed that the data constitutes an accurate price series, which should be more widely available in order to facilitate comparative studies, leading eventually to more precise generalizations on price trends and market autonomies.⁽²⁾

It was originally intended that studies of the marketing of other agricultural products, similar in type to that undertaken for corn should also be included. However, this idea was discounted for three basic reasons. Firstly, there proved to be insufficient time and space to permit a full study; secondly no source material was available to allow detailed studies of the marketing of livestock or cheese and thirdly it became clear that while the relative importance of public and private marketing facilities and also of the varied private marketing techniques and outlets might differ for the different products, essentially the same picture would emerge as emerged in the study of the marketing of corn, that is that the open market continued to have a role to play in both the short and the long distance trade, while a great and growing variety of private marketing options had become available.

However, as with the price material, the most important

(2) For 2 recent studies of market autonomies, putting forward rather different viewpoints, see A.H. John, "The Course of Agricultural Change, 1660-1760," in Ed. W.E. Minchinton Essays in Agrarian History Vol.I (1968) P.225 and C.W.J. Granger and C.M. Elliott, "A Fresh Look at Wheat Prices and Markets in the Eighteenth Century," in Economic History Review 2nd Ser. Vol.XX No.2 (1967).

data has been tabulated and included both because it would then be available to be used in conjunction with evidence from other areas in a full study of the marketing of products other than cereals and because the maps and tables do themselves form conclusive statements on certain aspects of the open market trade in commodities other than corn, most notably on the distances travelled to fairs and markets by persons engaged in the sale and purchase of horses and on the occupations and places of residence of permanent stallholders in Oxford provisions market.

It was also originally intended that the thesis should include a detailed discussion of the regulations which governed the marketing of agricultural produce, internal trade and the sale of processed foods. However, it soon became clear that only the setting of the assize of bread could be investigated fully and even the operation of the assize could not be examined for any area other than Oxford. Insufficient evidence was available to allow detailed studies of the pattern in the enforcement of the various other regulations which continued to be enforced or enforceable during the eighteenth century. The narrative section of Chapter VI is therefore largely an assessment of the extent to which the evidence on market regulation in Oxfordshire which has survived provides a complete record of law enforcement or is actually simply a representative or even unrepresentative sample of a much greater body of material which has been lost. The details of the punishment of market offences and decisions to enforce marketing laws have been included because they provide at least a partial record of

the nature and extent of market regulation; further evidence to support general conclusions made in earlier chapters, for example on the growing involvement of informal groups in the organization of marketing; the basis for the development of other broad conclusions, principally on the existence of a connection between the enforcement of traditional pro-consumer measures and consumer action and also, because, with data from other areas, the evidence might be used to answer some of the more difficult questions on the pattern in the regulation of marketing and internal trade in the eighteenth century.

In conclusion, this thesis is an attempt to answer not the question what did those involved in the marketing of agricultural produce and internal trade - producers, commercial community, local authorities and consumers - think about the organization of marketing and trade, but how did they actually act and how did marketing, in fact, operate in the eighteenth century. It is, thus, an attempted analysis of what public marketing institutions remained and what was their role; how the farmers in fact disposed of their produce; to what extent the authorities regulated or attempted to regulate marketing and what actions the consumers took to ensure that their interests were protected.

Two final points should be made. Firstly, the area which is discussed in the thesis is the County of Oxford, prior to the boundary changes of 1974. The outline of the County is taken from A. Mee's The King's England: Oxfordshire (Revised Edition by E.T. Long 1965); the only village not included by Mee as part of Oxfordshire but discussed as such

in the text being Shillingford, on the Oxfordshire-Berkshire border. While the agricultural structure of the County is obviously relevant in a study of marketing it is not discussed except in passing because adequate secondary studies, all of which are mentioned in the bibliography, are available. Secondly, the period covered in the work is largely 1690-1800. However, as the balance of the evidence is very much in favour of the second half of the eighteenth century certain subjects, for example the consumption of barley bread, will be found to have been examined for the period approximately 1750-1800 only. Moreover, on other subjects it will be indicated that conclusions cannot be proved to relate to the earlier years of the eighteenth century in addition to the later period.

Chapter II Market Facilities in Oxfordshire

Part I Markets

The main aims of this chapter are, to show where markets and fairs existed in Oxfordshire; to describe their development during the course of the eighteenth century; and to indicate briefly some of the factors determining whether a town's market flourished or declined.

By the start of the eighteenth century, of approximately 30 Oxfordshire towns and villages granted market rights between the late eleventh and early fifteenth centuries⁽¹⁾, a core of 13 retained their market functions⁽²⁾. Table I

- (1) M. Jessup in A History of Oxfordshire (1975) P.55 includes a map showing 25 towns and villages with the earliest known date of the grant of a market. This shows that the 13 towns exercising market functions at the start of the eighteenth century were all historic market centres. Banbury and Oxford were granted their markets in 1086 and Henley, the last of the towns to be granted market rights, had them by 1259. Of course it is likely that many of these towns exercised market functions before the grants were made.
- (2) A. Everitt suggests that most of the towns and villages which lost their market functions prior to the eighteenth century had done so by the reign of Queen Elizabeth. A. Everitt, "The Banburys of England," in Urban History Yearbook (1974) P.35. Everitt indicates that, of approximately 2,000 places which received grants of markets between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, fewer than 750 remained as trading centres by the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The pattern in Oxfordshire would appear to conform to this, although there is a suggestion that 3 villages may have lost their market functions at a later date. A. Everitt himself names Hook Norton as an Oxfordshire market centre in the period 1500-1640. A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J.Thirsk, The Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol.IV 1500-1640 (1967) P.475. Again, there is a suggestion that Dorchester may still have been a market centre in the seventeenth century. See, for example, Ed. M. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VII Dorchester and Thame Hundreds (1962) P.48. Admittedly, in R. Blome's Britannia or a Geographical Description of the Kingdom of England, Scotland and Ireland (1673) P.189, it is reported that Dorchester does not hold a market and statements that Dorchester is no longer a market town occur not infrequently

MARKET TOWNS IN OXFORDSHIRE AND ADJACENT COUNTIES.



Until the foundation, in 1845, of a pitched corn market, on Mondays, at Lower Heyford⁽⁴⁾ no other towns than the above-mentioned 13 appear to have functioned as official market centres, and, from the reiteration of the 13 as market towns in many eighteenth century topographical works, the impression gained is one of stability. The stability is, however, more apparent than real as the eighteenth century in fact witnessed many changes in the fortunes and relative importance of the different market towns.

As J. Chartres has suggested, contemporaries appear to have been somewhat confused as to the number of market towns in eighteenth century England because many of the towns were more nominal than real as trading entities.⁽⁵⁾ In Oxfordshire

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- (3) N. Spencer The Complete English Traveller (1771) P.337.
Bailey's Western and Midland Directory, or Merchant's and Tradesman's Useful Companion, for the Year 1784 P.399.
 W. Green The Picture of England (1804) Vol.II P.100.
 All other evidence points to Thursday as Henley's sole market day. It is not clear how the error arose.
- (4) S. Lewis A Topographical Dictionary of England, comprising the Several Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Corporate and Market Towns (7th Ed. 1848) Vol.II P.502.
 By 1887 this market was no longer held regularly.
 Ed. M. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VI... P.191.
- (5) J. Chartres, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce in Metropolitan Western England in the late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Ed. M.A. Havinden Husbandry and Marketing in the South West. Exeter Papers in Economic History No. 8 (1973) P.65.

the evidence would certainly appear to suggest that trading facilities were non-existent in 2 so-called market towns for a large part of the eighteenth century.

By the sixteenth century the Monday market established in Charlbury in 1256 had virtually ceased to exist⁽⁶⁾. In 1678, therefore, Charles II issued a new grant of the right to hold a market in the town to the Earl of Litchfield; the market to be on Fridays⁽⁷⁾. Although late seventeenth century topographies do not refer to this market⁽⁸⁾, it certainly existed until at least approximately 1720⁽⁹⁾, during which time it was the subject of constant dispute between Litchfield and the townspeople, and also the subject of mutual recrimination over who was responsible for its despoliation. Although A. Everitt⁽¹⁰⁾ refers to Charlbury as possessing a thriving market in the eighteenth century and there are records of rent being paid for the markets and fairs

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- (6) Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X Banbury Hundred (1972) Pp.144-5. From 1440 the day on which the market was held was Friday.
- (7) Copy of A Grant to the Rt. Honoble Edward Henry Earle of Litchfield for the Markett (and) Ffares att Charlbury 18 Apr. 1678. DiL IV/b/12.
- (8) For example, it is not mentioned by R. Blome and in J. Adams Index Villaris (1690) P.62 we find Charlbury recorded but not as a market town.
- (9) The following work which mentions Charlbury as a market town dates from approximately 1720. Transcriber F.N. Davis, "Parochial collections Made by Anthony a Wood and Richard Rawlinson. Part I," in Oxfordshire Record Society Vol.II (1920) P.83. See also Chapter III Pp.
- (10) A. Everitt, "The Banburys of England"... P.35. "Some of (these towns) of which Charlbury is an instructive example, took on a new lease of life in the seventeenth century, flourishing in a surprising manner in the eighteenth, and did not finally surrender their marketing functions till well into the nineteenth century or even later."

until 1776⁽¹¹⁾, it would seem that the market in fact enjoyed only a slight existence from 1720, and by the 1770's we find it referred to constantly by contemporaries as discontinued or gone to decay.⁽¹²⁾ A notice which appears in Jackson's Oxford Journal for 1800 would certainly appear to indicate that the market had, at best, declined seriously during the course of the century; the notice suggesting that an attempt at revival was being made:

"The Innholders, Publicans and Principal Inhabitants of the Town of Charlbury, beg leave to return their thanks to the Gentlemen, Farmers, Bakers, Dealers and others, who attended their Market on Friday last, and hope for a Continuation of their Support and Encouragement, as well as that of the Public in general, on Friday next, and on every succeeding Market Day, with a full Assurance that they will render them every Accommodation which lies in their Power."⁽¹³⁾

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- (11) Ditchley Rentals, usually with Cash Books for Oxfordshire Estates 1702-1778 DiL I/L/33a-q. Passim. A cash book for 1774, which can be found among these documents and which records expences incurred when persons from Ditchley Farm attended markets and fairs, records visits to Chipping Norton and Woodstock markets but not to a market at Charlbury. It would seem unlikely that if a sizeable market were held they would never have visited it.
- (12) See, for example: A Description of England and Wales, Containing a Particular Account of Each County (1770) Vol.7 P.252.
 C. Burlington The Modern Universal British Traveller (c 1779) P.238. Here we find, "(Charlbury) had formerly a good weekly market, but that has been long discontinued." However, The U.B.D. Vol.II P.600 suggests that the market may not have ceased entirely, the reference claiming that the market had been, "some years on the decline," and expressing the hope that road improvements in the area might bring about a revival.
- (13) J.O.J. Sept. 27 1800 No.2474.

This attempt cannot have met with much success for, by 1813, J.N. Brewer could record that Charlbury had little of the privilege of a market except the name.⁽¹⁴⁾ However, the market must have had some sort of existence throughout the first half of the nineteenth century⁽¹⁵⁾ and as late as 1852 it was being hoped that the market could again become viable.⁽¹⁶⁾

The other town whose market enjoyed an exiguous existence was Bampton.

Bampton is included in A. Everitt's list of towns holding markets during the period 1500-1640⁽¹⁷⁾ and occurs frequently in late seventeenth and eighteenth century lists of market towns, often with the remark that the market was particularly notable for the sale of fellmongers'

(14) J.N. Brewer The Beauties of England and Wales (1813) Vol.XII Part II P.532.

(15) We find, for example, in Banbury Guardian Oct. 8 1846 No. 172 "There still exists a market here," (that is at Charlbury), followed by a report on pigs and corn sold there.

(16) R. Gardner op.cit. P.637.
The revival was hoped for because of Charlbury's position on a projected railway line.
For the later history of Charlbury market see Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X P.145.

(17) A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. P.475.

goods.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, in 1673, R. Blome had described the market as, "but small"⁽¹⁹⁾ and it seems clear that from this time it was actually declining in importance, so that by the mid eighteenth century it had ceased altogether.

In November 1766 it was announced that,

"whereas the Market at Bampton... hath for some Years been discontinued This is to inform the Publick that the said Market is now going to be revived, and will be kept every Wednesday for Corn, Cheese, Butter, Eggs, Fish, Poultry and all other Provisions."⁽²⁰⁾

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- (18) Bampton is recorded as famous for an abundance of fell-mongers' wares in, for example: Magna Britannia et Hibernia Antiqua et Nova or a New Survey of Great Britain... (1727) Vol.IV P.413.
 B. Martin The Natural History of England, or a Description of Each Particular County, in Regard to the Curious Productions of Nature and Art (1759) Vol.I P.392.
 W. Green op.cit. P.98.
 This illustrates a problem confronted frequently when using eighteenth century topographical works as a source. There was a tendency for writers to repeat material written in earlier years making it difficult to judge to which period the information actually applies. Thus it is difficult to be certain when Bampton market was notable for fellmongers' goods. It could have been, in fact, during the seventeenth, not the eighteenth, century. It is anyway clear that by the time the latter 2 books were written Bampton market was moribund.
- (19) R. Blome op.cit. P.188.
- (20) J.O.J. Nov. 8 1766 No.706.

In 1767 Bampton was referred to as a considerable market town⁽²¹⁾ but the market's revival must have been short-lived because in 1790 the U.B.D. reported,

"the weekly market which was formerly on a Wednesday has been long discontinued."⁽²²⁾

In 1800 another revival was attempted. On October 4 a notice appeared in J.O.J. declaring that,

"The Public are respectfully informed, from the Suggestions of several Gentlemen, Farmers and Dealers, that a revival of the Market at the HUNDRED TOWN would be of general Convenience and Utility, but which from Neglect of late Years has not been well attended, Notice is hereby given, that the Market will be continued every WEDNESDAY."⁽²³⁾

The following week it was announced that,

"The Publicans etc express their Thanks to the Gentlemen, Farmers and others who have attended their last two Market Days, and assure them they will do every Thing in their Power for their future Accommodation. They beg Leave further to solicit their Patronage as well as that of the Gentlemen, Farmers and Dealers, who attend the neighbouring Markets, as it is intended to give Permanency to the Re-establishment of the Market at Bampton, whose local and central situation promises mutual Advantages."⁽²⁴⁾

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- (21) J.O.J. Sept. 19 1767 No.751. However, as this reference occurs in an advertisement it may not be reliable.
- (22) The U.B.D. Vol.II P.252.
- (23) J.O.J. Oct. 4 1800 No.2475.
- (24) J.O.J. Oct. 11 1800 No.2476.

Before proceeding 2 points should be made about these newspaper advertisements for Bampton and Charlbury markets. Firstly, it would appear that the revivals of the 2 markets in 1800 were spearheaded by those intending actually to use them and by innkeepers and publicans, who would clearly have benefited from an influx of trade into their towns. This provides an illustration of the importance of community interest in marketing facilities, a theme which will recur throughout this thesis. Secondly, all three attempts to revive the markets occurred in periods when high prices, food shortages and rioting had brought about an upsurge of interest in the open market. It would seem probable that this was not coincidental.

In spite of the favourable reports the second revival of Bampton market can have been no more successful than the first, for 13 years later we find, "Bampton has a nominal weekly market, but very little business is transacted."⁽²⁵⁾ Even so, like Charlbury market, that at Bampton would appear to have enjoyed some sort of existence and even local importance in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁽²⁶⁾ By 1847,

(25) J.N. Brewer op.cit. Vol. XII Pt.II P.481.

(26) For example, J.O.J. Aug. 28 1841 No.4609 contains a report on a substantial sale of corn at Bampton's weekly market. However, the size of the market on this occasion was undoubtedly dictated, in part, by the fact that it coincided with the town's major fair.

however, J.A. Giles could report that it hardly deserved to be called a market as it seldom presented,

"more than a few dealers in eggs and butter,"

although large numbers of pigs were also sold. (27) In 1852 the market was once again reported as almost in disuse. (28)

Having established that 2 of the 13 markets enjoyed an, at best, spasmodic existence, when we turn to look at the remaining 11 we again find no consistent pattern of development.

The first point is that the word market can, in fact, be used to cover many types of trading institution. Thus an eighteenth century provincial market town might have a general provisions market, where fish, meat, butter, vegetables, and fruit would be sold; a corn market fulfilling either a retail or wholesale function or both, and 2 types of livestock market, one for the sale of lean animals to grazier and farmer and the other for fat stock where butchers could buy cattle and sheep to slaughter for immediate consumption. It was quite possible that within one town one of these trading institutions might develop while another declined.

An examination of the varied fortunes of the different types of market in Oxford will illustrate this.

(27) J.A. Giles History of the Parish and Town of Bampton, with the District and Hamlets Belonging to it. (2nd ed. 1848) P.21.

(28) R. Gardner op.cit. P.476.

Probably the most consistently successful section of Oxford market was the general provisions market and here the story is of considerable expansion in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

By the terms of 11^o George III cap XIX (1770-1771), An Act for amending certain of the Mile-ways leading to Oxford... (and) for removing, holding and regulating Markets within the said City ⁽²⁹⁾, the right was granted to construct a covered market in Oxford for the sale of meat, fish, poultry and vegetables; fruit, butter and eggs being brought in in 1781. ⁽³⁰⁾ These products had hitherto been sold in the streets by both freemen and country sellers on the general market days of Wednesday and Saturday, and meat by freemen on other weekdays also.

By one of the clauses of the 1771 Act permission was given to hold the market, if desired, every day of the week. The Market Committee at first established only one extra general market day each week, Monday ⁽³¹⁾, but in October 1795 every weekday was decreed to be a general market day for all produce except meat ⁽³²⁾, which was, however, allowed to be

(29) This act is printed in full in Ed. L.L. Shadwell, "Enactments in Parliament, specially concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge... Vol.II I George I - II George IV," in Oxford Historical Society Vol.LIX (1912) Pp.102-134.

(30) 21^o George III Cap.XLVII (1781) An Act to amend and enlarge the Powers of an Act Passed in the Eleventh Year of His Present Majesty's Reign, for Performing several Works, and making Improvements within the University and City of Oxford and the suburbs thereof, and in the adjoining Parish of St. Clements.
Ibid. Pp.178-79.

(31) Papers of the Market Committee 1774-1823 D 8 11²

(32) The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835 FF2.1a P.100.

sold every day from December 1797. (33) In fact, the market receipts show that most business was transacted on the traditional market days of Wednesday and Saturday but trading certainly took place on the other days. (34)

Both the construction of the covered market and the extension of the number of days on which non-freemen were permitted to sell suggest a thriving, expanding market. (35) Contemporaries certainly remarked on the vitality of the new market, and G.A. Cooke, in 1805, went so far as to observe that Oxford's provisions market was,

"universally allowed to exceed everything of the kind in the kingdom." (36)

(33) Ibid. P.111.

(34) D. Alexander noted that at the beginning of the nineteenth century markets serving a large population might often be held daily, but, as is the case with Oxford, he observed that certain days tended to be characterized by particularly heavy trading. In his view these were often pay days. D. Alexander Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution (1970) P.30.

(35) It should be noted, however, that one factor which could have contributed to the increase in the number of general market days in Oxford was the feeling by the authorities that they had failed to maintain the distinction between free and "country" sellers and therefore that they might be advised to accept officially a situation which they had little hope of altering. This interpretation would not, however, invalidate the view that Oxford provisions market was a thriving institution.

(36) G.A. Cooke Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Oxford (c 1805) P.29.

The fortunes of Oxford's corn market were very much more mixed. Until 1700 corn, which covers wheat, barley, oats, beans, pease, malt and, during the seventeenth century and very exceptionally during the eighteenth century, rye and maslin also, appears to have been sold on the 2 market days of Wednesday and Saturday, neither day dominating the trade.⁽³⁷⁾ Throughout the eighteenth century exceptional circumstances might still produce a sizeable trade on Wednesdays⁽³⁸⁾ and as late as the 1830's Wednesdays might still witness some sales of corn⁽³⁹⁾ but, on the whole, from the 1730's, at latest, the Wednesday market saw very little corn sold at all⁽⁴⁰⁾,

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- (37) The evidence for this can be found in The Assize of Bread 1692-1700 Ms Top Oxon f 18 Passim. Here grain sales are always recorded on both Wednesdays and Saturdays. However, Saturday was the more important of the 2 market days. R. Blome op.cit. P.187.
- (38) For example, during the grain crisis of 1757, Oxford's Wednesday market witnessed sizeable wheat sales. J.O.J. Jun. 18 1757 No.216.
- (39) For example, in April 1839 buyers were recorded for both wheat and barley. University and City of Oxford Assize of Bread 1835-7 Ms Top Oxon d 69 P.51.
In the second half of the nineteenth century it was considered whether to establish Wednesday as the only day of the week on which corn should be sold. The idea was rejected. Cattle Market. Miscellaneous Papers c 1878-83 C 3 5
- (40) As no assize book appears to have survived for the period 1700 to 1733 we cannot say with exactitude when between 1700 and 1733 corn sales ceased to take place on Wednesdays. In the assize book commencing in 1733 we find that "none sold" is recorded most frequently against the Wednesday market. Oxford University Archives. Corn Book of the Clerks of the Market 1732-1753 MR 3/5/1.
This would accord with the view of W.F. Lloyd, who wrote in 1830, "Wednesday... has ceased to be a market day for corn, for twenty five years at least and probably for nearly one hundred, except in a very trifling degree."
W.F. Lloyd Prices of Corn in Oxford in the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century. Also from the Year 1583 to the Present Day... (1830) P.12.

possibly only that left unsold on the previous Saturday.

A more difficult problem is to establish whether the virtual extinction of the Wednesday corn market, is indicative of a decrease in the total volume of corn going through Oxford market, especially as, until 1795 and probably for several years thereafter, there is no reliable statistical evidence on the volume of grain sold on either Wednesdays or Saturdays.⁽⁴¹⁾ However, the comments of contemporaries do enable us to make a tentative assessment of the state of Oxford's corn market in the eighteenth century.

A.M. Everitt in his study of the marketing of agricultural produce in the period 1500 to 1640 includes Oxford in his list of great corn markets⁽⁴²⁾ and comments made in the late seventeenth century suggest that the market continued to be important. Anthony a Wood, for example, writing in the 1660's, recorded,

"Great corn Markets wee use to have.
Sept. 17th 1664 being then Saturday was
240 load of corne, besides that brought
on horses and in boats. The 24th, also,
there was, as they say, as many; they
stood from without North Gate beyond
Magdalen Church."⁽⁴³⁾

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- (41) The statistical evidence on the volume of grain moving through the open market in Oxfordshire will be discussed later.
- (42) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. P.492.
- (43) Ed. A. Clark, "Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, composed in 1661-6 by Anthony Wood. Vol.I The City and the Suburbs," in O.H.S. Vol.XV (1889) P.487.

Again, R. Blome in 1673 referred to the market at Oxford as,
 "very considerable... for all sorts of
 grain, especially barley." (44)

However, if we assume that the cessation of the
 Wednesday corn market was probably symptomatic of an overall
 decline in the market's importance we may date the beginning
 of its decay from some time in the early eighteenth century.
 Certainly there are indications that by the mid eighteenth
 century the market's very survival was threatened. In
J.O.J. on September fifteenth 1753 an announcement was made

"To the MALTSTERS, BAKERS, INNOLDERS,
 AND OTHERS, Dealers in Corn at Oxford
 Market,"

requesting them to meet at the Mitre Inn,

"to consider of proper Methods to support
 our Corn Market, for the Good of the City
 in general. N.B. That this Meeting may be
 unanimous, all such Persons that had rather
 see the City and Market ruined than
 supported, are desired to be absent." (45)

From this date evidence on the state of Oxford's corn
 market tends to be inconclusive, although there is no doubt
 that the market did survive this mid-century crisis and,
 as we shall see, had an important local, although not as
 earlier a national function, well into the nineteenth century. (46)

(44) R. Blome op.cit. P.287.

(45) J.O.J. Sept. 15 1753 No.20.
 That this meeting was announced to both maltsters and bakers
 would appear to suggest that sales of both barley and wheat
 had fallen off.

(46) The question of whether, during the eighteenth century, the
 corn market also ceased to have a retail purpose and began
 to offer facilities for wholesale trade only will be
 considered later.

An important feature of market towns with large non-agrarian populations was the weekly, fortnightly or monthly fatstock market, at which local butchers could supply themselves with fat cattle and sheep to slaughter, selling the meat in the retail provisions market. Oxford certainly had a large enough population to warrant such a market but, throughout the greatest part of the eighteenth century, the city was completely without official provision for the sale of all livestock, except pigs. (47)

In 1601, in an attempt to re-establish a market which had existed for a number of years and then fallen into disuse, Elizabeth I, by letters Patent, granted to the citizens of Oxford a weekly cattle market to be held on Wednesdays in the area known as Broken Hays or Gloucester Green. (48) This was apparently kept but once or twice and it would seem that no formal cattle market was held in Oxford throughout the seventeenth century. In February 1684, the City, having surrendered their charter, petitioned for a "haire" market for all live cattle to be held, as before,

(47) O. Ogle, "The Oxford Market," in Ed. M. Burrows "Collectanea II in O.H.S. Vol.XVI (1890) P.32 refers to the hog market being moved from its mediaeval site to Broken Hays or Gloucester Green in 1684.
J.O.J. Mar. 4 1786 No.1714.

(48) Ed. O. Ogle, Royal Letters Addressed to Oxford, and now Existing in the City Archives (1892) Pp.224-228.
The market which the cattle market granted in 1601 was intended to replace had been held in the streets and because of their narrowness had been found to be of nuisance value to the inhabitants.

every Wednesday in Broken Hays. It appears that this request was turned down, partly on the grounds that,

"there are already such markets and fairs very near as at Thame and Abingdon," (49)

reasoning which would appear to indicate that a cattle market was not being held at Oxford in the seventeenth century. It would seem, in fact, that from 1601 no cattle market was held in Oxford until late 1755, when we find that a serious attempt was made to give reality to a Wednesday market on Gloucester Green. (50) This market apparently started well: on December sixth J.O.J. announced...

"On Wednesday last the ancient Market for Horses, Cows, Sheep, Hogs &c was revived on Gloster Green, near this city: And we have the Pleasure to acquaint our Readers, that the Market was opened so much to the Satisfaction of both Buyer and Seller, that there is not the least Doubt of its soon answering the laudable Purposes thereby intended." (51)

The market would appear to have survived until at least 1765 when an advertisement for the sale of a public house at Gloucester Green reported it to be,

"where the Markets are held Weekly, for the sale of Hogs, Sheep and Live Cattle." (52)

(49) Ed. F.H. Blackburne-Daniell and Francis Bickley. Calendar of State Papers Domestic (1938) P.310.

(50) J.O.J. Nov. 22 1755 No.134 contains an advertisement informing dealers in cattle that the ancient cattle market held upon Gloucester Green was to be revived and would be held weekly.

(51) J.O.J. Dec. 6 1755 No.136.

(52) J.O.J. Apr. 6 1765 No.623.

However, it had certainly ceased to be held by 1774 when the only markets besides that for provisions, were said to be those for corn, pigs and butter. (53)

The next attempt to revive the Gloucester Green cattle market occurred in 1796 (54), when J.O.J. included the following advertisement,

"In Pursuance of an Order of the Council Chamber of this City... Notice is hereby given that a Weekly Market for the sale of Live Cattle, of all sorts, will be holden on every Wednesday in Gloucester Green... the same to begin... upon the First Wednesday in the Month of February 1797; and all Graziers and other Persons concerned, are invited to attend the said Market, which from the great Number of Butchers resident in and near Oxford, and the great consumption of Meat by the University and City, is expected to become a Market of very Considerable Resort." (55)

Once again, however, the optimism of the advertisement appears to have been ill-founded and, although it is unclear how long the market was held it had certainly failed by 1811, when we find the City Council considering whether to apply for a clause to be inserted in an act of Parliament for regulating Oxford's streets,

(53) J.O.J. Nov. 26 1774 No.1126.

(54) Although the correlation is not as exact as that which we observed between the attempted revivals of Bampton and Charlbury markets and periods of food crisis, nevertheless it is noticeable that the attempts to establish a cattle market in Oxford occurred in 1796 after a very serious food crisis and a period which witnessed an upsurge of interest in the open market and in the mid 1750's, also a period which saw a considerable debate on the role of the open market.

(55) J.O.J. Dec. 31 1796 No.2279.

"authorizing the use of Gloucester Green
as a market for the show and sale of
live cattle." (56)

It should be noted, however, that the reason given for
needing the authorization was,

"to obviate the inconveniences arising
from the use of the public streets for
that purpose,"

which suggests that sales of cattle must have been taking
place in Oxford, but probably in an unregulated setting.
It would seem possible, indeed, that there could have been
some buying and selling of cattle taking place informally
in the streets throughout the eighteenth century, although
it is most unlikely that this could have been on a large
scale. (57)

To complete the history of Oxford's cattle market:
It would appear that a cattle market on Gloucester Green,
in fact, had a continuous existence only from 1834 (58)
and then firstly as a monthly and later as a fortnightly,
not as a weekly meeting. (59) The market was apparently

(56) Council Book 1788-1813 B.5.4 P.256.

(57) Horses for sale were certainly paraded in the streets.
See, for example, J.O.J. May 4 1799 No.2401.

(58) J.O.J. Nov. 29 1834 No.4257 records the establishment of
a monthly cattle market on Gloucester Green.

(59) The market was held monthly at least until the 1850's but
by the 1880's sales were taking place every fortnight.
In the latter decade there was a considerable campaign to
bring about the establishment of the market on a weekly
basis, but the market in fact continued fortnightly until
1909 when it was finally held successfully once per week.
Cattle Market Miscellaneous Papers c 1878-83 C 3 5 Ed.
M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.V Bullingdon Hundred
(1957) P.114.

In the latter work it is recorded that a cattle market at
the Crown, Wheatley, was discontinued in 1909 when Oxford

for both lean and fatstock⁽⁶⁰⁾ and was established at a time when facilities for the sale of cattle throughout the county were being extended and rationalised. Besides the new market at Oxford the 1830's and 1840's witnessed the foundation of monthly cattle markets or fairs at Chipping Norton⁽⁶¹⁾, Witney⁽⁶²⁾, Bampton⁽⁶³⁾, Deddington⁽⁶⁴⁾ and Bicester.⁽⁶⁵⁾

While Oxford provides the best example of a town in which the different sections of the market developed on different lines, a similar pattern can be discerned in other towns. We shall discuss here just one example: that of Bicester.

- (59) market became weekly. As the Wheatley market seems to have been solely a nineteenth century institution it is not discussed in the text.
- (60) J.O.J. Mar. 12 1836 No.4324 reports an excellent supply of fat and store cattle, thus revealing both the market's success and that it functioned as a place for the sale of fat and lean stock.
- (61) J.O.J. Feb. 28 1835 No.4270.
- (62) J.O.J. Aug. 10 1839 No.4502.
- (63) J.O.J. Nov. 20 1841 No.4621.
- (64) Oxford Chronicle and Berks and Bucks Gazette Oct. 24 1846 No.508.
- (65) R. Gardner op.cit. P.490. See also footnote 68. Both the foundation and functions of these monthly cattle markets are consistent with the situation found by D. Alexander when looking at this period. He records that nearly every provincial town of any importance held monthly cattle markets to supply local butchers, the surplus stock being drawn off by dealers for transfer to larger consumption centres.
D. Alexander op.cit. P.34.

Bicester possessed a thriving livestock market from the sixteenth century onwards. Thus, A.M. Everitt records that Bicester was a notable centre for cattle and sheep sales throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries⁽⁶⁶⁾ and R. Blome, writing in 1673, reported that the town's livestock market was then increasing in importance. He declared,

"Of late its Market, which is on Fridays, is grown pretty considerable for cattle and sheep."⁽⁶⁷⁾

Throughout the eighteenth century it seems to have successfully withstood a number of setbacks, including the mid century outbreak of cattle disease, and as late as 1790 the spring and autumn markets were notable for sheep sales, having a market area of over 1200 square miles.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Until the start of the eighteenth century the other departments of the town's market seem to have been equally successful, so that J. Dunkin could suggest Bicester to have been one of the chief marts in Oxfordshire. In 1704, however,

(66) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. Pp.590-1.
Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VI... P.33 quotes an anonymous writer who described Bicester, in 1622, as "a very good market for all manner of cattle and well supplied with all kinds of trades."

(67) R. Blome op.cit. P.189.

(68) The U.B.D. Vol.II P.477.
It would appear that in the early nineteenth century good livestock sales were being held fortnightly.
Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VI.. P.33.
By mid century, however, we have seen that monthly sales had been established, which may indicate a decline in Bicester's role as a livestock market.

the town was hit by a severe epidemic of smallpox, resulting in a complete stagnation of trade. Dunkin, recording the incident, concludes,

"It was long before the neighbouring villagers ventured again with their commodities, and trade being once diverted into other channels, the market never recovered its former importance." (69)

The provisions and corn markets did remain adequate during the eighteenth century⁽⁷⁰⁾ but by the early nineteenth century had much declined in importance.⁽⁷¹⁾

The decline of markets subsequent to outbreaks of disease is a phenomenon noted by J. Chartres.⁽⁷²⁾ Certainly, in Oxfordshire it was a factor not simply in the decline of Bicester but also in that of Watlington, severely affected by

(69) J. Dunkin The History and Antiquities of Bicester, A Market Town in Oxfordshire... (1816) P.128.

(70) In 1784, for example, we find Bicester described as having "a good weekly market," and in 1801 the market was reported to be large.
G. Walpole The New British Traveller (1784) P.206.
Rev. C. Cruttwell A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Journeys... (1801) Vol.III P.385.

(71) Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VI... P.33.
By mid century R. Gardner could write that it now consisted mainly "of an assemblage of farmers and others for the sale and purchase of corn, with the addition occasionally of a few stalls in the market-place."
R. Gardner op.cit. P.490.

(72) J. Chartres "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. M.A. Havinden op.cit. P.66.

outbreaks of smallpox and fever at the end of the seventeenth century. However, the important point to note is that almost every town was visited at some time by epidemic diseases, and it was only in those already disadvantaged or near which easily accessible and equal or superior market facilities existed that outbreaks of disease proved disastrous. Thus the successful market at Henley was available to attract much of Watlington's trade. (73)

Turning to the 9 market towns we have not hitherto discussed, it is clear that their development was also not characterized by steadiness, or uniformity.

All 9 towns remained market centres throughout the eighteenth century, but 2 of them declined steadily in prominence and in terms of the variety of market facilities which they offered; a fact which would appear to lend support to the views of those who see the eighteenth century as characterized by the decay of the smaller market town (74); the 2 towns being, after Charlbury and Bampton, the smallest in population in the county.

Although H.M. Colvin suggests that Deddington market was important from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries (75) as early as the 1670's it was referred to as small (76) and

(73) Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VIII Lewknor and Pyrton Hundreds (1964) P.232.

(74) For example, M.A. Havinden, who refers to the destruction of many old markets especially in smaller towns. Ed. M.A. Havinden op.cit. P.7.

(75) H.M. Colvin A History of Deddington, Oxfordshire (1963) P.58.

(76) R. Blome op.cit. P.189.

from the mid eighteenth century it is always described by such terms as "small" (77), "poorly supplied" (78) and, in 1813, as "but thinly attended." (79) The market must have failed altogether shortly afterwards. In 1846 an attempt was made to revive a weekly market at Deddington to be held on Tuesdays (80) but this attempt failed and it would seem likely that the monthly cattle market, whose foundation we have noted, also failed to become established. In 1852 R. Gardner wrote,

"The market is nominally held upon Saturday, but the custom is almost obsolete. A few years since, in order to infuse some life into it the day of meeting was changed to Tuesday; for two or three weeks the attendance was good, but after that time it visibly declined and gradually dwindled away." (81)

Watlington's history is not dissimilar to that of

(77) The London Magazine Vol.XVIII (1749) P.23.

(78) B. Martin op.cit. Vol.I P.379.

(79) J.N. Brewer op.cit. Vol.XII Pt. II P.470.

(80) B.G. Aug. 27 1846 No.165.

A report that Deddington's market was held on Tuesdays in 1780 would appear to be erroneous.

W. Owen Owen's New Book of Fairs (1780) P.51.

(81) R. Gardner op.cit. P.525.

Gardner does not mention the monthly cattle markets.

Deddington, although Watlington would seem never to have been of significance as a market centre. (82) In 1673 Blome wrote that Watlington

"hath a small market for provisions on Saturdays " (83)

and it is clear that throughout the eighteenth century the market was insignificant. For example, a typical mid century account refers to Watlington as

"a small town, that has a mean market weekly." (84)

In 1813 we find the market described as,

"thinly though respectably attended," (85)

and a fuller account of it written 13 years later gives an insight into what this meant:

"(Watlington has) a small weekly corn market on Saturdays - and this without much additional show of business - the principal part of which is generally transacted in the evening, at two or three of the best Inns over a social glass and a pipe." (86)

(82) Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VIII... P.232. Here it is recorded that Watlington market was described as small even in the sixteenth century.

(83) R. Blome op.cit. P.189.

(84) An Account of the Several Cities and Market Towns in England and Wales (undated and unpaginated).

(85) J.N. Brewer op.cit. P.311. Brewer continues, "and the business of the day is invariably conducted in the parlours of the principal inn."

(86) J. Badcock A Historical and Descriptive Account of Watlington Oxfordshire, Interspersed with occasional Remarks and conclusions with a Few Reflections arising from a Review of the subject (1816) Ms D.D. Par. Watlington c 11 P.59.

Surprisingly, Watlington market was still functioning, along these lines, as late as 1852⁽⁸⁷⁾ and it is unclear when it ceased finally to be held.

However, although we are thus able to say that Watlington possessed a market into the nineteenth century, it should be noted that the facts that trade was conducted in the inns, business was unsupervised, and retail trading was not taking place, make it difficult to consider Watlington as offering the facilities traditionally associated with market towns. It is not always easy, in fact, when looking at the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries to draw an exact distinction between public and private marketing facilities.

The remaining 7 markets were described almost invariably throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by such phrases as "good", "large", "profitable", "well-attended", "well-frequented", or "well furnished."⁽⁸⁸⁾ As it provides an informative contrast to the descriptions of the declining markets given above, the history of Banbury market is given in detail. Firstly, however, some general conclusions may be made on the 6 smaller market towns.

(87) R. Gardner op.cit. P.566.

(88) The only one of the 7 markets which is less frequently found described in terms indicative of success is that at Woodstock. The market was described as "indifferent good for provisions" in 1673 and as "indifferent" in 1724 and 1749.
 R. Blome op.cit. P.188.
 (D. Jones) A New Description of England and Wales... with a set of Maps by Herman Moll (1724) P.94.
The London Magazine Vol.XVIII (1749) P.23.

All 6 towns appear to have held successful provisions markets for the sale of such products as meat, poultry, fish, butter, vegetables and fruit. Bufford⁽⁸⁹⁾, Chipping Norton⁽⁹⁰⁾, Henley, Thame⁽⁹¹⁾ and Witney also appear to have possessed good corn markets and Burford, Chipping Norton⁽⁹²⁾, Henley⁽⁹³⁾ and Thame good livestock markets.

- (89) Burford market mentioned as well frequented for corn in 1673 was apparently, by the early nineteenth century, even more prominent for corn.
R. Blome op.cit. P.188.
Rev. C. Cruttwell op.cit. Vol.III P.144.
- (90) Chipping Norton was mentioned as having a good market for corn in 1673 and the spasmodic quoting, in the local newspapers, of the prices of wheat, beans and oats at Chipping Norton suggests that the market was of significance for grain sales.
R. Blome op.cit. P.188.
For example, J.O.J. Sept. 22 1753 No.21.
J.O.J. Aug. 15 1795 No.2207.
Wheat prices at Witney were also mentioned in J.O.J. Apr. 9 1796 No.2241.
- (91) Thame was significant for corn at least by the early nineteenth century. In 1813 it was said that considerable quantities of corn by sample were sold at Thame market and in 1848 the market was still said to be well supplied with corn.
J.N. Brewer op.cit. Vol.XII Pt. II P.297.
S. Lewis op.cit. Vol.IV P.321.
- (92) References exist to Chipping Norton as a good but not a specialist cattle market.
For example, R. Blome op.cit. P.188.
- (93) In 1790 Henley market was described as well supplied with grain, cattle, poultry and fish.
The U.B.D. Vol.III P.366.

An important point to note, however, is that while the towns appear largely to have offered facilities for the sale of all commodities, 3 - Henley, Thame and Burford - were noted as specializing in the sale of one item in particular.

Henley was noted as a centre for the sale of corn, particularly barley and malt, in the sixteenth century and in 1673 R. Blome wrote,

"(Henley's market)... is very considerable for corn, especially barley, which is brought them for their great malt trade, there being oft times in one day sold about 300 cart-load of barley." (94)

The substance of this quotation tends to be repeated in almost all of the topographical works written in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, making it difficult to be certain whether the writers were simply copying each other or whether Henley did indeed witness very sizeable markets throughout the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, even if the information in the topographical works must be regarded as suspect there is much evidence to suggest that Henley still possessed a thriving corn market into the nineteenth century. In 1796, for example, a petition for the removal of soldiers from Henley gave as the grounds for the request that Henley was a large pitched corn market and the presence of soldiers at the inns was inconvenient to people frequenting the market (95),

(94) R. Blome op.cit. P.189.

(95) Copy due to the Secretary at War about Removing soldiers 18 Oct. 1796. Ms D.D. Henley A XXIII No.4.

and a history of the town, written in 1861, recorded,

"There are inhabitants still living who recollect the waggons and carts with corn on market days, quite filling the High Street, and Hart Street and extending to the foot of the bridge." (96)

In the seventeenth century Burford was noted as a centre for the sale of leather and leather products, particularly saddles⁽⁹⁷⁾ but by the eighteenth century much of its importance was derived from its role as a sheep and cattle market. There are several indications that this was the case. For example, in 1768 an announcement was made to the gentlemen, dealers and farmers that the Burford sheep markets would be held beyond the usual time⁽⁹⁸⁾, suggesting that markets at certain times of the year must have been specializing in the sale of sheep, and in 1782 an advertisement referred to Burford as one of the best cattle markets in the county of Oxford.⁽⁹⁹⁾

(96) J.S. Burn A History of Henley-on-Thames, in the county of Oxford (1861) Pp.83-4.

(97) Burford was reported several times in the first half of the eighteenth century to have had a noted market for saddles. For example, L.M. Vol.XVIII Jan. 1749 P.23. It would seem, however, that Burford market, like that at Bampton, had ceased to be important as a centre for the dispersal of industrial products, by the early eighteenth century, at latest.

(98) J.O.J. Dec. 24 1768 No.817.

(99) J.O.J. Jun. 29 1782 No.1522.
In Bailey's Western and Midland Directory,... 1783 P.210, Burford's market was described as for corn and sheep.

If Burford was an important centre of the livestock trade, it would seem, however, that Thame was probably even more notable. A. Everitt includes Thame in a list of towns specializing in the sale of cattle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and topographical works throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries refer to Thame as well frequented by graziers and butchers buying cattle.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Further, reports in J.O.J. in the second half of the eighteenth century confirm the picture of a thriving livestock market. For example, in 1767 we find a reference to the vast show of fat cattle at Thame market⁽¹⁰²⁾ and in 1797 one to the great numbers of farmers, graziers and dealers attending the market.⁽¹⁰³⁾

It is clearly noteworthy that the most successful markets sold not only a wide range of agricultural commodities but also tended to specialize and thus acquire a regional rather than a local importance in one particular product. Banbury, to which we shall turn now, is an excellent example of this.

(100) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. P.590.

(101) For example, (D. Jones) op.cit. P.99.
L.M. Vol.XVIII (1749) P.24.
The U.B.D. Vol.V P.209 referred to Thame's market as "well furnished with live cattle, and all necessaries."

(102) J.O.J. Dec. 12 1767 No.763.

(103) J.O.J. Mar. 11 1797 No.2289.

It is particularly important to note the steady progress made in the development of market towns like Banbury in view of the role they played in the decline of smaller market centres. As A. Everitt suggests,

"The rise of these regional markets - places like Banbury... and their ability to attract much of the expanding inland trade of England away from the smaller and more local centres, is one of the most striking urban developments of the period,"

from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. (104)

Markets were held regularly in Banbury from the twelfth century at latest and as early as the mid sixteenth century we find the market described as, "very celebrate." (105) The period from 1570, which was one of expansion for many market towns (106) saw Banbury extending its facilities, with the establishment of weekly wool and horse markets by the charter of 1608. (107) Furthermore, it was already by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century noted as a specialist cattle market. (108)

(104) A. Everitt, "The Banburys of England"... P.36.

(105) Ed. L. Toulmin Smith The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535-1543 (1964) Vol.II Part V Pp.38-9.

(106) A. Everitt, "Urban Growth 1570-1770," in The Local Historian Vol.8 No.4 (1969) P.118. Everitt records that many places acquired new rights such as the privilege of holding a wool market.

(107) R.K. Gilkes, "Banbury - The Pattern of Local Government 1554-1835 Part I," in Cake and Cockhorse Vol.V No.1 (Autumn 1971) P.6.

(108) A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. Pp.590-1.

In 1673 R. Blome, describing Banbury, wrote that it,

"hath a very considerable market for living cattle, sheep and provisions (but little corn) on Thursdays." (109)

The latter defect in the market must have been rectified in the course of the eighteenth century for, by the 1790's, we find it described as,

"very large, particularly for farmers, graziers, corn, cattle, butter, eggs, cheese, butcher's meat and other things. It is generally allowed to be the best market in the county, or country adjacent within thirty miles of the town." (110)

We can see the importance the market had assumed by 1800 from an advertisement in which Banbury is described as,

"one of the first Market Towns in the Kingdom, of its size, for Trade and Commerce, and probably the first for the largeness of its Market." (111)

(109) R. Blome op.cit. Pp.188-9.

(110) The U.B.D. Vol.II P.254.
Other reports show clearly that corn was an important article of sale at Banbury by the end of the eighteenth century. C. Cruttwell, for example, wrote in 1801 that Banbury market was large, particularly for corn and provisions. R.C. Cruttwell, op.cit. P.360.
In 1805 we find that Banbury market was "reckoned the best in the county for corn, cattle and all kinds of provisions." G.A. Cooke op.cit. P.19.

(111) J.O.J. Mar. 8 1800 No.2445.

An illustration of the attraction of the market to persons living up to at least 10 miles from the town in all directions is provided by Tables and Maps II and III, which show the towns and villages from whence carts went to Banbury on market days in 1798 and 1812.⁽¹¹²⁾ In 1852 Banbury was still

"noted for the extent of business transacted in cattle, corn, and all kinds of provisions at its weekly market and numerous fairs."⁽¹¹³⁾

Markets continue to be held in Banbury.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ In the other 6 towns discussed above, markets survived at least into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Hitherto we have been discussing markets held by a combination of prescriptive and/or charter rights. There is, however, evidence to suggest that villages might serve as market centres for the surrounding countryside and although these markets were doubtless unofficial, we shall complete this account of market facilities by discussing them.

Both J. Patten⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and A. Everitt⁽¹¹⁶⁾ refer to the

(112) A note on the tables is included as an appendix to Chapter II Pt. I.

(113) R. Gardner op.cit. P.425.

(114) A description of the market in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be found in Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X P.59.

(115) J. Patten "Village and Town: an occupational study," in Agricultural History Review Vol.20 (1972) P.1.

(116) A.M. Everitt "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. P.476.

Table II

Table to show the Towns and Villages from which and through which Carts went to Banbury on Thursdays (Market Day) in 1798. (1)

KEY: 'A' indicates one cart in Banbury on a Thursday.
 'B' indicates more than one cart in Banbury on a Thursday.
 'C' indicates that carts from these villages are reported visiting Banbury on several days each week; the days unspecified. It seems likely that one of the days would have been Thursday.

Oxfordshire

Adderbury	B	Hornton	A
Barford (St. John or St. Michael)	A	Ledwell	A
Bloxham	C	North Aston	A
Chipping Norton	A	North Newington	A
Cropredy	A	Sandford St. Martin	A
Drayton	A	Shenington	A
Eynsham	A	Shutford	A
Great Tew	A	Sibford (Ferris or Gower)	A
		Tadmarton	C
		Wardington	B
		Wroxton	A

Northamptonshire

Brackley	B	King's Sutton	A
Byfield	A	Middleton Cheney	A and C
Chacombe	A	Northampton	A
Chipping Warden	B	Towcester	A
Farthinghoe	A	Woodford Halse	A

Warwickshire

Avon Dassett	A	Radway	A
Farnborough	A	Tysoe (Lower, Middle or Upper)	A
Fenny Compton	A	Warmington	B
Northend	A		

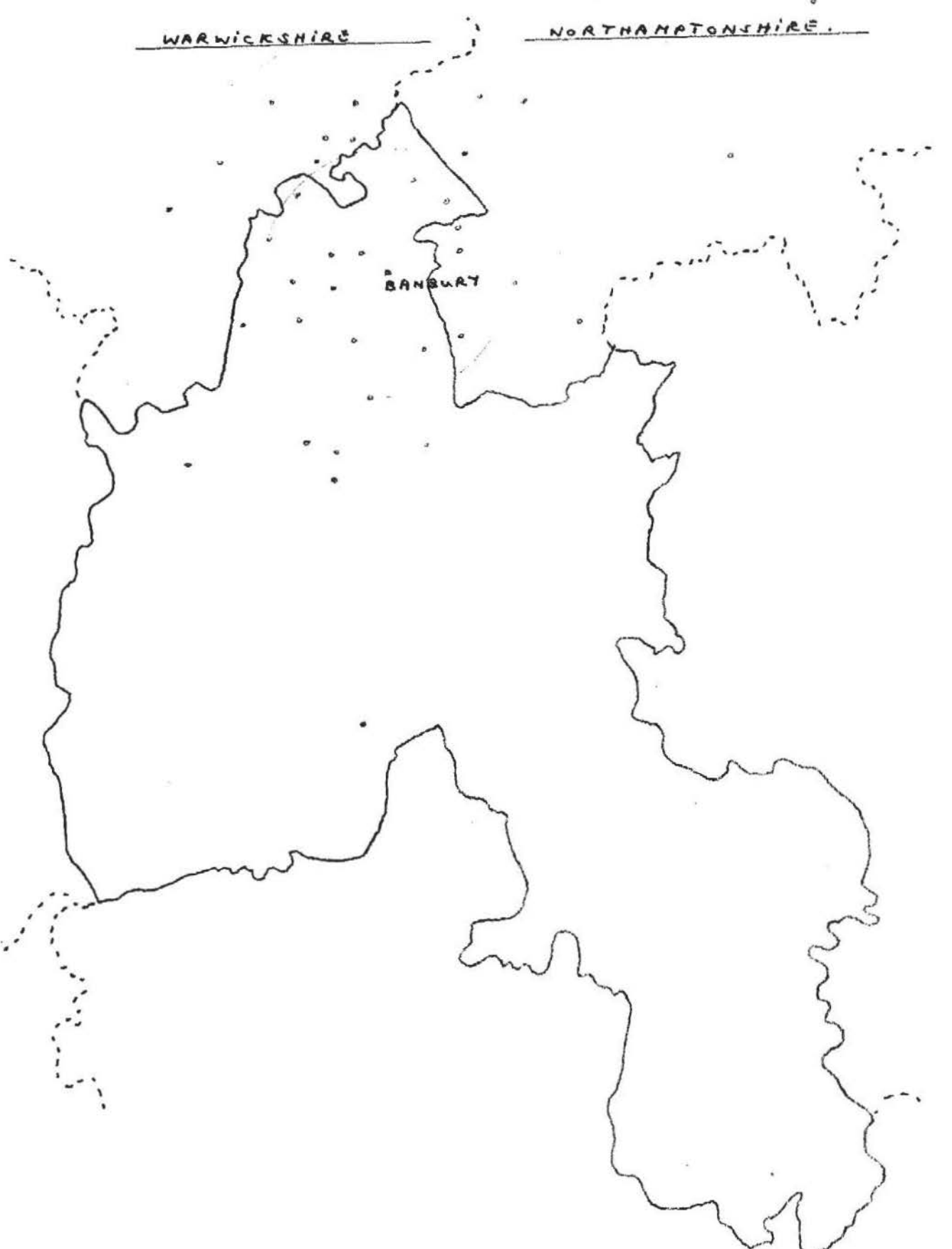
(1) Rusher's Banbury List (1798) Pp.5-8.

Carts also went from several of these towns and villages to Banbury on other days each week. However, the fact that the great majority of carts went to Banbury only on Thursdays and that very few villages sent carts to Banbury solely on other week days would appear to suggest that there was a close connection between the presence of carts in Banbury and the holding of the market.

WARWICKSHIRE

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

BANBURY



MAP TO SHOW TOWNS AND VILLAGES FROM WHICH CARTS

WENT TO BANBURY ON BANBURY MARKET DAY 1798

circles indicate distances from Banbury at 5
mile intervals.

Table III

Table to show the Towns and Villages from which and through which carts went to Banbury on Thursdays (Market Day) in 1812. (1)

KEY: 'A' indicates one cart in Banbury on a Thursday.
 'B' indicates more than one cart in Banbury on a Thursday.
 'C' indicates that carts from these villages are reported visiting Banbury on several days each week; the days unspecified. It seems likely that one of the days would have been Thursday.

<u>Oxfordshire</u>			
Adderbury	B and C	Hook Norton	A and C
Alkerton	A	Hornton	B
Balscote	B	Ledwell	A
Barford (St. John or St. Michael)	A	(Middle, North or Steeple) Aston	B
Bloxham	C	Middle Barton	A
Bodicote	A	Milcombe	A
Charlbury	A	Mollington	B
Chipping Norton	B	Sandford St. Martin	B
Claydon	A	Shenington	B
Cropredy	A	Shutford	A
Deddington	B	Sibford (Ferris or Gower)	A
Enstone	A	Tadmarton	C
Gagingwell	A	Wigginton	B
Great Bourton	B	Wroxton	A
Great Tew	A		
Hempton	A		
<u>Buckinghamshire</u>			
Tingewick	A		
<u>Northamptonshire</u>			
Appletree	A	Sinton-in-the-Hedges	B
Aynho	B and C	King's Sutton	A
Brackley	B	Marston St. Lawrence	A
Byfield	B	Middleton Cheney	C
Chacombe	A	Newbottle	A
Charlton	A	Northampton	A
Chipping Warden	A	Radstone	A
Culworth	B and C	Thenford	A
Eydon	B	Thorpe Mandeville	A and C
Farthinghoe	A	Woodford Halse	B
Greatworth	A		
<u>Warwickshire</u>			
Avon Dassett	A	Radway	B
Brailes	B	Ratley	A
Fenny Compton	B	Tysoe (Lower, Middle or Upper)	B
Kineton	A	Warmington	B
Northend	B		

(1) Rusher's Banbury List (1812) Pp.4-8.
 See Table II Note (1).

WARWICKSHIRE

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

BANBURY

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

MAP TO SHOW TOWNS AND VILLAGES FROM WHICH
CARTS WENT TO BANBURY ON BANBURY MARKET
DAY 1812

circles indicate distances from Banbury at 5 mile intervals

practice of often small villages offering unofficial facilities as service centres and markets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and evidence from Oxfordshire suggests that they may have continued to do so throughout the eighteenth century also.

Here we shall examine the possibility that unofficial markets existed at Islip, Shillingford and Tetsworth.

Islip was apparently granted the right to hold a market in 1245⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and may have functioned as an official market centre in the Mediaeval period. However, Leland fails to mention it as a market town when discussing the village in the sixteenth century⁽¹¹⁸⁾, and it is omitted from the seventeenth century lists of market towns which we have consulted. Eighteenth and early nineteenth century evidence on Islip is very much more equivocal. From 1749 onwards a number of topographical works do refer to Islip as a market town, mostly stressing that it possessed a good weekly market for sheep.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ In the absence of information from other types

(117) M. Jessup op.cit. P.55.

(118) Ed. L. Toulmin Smith op.cit. Vol.II Part V P.110. Leland refers to Islip simply as "a praty thrwgh-fayre." A. Everitt does not include Islip in his list of Oxfordshire market towns in the period 1500-1640. A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. P.475.

(119) Islip is mentioned as a market town or in possession of a good market for sheep in the following works:-
T. Read A New Description of Lancashire.. Oxfordshire. English Traveller Vol.III (1749) P.460.
The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure Vol.17 (Jul. 1755 - Dec. 1755) P.55.
England Illustrated or a Compendium of the Natural History, Geography, Topography and Antiquities ecclesiastical and civil of England and Wales (1764) Vol.II P.159 and P.168.
England Displayed Being a New, Complete and Accurate Survey and Description of the Kingdom of England... By a Society of Gentlemen (1769) Vol.I P.271.
The U.B.D. Vol.V P.90.
W. Green op.cit. P.101.
Pinnocks County Histories. The History and Topography of Oxfordshire with Biographical Sketches etc etc. (1819) P.7.

of source it is difficult to evaluate this evidence and to determine whether Islip did possess an official market for the sale of sheep and if it did when this was founded. Here we may simply note that during and after the eighteenth century, Islip was regarded as a market centre for the Otmoor villages. A history of the village suggests how this unofficial market functioned:

"Otmoor women displayed their wares on the curious brick and concrete structure round the elm in the church square and it was they, probably, who gave the tree the name 'Market Elm'." (120)

The above quotation suggests that the unofficial market at Islip was basically for the sale of small produce, such as eggs, butter and vegetables. The unofficial market at Shillingford, on the other hand, appears to have been a centre for the sale of grain.

Shillingford is situated on the Thames between Dorchester and Wallingford and there are some indications that, in the eighteenth century, it was an important river port. An advertisement for the sale of a malthouse at Shillingford wharf stressed that Shillingford was a place of considerable and extensive trade in malt and coals⁽¹²¹⁾ and a description of the course of the Thames written in 1794 includes,

"Shillingford wharf, with its commercial circumstances, next presents itself, and before it the river widens into a considerable

(120) E. Miller The History of the Village of Islip, Oxfordshire (1930) P.17.

(121) J.O.J. May 21 1785 No.1673.

breadth." (122)

There are 2 pieces of evidence which suggest that Shillingford may have become a market centre by the mid eighteenth century. Firstly, an advertisement for the sale of an estate described the estate as situated

"near Bensington and Shillingford Market" (sic - this is written in the singular). (123)

Secondly, we find that Bullock, foreman and glebe manager to James Newton, Rector of Nuneham Courtenay⁽¹²⁴⁾ is reported to have attended "Shillingford Market"⁽¹²⁵⁾ on 6 occasions between 1761 and 1762. On 3 occasions he sold nothing but, of the remaining 3, on one he sold 10 quarters of wheat and, on the other 2, unspecified amounts of wheat, barley and oats. Ascertaining the day of the week on which he visited Shillingford we find that, on each occasion, the day was Wednesday. From this we may deduce, firstly that Shillingford is not being confused with the adjacent market town of Wallingford; Wallingford's market days being Tuesday and Friday⁽¹²⁶⁾, and secondly that sales must have been

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- (122) W. Combe A History of the Principal Rivers of Great Britain Vol.I An History of the River Thames (printed for John and Josiah Boydell 1794) P.219.
- (123) J.O.J. Dec. 2 1780 No.1440. Bensington or Benson is an adjacent village, and very close to the Thames.
- (124) H. Minn, "The Diary of an Oxfordshire Rector," in Oxoniensia Vol.X (1945) P.79.
- (125) On 4 of the occasions Bullock is reported to have attended Shillingford Market, on the remaining 2 the ward market is not actually used. The 6 occasions were on May 13 1761, Oct. 28 1761, Nov. 11 1761, Dec. 2 1761, Dec. 23 1761 and Feb. 3 1762.
- (126) W. Mavor General View of the Agriculture of Berkshire, drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement (1809) P.466. "There are two weekly markets, on Tuesday and Friday: the former is very inconsiderable, the latter is well attended, and much wheat and

conducted on a regular and possibly a weekly basis. One may conclude that as Shillingford was a centre for the malting trade and also a point from which grain was sent to London farmers probably found ready purchasers if they took their corn there for sale and in this way an informally regulated but possibly relatively open market developed.

The evidence for the existence of an unofficial market at Tetsworth is very much more slight, consisting of a reference, in a tour of 1772, to the village as a "trifling market town."⁽¹²⁷⁾ As there is no suggestion that Tetsworth ever had an official market it is perhaps possible that it was acting as a small-scale unofficial marketing centre.

In conclusion, it is clear that a complex situation existed in the eighteenth century, with some towns seeing a general expansion in their markets' importance; other towns witnessing the growth of certain sections of their markets but a decline in others; and another group of towns ceasing, on the whole, to offer marketing facilities or at best no longer providing public or open markets.

In assessing the causes of this situation many factors have to be considered. Firstly, when attempting to explain why certain sections of a market developed or declined it is necessary to look at the way in which specific commodities were marketed in the eighteenth century; the alternative outlets available and the attempts made by the authorities in different towns to confine the selling of the various

(126) barley, besides other grain, sold by sample."

(127) T...Q... "A Tour in the Midland counties Performed in the summer of 1772," in The Gentleman's Magazine Vol. 44 P.412.



types of product to the market place or to combat developments likely to undermine the public sale of commodities. Secondly, when trying to explain the growth of certain market towns one has to examine the internal organization of their markets, looking at such questions as the expense involved in using the market and the variety of facilities offered, while, of course, bearing in mind that the construction of new facilities might be the product of a market's success, as well as enabling it to become even more well-attended. All these points will be considered in later chapters.

Thirdly, however, one has to look at the more general factors, which enabled one market town to attract trade while another could not; factors, that is, such as the town's accessibility; the size and composition of its population and the character of its agricultural hinterland. Here we shall offer some brief comments on these points.

Firstly, there is no question but that, with the exception of Deddington, the least successful market towns were those which were least accessible. Thus, Watlington, besides being 6 miles from a navigable waterway was approached by notoriously poor roads, ⁽¹²⁸⁾ which, it has been suggested, caused the loss to High Wycombe of much of the produce of the corn belt below the Chilterns. ⁽¹²⁹⁾ The most successful market towns, on the other hand, were those on the major roads or at the junctions of several major roads and were also frequently positioned on navigable rivers or the canal. Moreover, their

(128) J.N. Brewer *op.cit.* Vol.XII Part II P.310.
J.O.J. Apr. 22 1775 No.1146. This reference suggests that the roads around Watlington had become almost impassable.

(129) Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VIII P.232.

positions on the communications network were such that they were often enabled to specialize in particular commodities. Thus, Banbury was situated on a major cattle route from Wales to London, a factor which influenced its development as a specialist livestock market; and Henley and Oxford were both on a navigable river, an almost essential prerequisite for development as an entrepot market for corn.⁽¹³⁰⁾

Secondly, we have noted already that the size of the population was a significant factor in determining the success of a market town. Here we may note that the nature of that population may also have been relevant. Thus it would appear that markets were more resilient in towns where a large proportion of the population was engaged in trade or industry and therefore needing to purchase provisions and also where such industries as brewing or tanning, which used agricultural products as their raw materials, took place.

Thirdly, the nature of the agriculture in the surrounding area would appear to have been important. Thus it would seem that a town surrounded by fertile land and where the farms were orientated towards commercial production and capable of producing a variety of agricultural commodities, was more likely to possess a successful market. For example, in the early nineteenth century it was declared that Banbury market was much frequented because of the situation of the town in a fertile and populous agricultural district⁽¹³¹⁾ and that Burford owed its large market to its setting in a fine corn

(130) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. P.491.

(131) S. Lewis op.cit. Vol.I P.138.

Appendix I

A Note on Tables II and III

The importance of road transport from the seventeenth century onwards and the role of the carrier in transporting goods have begun to engage the attention of historians only in the last six years. However, since 1973, J. Chartres has made a study of the carrier services operating between London and provincial centres in the seventeenth century⁽¹⁾; G.L. Turnbull has extended Chartres' work into the eighteenth century and investigated the development of inter-provincial carrier services⁽²⁾; A. Everitt has made a study of the Victorian carrier⁽³⁾ and M.J. Freeman has produced a paper on the carrier system of Hampshire.⁽⁴⁾

On the subject of market carrier services, M.J. Freeman suggests that in Hampshire, at least, these began to develop particularly in the 1820's and 1830's⁽⁵⁾ and A. Everitt is also referring to the nineteenth century when he describes the three most important functions of the village carrier as those of carrying local people to town on market day, acting as shopping agents for those who could not visit the town themselves, and supplying farm produce to the local market

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- (1) J. Chartres, "Road carrying in England in the Seventeenth century: Myth and Reality," in Economic History Review 2nd ser. Vol.XXX No.1 (Feb. 1977).
 - (2) G.L. Turnbull, "Provincial Road Carrying in England in the Eighteenth Century," in The Journal of Transport History N.S. Vol.IV No.1 (Feb. 1977).
 - (3) A. Everitt, "Country Carriers in the Nineteenth Century," in J.T.H. N.S. Vol.III No.3 (1976).
A. Everitt, "Town and Country in Victorian Leicestershire: The Role of the Village Carrier," in Ed. A. Everitt Perspectives in English Urban History (1973).
 - (4) M.J. Freeman, "The Carrier System of South Hampshire, 1775-185," in J.T.H. N.S. Vol.IV No.2 (Sept. 1977).
 - (5) Ibid. P.66.

centres.⁽⁶⁾ Nevertheless, it would seem likely; primarily because of the high proportion of carts going to Banbury on Thursdays only; that many of the carriers reported to have been visiting Banbury in 1798 and 1812 were performing this type of market function.

The very large increase in the number of carrier services recorded in 1812 may suggest that there had been an increase in the services provided between 1798 and 1812 but as it has been suggested⁽⁷⁾ that trade directories, from which the material is drawn, can be unreliable, it is possible that we are seeing not a substantial increase in services but more full and accurate reporting of already existing services.⁽⁸⁾

The importance of this material is that it does show clearly the very large number of towns and villages in permanent contact by road with a major market town.

(6) A. Everitt, "Town and Country in Victorian Leicestershire..." Pp.218-9.

(7) For example, by G.L. Turnbull Loc.cit. P.24. Turnbull suggests that, "The most likely difficulties seem to occur from random errors, or changes in the method of compilation."

(8) On this point one may note that M.J. Freeman did not find any increase in the carrier services of Hampshire between 1798 and 1812. M.J. Freeman Loc.cit. P.64.

Chapter II Part II Fairs

The other marketing institution, officially provided, was the periodic fair. Table I illustrates where fairs were held in Oxfordshire, the numbers of fairs held in each town and village and the commodities for which they were particularly notable, and also details the changes which took place during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

<u>Table I(1)</u>			
<u>Date on which fair was held and/or title of fair.</u> (Where possible the fairs are given as they occurred throughout the year.)	<u>Year in which the fair was founded or in which reference to the fair can first be found.</u> (No attempt has been made to give an exact date of origin for fairs founded pre 18th century.)	<u>Year in which the fair was last held or in which reference to it is last found.</u> (Some of these fairs could have been held beyond the date of the last reference.)	<u>Commodities for which the fair was particularly notable and/or type of fair.</u>
<u>BLOXHAM</u>			
*Sept. 29	(A) <u>Village Fairs</u> 1677	c 1800. This is possibly inaccurate, all other references to this fair occurring before 1730.	Statute.
<u>CROWMARSH GIFFORD OR LONG CROWMARSH</u>			
*Jul. 22 until 1753. Aug. 2 from 1753 onwards.	Probably Mediaeval. References throughout the 18th century. In the early 18th century it was referred to as the most considerable fair in the county.	Mentioned 1888.	Horses, pigs, cheese and toys. In 1852 also mentioned as for cattle.

(1) The information contained on this table is from a very wide range of sources, particularly topographical works, local histories and newspapers. All the sources are contained in the bibliography and are too numerous to detail here.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
<u>DORCHESTER</u>			
* (1) Easter Tuesday.	Foundation probably pre 18th century. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1888.	Pleasure and toys.
(2) Last Wednesday in July. The Oxfordshire wool fair.	Founded 1806.	Not mentioned by 1852.	Wool.
* (3) Michaelmas	Founded 1757.	These are probably the same fair and the reference in 1773 may suggest that the Michaelmas fair of 1757 failed to become established.	Hiring, horses, cows sheep and hogs.
(4) Oct. 1	Founded 1773.		Cattle, merchandise and hiring.
<u>FINSTOCK</u>			
* Thursday before Old Michaelmas (Oct. 10)	Founded 1790.	Mentioned 1791 but no further references.	Cattle, merchandise and hiring.
<u>GARSINGTON</u>			
* Whit Tuesday	Founded 1776.	No further references.	Cattle, wares and merchandise.
<u>HOOK NORTON</u>			
* (1) June 29. Altered in 1793 to the 2nd Tuesday after May 12 although it is not clear if the change was implemented. Known as the Cherry fair.	Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Recorded 1852 but not 1888.	Horses and cattle.
* (2) Nov. 17. Changed c 1753 to Nov. 28.	Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Recorded 1852 but not 1888.	Horses and cattle.
<u>LOWER HEYFORD</u>			
6 fairs. Last Mondays in Jan., March, April, May, July and September.	Founded 1845.	All mentioned 1888 except the fair on the last Monday in January. It would appear that the weekly markets had also become monthly fairs.	Cattle.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
MIDDLETON STONEY Eve and day of St. Thomas the Martyr.	Fair of Mediaeval origin.	Mentioned as probably dis- continued in 1727 but it is unlikely that it was held at all in the 18th century.	

NETTLEBED

* (1) Tuesday week after Whitsun.	Founded 1773.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888.	Founded for horses, cows, sheep and all merchandise. Degenerated rapidly into a small pleasure/ toy fair.
* (2) Founded Monday before St. Luke old style. Usually given as Monday after St. Luke (Oct. 18).	Founded 1754.	Mentioned 1888.	Hiring, cattle and sheep. Soon degenerated into a small toy/pleasure fair.

NEWBRIDGE - SOMETIMES GIVEN AS OXFORDSHIRE, SOMETIMES BERKSHIRE

(1) Probably Mar. 20 and from c 1753 Mar. 31.	Mentioned from 1728.	Mentioned 1785. Probably held later than this.	
(2) Sept. 17 and from c 1753 Sept. 28.		Mentioned 1768. Probably held later than this.	Cattle, merchandise, etc.

STOKENCHURCH

* (1) Jun. 29 (St. Peter's Day.) From c 1753 Jul. 10.	Probably a Mediaeval fair. Mentioned from the early 18th century.	Continued into the 20th century.	Cattle and particularly horses.
* (2) Mentioned as Sept. 26; Sept. 29 and Oct. 5. Hence a Michaelmas fair.	1st mentioned and probably founded in 1753.	Last reference in 1779.	Founded for horses, cows sheep and hogs. Pre- dominantly a hiring fair

WHEATLEY

* Sept. 29.	Founded 1768.	Mentioned 1852 but discontinued by 1888.	Founded for horses, cattle and hiring. Predominantly a cattle and hiring fair.
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<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
<u>WOODCOTE</u>			
* (1) Aug. 2	1st mentioned in 1792.	Mentioned 1852 but discontinued by 1888.	Sheep, etc.
* (2) Monday after St. Leonard's Day (Nov. 6). Probably changed in c 1753 to Monday after Nov. 16.	Probably Mediaeval. Mentioned from the beginning of the 18th century.	Mentioned 1888.	Cattle, sheep, etc.

WYCHWOOD FOREST

Wednesday in mid September.	c 1800.	Discontinued 1855.	Hosiery, flannels, cloth, pleasure. This fair had most probably little agricultural significance.
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(B) Fairs in Market TownsBAMPTON

(1) Mar. 26	Founded 1803.	Mentioned 1852, although another source declares that no trace of the fair could be found by the mid 19th century.	Horses and cattle.
* (2) Aug. 15. From 1756 Aug. 26.	Mediaeval Charter fair. Mentioned from the beginning of the 18th century.	Continued into the 20th century as a 2-day fair on Aug. 25 and 26.	Mentioned for toys and cattle but of particular importance for horses
* (3) Wednesday before Old Michaelmas (Oct. 10) Ox-roast.	Mentioned in 1798 but in terms which indicate an earlier foundation.	Mentioned in 1804. It is unlikely that this fair survived long beyond 1804.	Statute. Also cattle from 1799 and cheese from 1800.

BANBURY

* (1) 1st Thursday after Twelfth Day (Jan. 6). From 1753 1st Thursday after old Twelfth Day (Jan. 17). This was a 4-day fair being also held on the 3 days prior to the Thursday.	Mentioned from the mid 16th century. Important throughout the 18th century.	Still a 2-day fair in 1927.	Predominantly a horse fair. Also for cows and sheep. In the 17th century it was also for leather.
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<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
* (2) 1st Thursday in Lent. In 1836 this fair was transferred to the 3rd Thursday in February. Fish Fair.	Mentioned from the mid 16th century. Important throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but discontinued by 1888.	Horses, cows, sheep and fish.
* (3) Lady Day. Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Mar. 25). 3-day fair.	Granted in Charter of 1608. Confirmed in Charter of 1718.	Mentioned 1749, although it had been reported as discontinued in 1683.	Horses, cattle and corn.
* (4) Thursday nearest old Lady Day.	In the 1790's this was mentioned as a market day equal in importance to a fair.	Most probably replaced by (5).	
(5) 3rd Thursday in March.	Mentioned 1836.	Mentioned in 1848. Discontinued by 1850.	Cattle and hiring.
* (6) 1st Thursday before Easter. From 1792 Thursday before Palm Sunday.	Founded 1791.	Mentioned 1852 but it may by this time have been replaced by (7).	Fat sheep and cattle. There is a reference to this as Mr. Pratt's fair; a (general) market for cattle.
(7) 3rd Thursday in April.	Mentioned 1836.	Either (6) or (7) was held in the mid 19th century. Discontinued by 1888.	Cattle.
* (8) Holy Thursday or Ascension Day Fair.	Mediaeval in origin. Founded as a 2-day fair. Held throughout the 18th century.	Declined from c 1864.	Horses, Cows, sheep, fish and pleasure
* (9) 1st Thursday after Trinity Sunday (sometimes given as Friday also); or Corpus Christi, or probably fair mentioned in several lists as being held on c June 13.	Held by 1674 and most probably earlier. Important throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned in 1852, although probably replaced in 1836 by (10).	Horses, cows and sheep.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
(10) 3rd Thursday in June.	Mentioned 1836.	Mentioned 1848. Discontinued by 1888.	Cattle.
(11) 1st Wednesday in July. Wool fair.	Founded 1845.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888.	Wool.
(12) 2nd Thursday in July.	Founded 1821.	Probably held until 1836 when replaced by (13).	Horned cattle, sheep and horses.
(13) 3rd Thursday in July.	Mentioned 1836.	Given in 1848. Not mentioned in 1852 by which time the wool sale aspect had probably been taken over by (11).	Cattle and wool.
* (14) Aug. 1. Lammas Day. St. Peter and Vincula. Sometimes given as 2-day fair Aug. 1 and 2. From 1753 Aug. 12.	Granted by Charter of 1554. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but probably replaced in 1836 by (17).	Horses, cows and sheep.
(15) Aug. 10.	Mentioned 1704. There is no other evidence on this fair and it is possible that the 2 references are incorrect.	Mentioned 1727.	
(16) Aug. 24.	Mentioned 1704. There is no other evidence on this fair and it is possible that this reference is incorrect.		
(17) 3rd Thursday in August.	Mentioned 1836.	Mentioned 1848 but not 1852.	Cattle.
(18) Sept. 20.	Mentioned 1727. It is possible these references are incorrect.	Mentioned 1749.	
(19) 2nd Thursday in September "Large Market"	Founded 1805.	Probably replaced in 1836 by (20).	Cattle.
(20) 3rd Thursday in September.	Mentioned 1836.	Mentioned 1848 but not 1852.	Cattle.
* (21) Thursday after Michaelmas Day (Sept. 29). Mentioned as Oct. 1.	Mentioned in 1677 and throughout the 18th century.	Still mentioned in 1888.	Important for hogs, cheese and hiring. Also mentioned as Mr. Judd's

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
Became in 1753 Thurs. after old Michaelmas (Oct. 10). Hop Fair.			fair - a show for fat cattle. By the mid 19th century most notable for livestock and corn.
* (22) St. Luke's Fair (Oct. 18). From 1753 Oct. 29.	Granted 1554. Mentioned late 17th century and throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but probably replaced in 1836 by (23).	Cheese, hops and cattle. Also given a runaway mop (that is a hiring fair for servants unable to find a master at the Michael- mas fair).
(23) 3rd Thurs- day after Old Michaelmas.	Mentioned 1836.	Mentioned 1848. Discontinued by 1888.	Cattle.
(24) 3rd Thurs- day in Nov.	Mentioned 1836.	Mentioned 1848 but discontinued by 1888.	Cattle.
* (25) Thursday week before Feast of St. Nicholas the Bishop (Dec. 6). Also given as Thursday before St. Andrew's Day (Nov. 30).	Granted 1608. Confirmed in Charter of 1718.	Mentioned 1728 although another source mentions it as discontinued in 1683.	
* (26) 2nd Thursday before Christmas.	This was origin- ally an ordinary market day which in the 1790's became so well- attended that in the late 18th and 19th centuries it was regarded as a fair.	Mentioned 1888.	Fat cattle.
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<u>BICESTER</u> * (1) Friday in Easter Week.	Founded 1763.	Mentioned 1888.	Horses, cows sheep, pigs, wool, toys, etc. Became a noted cattle fair.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
* (2) Whit Monday	Mentioned 1792. Probably existed before this date.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888.	Horses, cows, sheep, pigs, wool, toys, etc.
* (3) Founded as 3rd Friday in June but after 2 years became the 1st Friday in June.	Founded 1762.	Mentioned 1888 although reported as little attended in 1816.	Founded as a statute fair, but predominantly for horses, sheep cattle and pigs. Also given as for wool and toys
(4) 1st Friday in July.	Founded 1845.	Mentioned 1888.	Founded as a wool and cattle fair.
* (5) Vigil of St. James (Jul. 24). Changed c 1753 to Aug. 5. Known as Kingsend Fair.	A fair of 14th century origin. Mentioned throughout the 18th century as one of the most important Oxfordshire fairs.	Reported to have declined in significance in the 1790's but in 1888 it was a 2-day fair (Aug. 5-6) and was still being held for sheep in 1927.	In 1756 it was described as for tanned leather and horses. By the end of the 18th century it was no longer significant for leather. The commodities sold at this fair included horses, cows pigs, sheep, wool, cheese manufactured goods and toys
3* (6) Michaelmas Fairs. For the greater part of the 18th century it is unclear exactly how many Michaelmas fairs were being held. From 1728 until 1749 2 fairs are recorded on the Fridays before and after Michaelmas. Several accounts after c 1753 refer to only one fair, the Friday after old Michaelmas. By the 1790's at latest 3 fairs were being held - the 3 Fridays after New Michaelmas.	These fairs developed from the contacts made between farmers and labourers on normal market days, probably very early in the 18th century or possibly during the 17th century.	Mentioned 1888.	Hiring.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
* (7) Friday after St. Andrew's Day (Nov. 30) old style.	Founded 1764.	Mentioned 1888 although it was reported as little attended in 1816.	Particularly for horses, sheep and fat and lean cattle.
<hr/> <u>BURFORD</u>			
* (1) Last Sat- urday in April.	Founded 1785.	Mentioned 1888.	Founded as an Ox-roast and for cattle and corn. Notable for sheep and cattle.
* (2) St. John the Baptist (Jun. 25). From c 1753 Jul. 5.	Mediaeval Charter fair. Recorded throughout the 18th century.	Recorded 1861.	Notable for horses, sheep, cattle and pedlary. Also for collecting fees and hiring.
(3) Aug. 1.	Mentioned 1713. There is no other evidence on this fair and it is possible this reference is incorrect.		
* (4) Sept. 14. After c 1753 Sept. 25 Holyrood Fair (Holy Cross Fair).	Mediaeval Charter fair. Recorded throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1888.	In the early 18th century this fair was important for saddles. Throughout the 18th century it was noted for cheese, toys and hops In the 19th century it is also mentioned to have been for horses, sheep & cattle
2* (5) Saturday before and after Michael- mas Day. From c 1753 Saturday before and after Old Michaelmas.	Mentioned 1728. Probably in existence before this date.	Mentioned 1888.	Hiring.
(6) 1st Satur- day in December.	Founded 1822.	No further references found.	Cattle, sheep horses and cheese.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
<u>CHARLBURY</u>			
* (1) 2nd Friday in Lent.	Granted 1678. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888.	Corn, cattle and horses.
* (2) 2nd Friday in May. From 1753 2nd Friday after May 12.	Granted 1678. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 although one source reports it to have ceased c 1823.	Corn, cattle and horses.
* (3) Last Friday in July. Known as the Ram Fair. From 1778 known as the Ox Roast.	Founded 1753. It is possible that this fair failed to become esta- blished and was refounded in 1778.	Mentioned 1790. It appears to have continued into the 20th century as a pleasure fair.	Cattle, horses and merchandise.
(4) Feast of the Assumption (Aug. 15). 4-day fair 14-17 Aug.	1256.	It is claimed that this ceased during the Civil War.	
* (5) Sept. 29. From 1753 Oct. 10.	Granted 1678. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but discontinued by 1888.	Corn, horses and most particularly cheese and cattle.
* (6) Feast of St. Thomas (Dec. 21). Changed in 1753 to Jan. 1.	Granted 1678. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1888.	Corn, horses and cattle.

<u>CHIPPING NORTON</u>			
(1) Last Wed- nesday in January Great Market.	Founded 1811.	See note (2).	Agricultural produce.
* (2) St. Matthias (Feb. 24). Changed c 1753 to Mar. 7.	Mentioned in 1713 and throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. See note (2).	Horses, cows, sheep, pigs, cheese and leather.
(3) Last Wed- nesday in March Great Cheese Market.	Founded 1802. 1st held 1803.	See note (2).	Sheep and cattle. Particularly noted for cheese.
(4) 2nd Wed- nesday in April. Great Market.	Founded 1820.	See note (2).	Cattle and sheep.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
* (5) St. Mark's Day (Apr. 25). Altered c 1753 to May 6.	Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. See note (2).	Horses, cows, sheep, lambs, swine, leather, cheese.
* (6) Last Friday in May. Lodge's Fair.	Granted by Charles II (1678). Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. See note (2).	Horses, cows, sheep, lambs, swine, leather and cheese.
(7) 2nd Wednesday in June.	Founded 1820.	See note (2).	Sheep and cattle.
(8) Wednesday before and after Midsummer Day.	Mentioned 1728. As both these sources are of dubious accuracy this reference may be incorrect.	Mentioned c 1800.	Statute.
* (9) Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury. (Jul. 7). Altered in c 1753 to Jul. 18.	Mentioned in Charter of 1606 as a 3-day fair held from time immemorial. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. See note (2).	Horses, cows, sheep, lambs, swine, leather and cheese.
(10) 2nd Wednesday in August.	Founded 1820.	See note (2).	Sheep and cattle.
* (11) St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24). Changed c 1753 to either Sept. 4 or Sept. 5.	Granted as a 3-day fair in the Charter of 1606. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. See note (2).	Horses, cows, sheep, lambs, swine, leather and cheese.
(12) Last Wednesday in September. Great cheese market.	Founded 1802.	See note (2).	Cattle and sheep and particularly cheese.
(13) Oct. 3. From 1848 referred to as Wednesday before and after Oct. 10.	Mentioned 1805. Probably commenced before this date.	Still held 1888. See note (2).	Statute. Horses, cows, sheep, lambs, leather and cheese.
* (14) St. Simon and St. Jude (Oct. 28). From c 1753 Nov. 8.	Granted as a 3-day fair in Charter of 1606. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. See note (2).	Horses, cows, sheep, lambs, swine, leather and cheese.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
(15) Last Friday in November Lodge's Fair.	Granted by Charles II (1678) Mentioned through-out the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. See note (2).	Horses, cows, sheep, lambs, swine, leather and cheese.
(16) Wednesday after Dec. 11. Great Market.	Founded 1825.	Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. See note (2).	Cows, sheep, horses, corn, goods and merchandise.

DEDDINGTON

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| * (1) Whit Monday. | Mentioned 1726, 1746 and 1749. These are the only references to this fair. | Mentioned 1804. | |
| * (2) St. Lawrence's Day (Aug. 10). Changed in c 1753 to Aug. 21. | Mentioned by 1591 and throughout the 18th century. | Mentioned 1852 but not 1888. | Horses and cows. |
| (3) Saturday after St. Matthew's Day (Sept. 21) old style. | Founded 1760. | It seems possible that this fair failed to become established and that a statute fair at Deddington did not enjoy a continuous existence until c 1779. | Statute. |
| * (4) Saturday after Michaelmas old style (Oct. 10). Ox-roast. | Mentioned 1775 although another source appears to indicate it was founded in 1779. | Mentioned 1852 but discontinued by 1888. | Cattle. |
| * (5) St. Martin's Day (Nov. 11). Changed c 1753 to Nov. 22. Pudding Pie Fair. | Mentioned by 1591 and through-out the 18th century. | Continued into the 20th century. | Horses, cows, sheep, hogs, winter clothing. |

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- (2) Although we have seen that the traditional fairs were recorded as late as 1852 it would appear that they were in fact replaced in 1835 by monthly sheep and cattle markets or fairs held on the last Wednesday of each month, except December, when the meeting continued to be held on the Wednesday after December 11. In 1852 it was also reported that the market day after January 1 was sufficiently well attended to be regarded as a fair. In 1888 monthly fairs, on the first Wednesday in each month, were still held in Chipping Norton, as were the two statute fairs.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
<u>HENLEY</u>			
* (1) St. Matthias (Feb. 24). From 1760 Mar. 7.	Mediaeval Fair. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Continued into the 20th century.	Chiefly horses Mentioned for cattle after 1848.
* (2) Holy Thursday.	Mentioned 1728 and throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1888.	Sheep.
(3) Thursday after Whit Sunday .	Mentioned 1756. There are no other references to this fair which may suggest that it is actually that held on Trinity Thursday.	Mentioned 1760.	Sheep and horses.
* (4) Trinity Thursday (Thursday after Trinity Sunday). Corpus Christi.	Mediaeval 3-day fair. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1888.	Horses and black cattle.
(5) Thursday before Mid-summer Day (Jun. 21).	Mentioned 1713. There is no other evidence on this fair and it is possible the two references are incorrect.	Mentioned 1728.	Sheep and horses.
* (6) 1st Thursday after St. Matthew (Sept. 21). Also given as Thursday before Michaelmas and Thursday week before Oct. 10.	Probably the fair granted by Henry VIII to be held on the eve of St. Matthew. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1861 but discontinued by 1888.	Cheese, horses, hiring and pleasure.

OXFORD

(1) Easter Tuesday.	Mentioned 1713. The absence of any other evidence on this fair would appear to suggest these references to be erroneous.	Mentioned 1728.	
* (2) May 3. Gloucester Green Fair.	Granted by Letters Patent 1601. Mentioned throughout the 18th century, although it is not certain that the fair was held continuously.	Abolished 1915.	Mentioned in 1686 as for horses, cattle and baubæes. Probably degenerated into a fair for small ware and toys.
(3) Austin, Augustin or May Fair (Arch-bishop Augustin May 26).	Granted 1474. Insignificant by the mid 17th century.	Not held by the 18th century.	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
(4) July 2	Granted 1601. This probably never became properly established, although there are references in the 1680's to the profits of the Gloucester Green fairs.	Not held by the 18th century.	
(5) Aug. 24. St. Bartholomew's Day.	Mentioned 1704. Although there are several references to this fair in topographical works between these 2 dates it is not certain that Oxford ever held a St. Bartholomew's Day fair.	Mentioned 1759.	
* (6) St. Giles' Feast or Wake (Monday after Sept. 1).	Mentioned in 1625 and throughout the 18th century. Most notable from the late 18th century onwards.	Held in the 20th century.	Small ware and toys. The trade aspects of this fair were negligible.
* (7) St. Clement's Fair. Thurs- day before Michaelmas. Became Thurs- day before New Michaelmas.	Mentioned in 1723 and throughout the 18th century.	Held 1888.	Toys and small ware. Also a statute fair Mentioned in 1848 as for cattle.
(8) St. Frideswide's Fair (Oct. 19). Originally held for 1 week.	Granted 1122. Declined in the 17th century. Probably held in a slight degree until approximately 1730.	Commemorated by a couple of stalls as late as the mid 19th century.	
(9) Given variously as Oct. 23 and Oct. 28.	Granted 1601. This probably never became properly established although there are references in the 1680's to the profits of the Gloucester Green fairs.	Not held by the 18th century. ⁽³⁾	

(3) From the above it is clear that throughout the eighteenth century Oxford held no significant agricultural fair. Attempts were apparently made to rectify this. In 1684 the city petitioned for a horse fair to be held on the first Tuesday and Wednesday in Lent

<u>Date</u> <u>THAME</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
* (1) Easter Tuesday. Founded as a 2-day fair.	1st mentioned and possibly founded in 1746.	Mentioned 1860. Ceased by 1888.	Founded for horses, cows pigs and sheep. Also for pleasure
* (2) Tuesday in Whit Week.	Founded 1774. This fair must have failed to become established. It was re-founded in both 1782 and 1821.	Mentioned 1848, but not 1852.	Founded in 1774 and 1782 for cattle and merchandise. In 1821 it was specifically for barren and milch cows
* (3) 1st Tuesday after Jul. 31. From 1782 last Tuesday in July. In 1826 changed from 1st Tuesday in Aug. to 1st Tuesday in July.	Founded 1774. This fair must have failed to become established. It was refounded in 1782.	Mentioned 1848, but not 1852.	Cattle and merchandise. In the 19th century it was referred to as a market for fat cattle.
* (4) Sept. 29. From c 1727 fairs were also said to have been held on the 1st and 2nd Tuesdays after the 29th. From c 1753 only one fair is mentioned on old Michaelmas (Oct. 10).	In existence by the 16th century. Recorded as important throughout the 18th century.	Existed in the 20th century although of decreasing importance from the mid 19th century.	Statute fair Horses, fat hogs, cattle
(5) 1st Tuesday after Dec. 6. Christmas fatstock market.	Mentioned 1849.	No further references.	Fatstock.

- (3) but the petition was rejected. Again, Sir J. Peshall records that attempts were made to establish and later to restore a fair for livestock on Gloucester Green but that this was unsuccessful. Rev. Sir J. Peshall The Ancient and Present State of the City of Oxford (1773) P.338. It was not until the twentieth century that Oxford finally established an agricultural fair - one for pedigree sheep on the second Wednesday in August.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
<u>WATLINGTON</u>			
* (1) Lady Day (Mar. 25). From c 1790 Apr. 5.	Probably originated as a wake. Mentioned 1718 and throughout the 18th century.	Reported as discontinued c 1816 but given as a fair for horses and fat hogs in 1852.	Pleasure and toys. In 1805 given for cattle and hiring servants.
* (2) St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24).	Mediaeval 3-day fair. Mentioned regularly in the 1st half of the 18th century.	Mentioned 1749 but not afterwards.	
* (3) In 1718 given as Saturday before Michaelmas. From c 1759 given as Old Michaelmas Day (Oct. 10). From c 1790 given as Saturday before Old Michaelmas Day.	Existed in 1718 and probably earlier.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Horses, hogs cattle. Hiring servants.
* (4) Saturday after Old Michaelmas Day (Oct. 10).	Probably founded in 1767. Mentioned regularly in the early 19th century.	Mentioned in 1848 but not in 1852.	Cattle and hiring servants

<u>WITNEY</u>			
* (1) Thursday in Easter Week. Ox roast.	Mentioned from c 1756.	Mentioned 1888.	Horses, cows pigs.
* (2) Apr. 5.	Mentioned 1775 Next reference 1792.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	All sorts of cattle.
* (3) Holy Thursday. Ascension Day.	Mentioned 1713 and spasmodically through the 18th century.	Mentioned 1848 but not in 1852.	Horses, cows, pigs
* (4) St. Peter's Day (Jun. 29). In the 1790's and again in 1848 a fair is given on Jul. 10. In 1852 fairs are recorded to have been held on both June 29 and Thursday after Jul. 9. It would seem likely that all these references are to the same fair.	Mentioned 1713 and throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Horses, cows pigs.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
* (5) Aug. 2.	Mentioned 1775. Next reference 1791.	Mentioned 1852 as Aug. 24.	Cattle of all sorts.
* (6) Given variously as Sept. 8, 1st Thursday in Sept., Thurs- day after Sept. 8.	Established 1726. Mentioned 1727. The next refer- ence to this fair, not being until 1790, it is possible that the fair founded in 1726 failed to become established and was therefore re-founded in the late 18th century.	Mentioned 1888. By this time held on the Monday and Tuesday after Sept. 8.	Established for cattle, cheese and merchandise. Also given as for horses, cows and pigs
* (7) Thursday before Oct. 10. (In c 1800 the Thursday following Michaelmas is also recorded as a fair.)	Mentioned 1790.	In 1888 given as Thursdays before and after Michaelmas Day.	Horses, cows pigs. Statute.
* (8) St. Clement's Day (Nov. 23).	Mentioned from the start of the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Cattle and cheese.
(9) A wake the fortnight before Christmas.	Mentioned 1718.	No further references.	
* (10) Dec. 4 or Thursday after Dec. 1.	Mentioned 1790.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Horses, (4) cows pigs.

WOODSTOCK

* (1) 2nd Tues- day after Candlemas (Feb. 2).	Mentioned 1780.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Very large market for cattle.
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- (4) Witney also witnessed the establishment of monthly great markets or fairs for cattle and sheep in 1839. These monthly markets are recorded in 1848, but, unlike at Chipping Norton they do not appear to have superseded the traditional fairs.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Termination</u>	<u>Specialization</u>
* (2) Lady Day. (Mar. 25). From 1757 Apr. 5.	Granted by Elizabeth I. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Cheese, cattle and sheep. In 1720 it was designated a leather fair
* (3) Tuesday in Whit Week. (occasionally given as Monday in Whit Week.)	Mentioned 1713 and throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	All sorts of cattle. In 1805 described as for horses hardware and pleasure.
* (4) St. Mary Magdalen (Jul. 22). Given variously as Jul. 20, 21 and 26. From 1757 Aug. 2.	Mediaeval charter fair. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Fruit, especially cherries. Designated a leather fair in 1720.
* (5) St. Matthew's Day (Sept. 21). In 1728 given as Sept. 21 and the following Tuesday. Some- times recorded as Sept. 20. From 1757 Oct. 2.	Mediaeval charter fair. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1888 as the 1st Tuesday in Oct. Continued into the 20th century.	Statute. Major cheese fair.
* (6) Tuesday after All Hallows or All Saints or All Holland Day (Nov. 1). Also given as Tuesday after All Souls Day (Nov. 2).	Mentioned 1728 and throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Cheese, cattle and sheep.
* (7) St. Nicholas's Day (Dec. 6). From 1757 Dec. 17.	Granted by Elizabeth I. Mentioned throughout the 18th century.	Mentioned 1852. Discontinued by 1888.	Cheese, hogs, cattle

Although Table I carries the history of Oxfordshire fairs into the first half of the nineteenth century, the following discussion is based largely upon the information on the 88 fairs which can be shown to have had a definite existence in the eighteenth century. (5)

(5) These 88 fairs are marked with an asterisk on Table I.

Initially the table would appear to suggest that, unlike the market, which, as we have seen, witnessed some decline in the eighteenth century, the fair saw a major expansion. Of the 88 fairs, 33 were definitely founded during the course of the eighteenth century, most of them apparently after 1750. (6) Reinforcing the point, only 3 fairs which had a viable existence at the start of the eighteenth century declined in the course of the century.

However, as with the markets, the initial impression requires modification.

If we look firstly at Section A of Table I we find that fairs were held in a number of villages, ranging in size from the very small Crowmarsh Gifford with a population in 1801 of 204 persons to the large parish of Bloxham with a population in 1801 of 1157. (7) Moreover, the impression is that the number of villages holding fairs increased significantly in the later eighteenth century. The expansion in the number of village fairs would seem, however, to have been more apparent than real as several of the fairs founded in the eighteenth century failed to become established and others lost much of their agricultural importance, degenerating into

(6) It is possible, however, that a large number of fairs were founded in the first half of the eighteenth century also but that their foundation was less heavily publicized than that of the later eighteenth century fairs because of the paucity of local newspapers. If these fairs failed to become established or existed for a short time only evidence on them may have been lost completely.

(7) Census of Great Britain 1801. Abstract of the Answers and Returns Made Pursuant to an Act 41 Geo. III. Enumeration Part I England and Wales Pp.280-288.

small gatherings for pleasure. Furthermore, apart from the fair at Crowmarsh Gifford in the early eighteenth century, the majority of the village fairs appear to have been like those held in neighbouring Berkshire, described by W. Mavor in the early nineteenth century as,

"of little consequence except to their immediate vicinity." (8)

Turning to Section B we find that the number of fairs held in the market towns was also apparently increasing, and that this was the case even in those towns whose markets were in decline. Again, however, closer examination reveals a more complex picture.

Firstly it is clear that the market towns, like the villages, witnessed the foundation of several fairs which failed to become established. Secondly, it is evident that many of the county's great mediaeval charter fairs had declined almost to extinction by the seventeenth century and that the fairs which were being held in the eighteenth century were actually not fairs in origin. Thus, Volume X of the Victoria History of the County of Oxford suggests that of the 7 fairs held in Banbury in the early eighteenth century, 5, being on the usual market day of Thursday, had clearly originated as specialized market days⁽⁹⁾, and an examination of the evidence from other towns reveals that it was quite usual for a particular market day, which became noted for a certain commodity and thus attracted a larger trade than was usual at a market, to be

(8) W. Mavor op.cit. P.471.

(9) Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X P.59.

regarded as a fair. For example, this phenomenon may be noted at Bicester, where the majority of fairs established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were on the normal market day of Friday, or at Thame, where the 3 fairs founded in the eighteenth century were all on Tuesdays, that is market day. (10)

The practice of regarding markets which were particularly well attended and which specialized in one commodity, as fairs continued into the nineteenth century. By the middle of that century, however, both the fair and often the weekly market were being superseded by monthly livestock sales.

Thus, Viscount Torrington was substantially correct when he claimed, in the late eighteenth century, that a fair was no more than a larger market. (11) In fact, the major distinctions between markets and fairs, at this stage, were that fairs were held at longer intervals, were rather more seasonal in character and the larger ones, at least, attracted sellers and purchasers from outside the market area of a normal weekly market.

(10) N.F. Hulbert observed the same sort of situation in Somerset. Commenting on the 3 fairs at Crowcombe, he wrote, "Whatever be the origin of the mushroom-like growths of this (the eighteenth) century it is significant to note that here the first two days are the traditional market-days (that is Monday and Friday) recorded in the early grants, while the third is of course simply the eve of All Saints (that is the traditional charter fair) and indicates that the original fair has shrunk from three days to one." N.F. Hulbert, "A survey of Somerset Fairs," in Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings Vol.LXXXII (1938) P.146.

(11) Ed. C. Bruyn Andrews. The Torrington Diaries. Containing the Tours through England and Wales of the Honourable John Byng (later fifth Viscount Torrington). Between the Years 1781 and 1795. Vol.I (1934) P.217.

Table II illustrates the seasonal nature of fairs.

Table II ⁽¹²⁾

Table to illustrate the Number of Fairs held in Oxfordshire in each Month of the Year in the Eighteenth Century.

<u>Month</u>	<u>No. of Fairs</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>No. of Fairs</u>
January	1	July	7
February	1	August	7
March	8	September	10
April	7	October	16
May	7	November	7
June	12	December	5

The table shows clearly that there were 2 major peaks in the number of fairs held - in the late spring and in the autumn; a finding also made by those looking at fairs in other counties and throughout the country. ⁽¹³⁾

Turning finally to the commodities which were bought and sold at fairs it is clear that they existed to disperse largely the same agricultural produce dispersed through the medium of markets. It is also clear, however, that it was in the trade in livestock and cheese that their real significance lay.

(12) In the table Lent is assumed to have been in March; Easter in April and Whitsunday and Trinity Sunday in June. When the date of a fair was changed in the course of the eighteenth century the medium between the 2 dates has been allowed to determine the month in which the fair is said to have taken place.

(13) For example, D. Alexander op.cit. P.31. Alexander records that fairs occurred primarily in the spring when stocks of consumer goods in country areas were at their lowest level and in the period from July to October when the agricultural community was anxious to dispose of surplus products.

Most historians are in agreement that the main strength of the eighteenth century fair lay in its role in dispersing livestock. A.M. Everitt suggests that as early as the period 1500-1640 the staple commodity at the majority of fairs was cattle and that sheep were next in importance⁽¹⁴⁾, and J. Chartres, commenting on the period 1660-1750, indicates that the fair's essential function probably lay in the livestock trades.⁽¹⁵⁾ By the nineteenth century, the livestock fair was almost the only type of fair to exist in appreciable numbers.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Oxfordshire evidence provides confirmation of this pattern: of the 88 fairs held in the eighteenth century approximately 80% were for livestock and of the fairs founded during the course of the century approximately 85% were for livestock.

There is general agreement that this provides much of the explanation for the spring and autumn peaks in the number of fairs - the spring peak being accounted for by sales of lean cattle, sheep and lambs, and the autumn peak by fat cattle,

(14) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in ed. J. Thirsk op.cit. Pp.534-5.

(15) J.A. Chartres Internal Trade in England 1500-1700 (1977) P.48.

(16) K.J. Bonser, for example, suggests that from the end of the eighteenth century fairs began to decline except for livestock.

K.J. Bonser The Drovers (1970) P.123.

D. Alexander suggests that in spite of the decline of other types of fair, fairs for the sale of lean cattle and sheep to buyers from grazing districts remained of importance in the nineteenth century.

D. Alexander op.cit. P.34.

sheep and pigs. (17) On the whole the Oxfordshire data is insufficiently informative to enable one to show exactly which type of stock was dispersed at different times of the year but there is no evidence which runs contrary to the accepted pattern.

Apart from livestock the most important agricultural commodity to be distributed through the medium of Oxfordshire fairs was cheese. 23% of fairs were designated as cheese fairs and the West Oxfordshire towns of Burford, Woodstock and Chipping Norton held fairs at which cheese was the principal item of trade. However, there appears to have been little expansion in the number of cheese fairs in the course of the eighteenth century, only 2 of the new foundations specifying cheese as a major item of sale.

Other agricultural produce appears to have been distributed largely by different institutions. Only 7% of fairs were designated as for corn, although in view of the fact that fairs occurred so frequently on normal market days it is probable that corn sales did take place and may indeed have been heavier than on most market days because of the large number of persons present for the fair. Hops formed an important item of trade at 2 fairs only but as Oxfordshire was not a hop-producing county this cannot be used as evidence to suggest that hops

(17) Among those who mention this pattern are:-
J.M. Martin Social and Economic Trends in the Rural West Midlands 1785-1825. Unpublished M.Com.Thesis Birmingham. (1960) P.139.
J.A. Chartres Markets, Fairs and the Community in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century England. University of Leeds. School of Economic Studies. Discussion Paper No.6 (1974) P.6.
 Chartres suggests that stores and lambs would have met much of the springtime peak in fairs.

were not being distributed through the medium of fairs. (18)
 Small numbers of fairs witnessed sales of fruit, leather and wool, although the development of the specialist wool fair was a nineteenth not an eighteenth century phenomenon. No fairs are reported to have specialized in vegetables, butter, eggs, poultry or hay. Looking at the fairs with non-agricultural functions, 22% of the 88 were for hiring and hiring became an increasingly important aspect of eighteenth century fairs. 19% were for pleasure and others were designated as for merchandise or wares, cloth and clothing.

In conclusion, the picture, as with markets, is a complex one, with an apparent expansion in the number of fairs becoming less obvious on closer inspection and with clear evidence of the importance of the fair in the trade in livestock and cheese only.

(18) Indeed, P. Mathias suggests the reverse to have been true. He records that selling at fairs remained suitable for dealings in hops long after it had become anachronistic for most other commodities.
P. Mathias The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830
 (1959) p.496.

Chapter III

The Open Market: Ownership, Topography and Tolls

In this chapter we shall look at the very closely inter-related subjects of the ownership of markets and fairs; the provision of market places and buildings and the charges made for the use of the facilities provided.

As late as 1886, by which time provision had been made for the acquisition by public bodies, of market rights still held by individuals⁽¹⁾, approximately 36% of all markets were owned by private persons and a further 6% were of uncertain ownership.⁽²⁾ The majority of those in private ownership were in rural areas. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that, in the eighteenth century, in a rural county like Oxfordshire, a very small proportion of the markets were owned by public bodies.

In each of Oxfordshire's 2 Parliamentary boroughs, even if the right to collect tolls might be leased, the ownership and control of the market were firmly in the hands of the Corporation. In Banbury the Charter of 1554 declared the profits of the fairs and markets to belong to the Corporation; the Bailiff, and from 1608 the Mayor, being clerks of the market,⁽³⁾ and in Woodstock the position was the same.⁽⁴⁾

(1) First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls (1888-9) Vol. I P.30.

(2) L. Bingham Gaches. The Law Relating to Markets and Fairs (1898) P.41.

(3) C.W. Hurst Collection of Notes etc. on Banbury (1940). Hurst Collection. Vol. I P.32.

(4) H.A. Merewether and A.J. Stephens. The History of the Boroughs and Municipal Corporations of the United Kingdom (1835) Vol.II, pp. 883-884; 1301-1304.

Chipping Norton was also a corporate town, and there too the market was owned and controlled by the local authorities, the Charter of 1606 asserting that the Bailiffs and Burgesses should continue to hold the weekly market, with the Bailiffs as clerks of the market.⁽⁵⁾ Moreover, in all 3 towns, the fairs were also owned by the boroughs, with, that is, the possible exception of the 2 fairs at Chipping Norton granted to Thomas Lodge and his heirs.⁽⁶⁾

In the remaining towns ownership of the markets was vested in a variety of institutions, groups of people and individuals.

The situation in Oxford was unique. We shall consider firstly the corn and provisions markets. In 1355, following the massacre of St. Scolastica's Day, much of the control of the market passed to the University; the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor each having the right to appoint one clerk of the market, from among the Masters of Arts or Bachelors of Divinity, Law and Medicine⁽⁷⁾; the clerks to supervise the assizes of bread, ale and beer, and weights and measures, and to detect and punish the offences of forestalling and regrating.⁽⁸⁾ Arguing from this grant, later charters and

(5) Charter of the Borough of Chipping Norton. 1606. Ms Book of By-Laws. Pp 33-37.

(6) In J.O.J. Feb. 13 1773 No. 1033 we find an advertisement announcing the sale of "All the RIGHT, TITLE, and INTEREST, of a CHARTER for holding two FAIRS", in Chipping Norton. The advertisement, which was referring to Lodge's fairs, did not state who was responsible for the sale.

(7) S. Lewis Op.Cit. Vol.III P.507.

(8) H.A. Merewether and A.J. Stephens Op.Cit. Vol.II Pp.507-511.

their possession of the clerkship, per se, the University leaders claimed not only the privilege of appointing the Clerks of the Market, but also the absolute ownership of the market, including the rights to appoint the places where all market produce should be sold and to take tolls, stallage and piccage.⁽⁹⁾ On the whole the City was prepared to accept that the University did indeed have the right to appoint the Clerk and to fix the assizes but an argument adduced in the mid seventeenth century shows that the city authorities felt that they had a claim to determine at least the location of the market and to collect tolls.

"The Citty have ever had the Markett, the soil is theirs by the grant of the King, they have stallage, Pickage and other Toll, and all the profitts thereof, and the ordering and Jurisdiction thereof, for which they pay a ffee ffarme. The citizens have a hard ffreedom, the chief benefitt of which is the Markett."⁽¹⁰⁾

In view of the incompatible claims of University and City it is not surprising that disputes occurred regularly

(9) T. Salmon The Present State of the Universities and of the Five Adjacent Counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham and Oxford No.II 1743 (1744) Pp.305-310. This provides a good summary of the expanded claims of the University.

(10) O. Ogle Loc.Cit. P.67.

from the fourteenth century onwards. Certain of these disputes will be discussed later but here we may note that the situation was not in fact resolved until 1771 when the Act of Parliament which established the covered market stated the jurisdictions of the 2 parties - the Chancellor being permitted to continue to "govern, regulate and superintend" the market and appoint the clerks and the Mayor to collect the pitching pence and tolls - and made provision for the appointment of a committee; 6 members of which were to be selected by Convocation and 6 by the City Council; to supervise the construction and operation of the new market. (11)

The ownership of the Oxford cattle market was a less contentious issue. The privilege of holding a cattle market on Gloucester Green lay with the City, following their purchase, in 1591, of Northgate Hundred⁽¹²⁾ and the subsequent grant of the right to hold a market in the Hundred. We have seen, however, that the original market failed to become established and in 1684 attempts to restore it were opposed by the University, partly on the grounds that

"under pretence of his haire market...
(the city) would by degrees remove to
this place the university market now kept
within the city..." (13)

(11) Ed. L.L. Shadwell "Enactments in Parliament... Vol.II I George I - II George IV..." Pp. 123; 125.

(12) H.E. Salter Notes on Oxford Parishes and Inns. Ms Top Oxon c 435 P.10.

(13) Ed. F.H. Blackburne - Daniel and F. Bickley Op.Cit. P.310.

University opposition certainly contributed to the difficulties experienced by the City in trying to establish a successful cattle market on Gloucester Green. Nevertheless when a cattle market eventually came to be held there on a regular basis it was indisputably under the City's control. As owners of Northgate Hundred the City also owned the 3 fairs permitted to be held on Gloucester Green and enjoyed the privilege of collecting tolls arising from that part of St. Giles's fair held in the Hundred; St. John's College as Lord of the Manor having the right to collect payment for fair stalls in Walton Manor. (14)

Uncertainty over who had the most justifiable claim to own and control a market can be found in several other towns, although, in these other cases the issue was usually debated between the private individuals owning manorial rights and the actual or sometimes self-styled local authorities.

In Henley the problem over the ownership and control of the market arose because the Corporation there, unlike those at Banbury and Chipping Norton, was not the Lord of the Manor, or therefore owner of the market site; the manor of Henley-on-Thames being owned during the eighteenth century firstly by the Whitlock family; then by Mr. Cooper, a London banker, who married into the Whitlocks (15) and finally by the Freeman family of Fawley Court who purchased it from Mr. Cooper. (16)

(14) H.W. Taunt St. Giles's Fair. The Popular Oxford Carnival and its History (1908) P.2.

(15) Ed. Rev. H.A. Lloyd Jukes, "Articles of Enquiry Addressed to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford at the Primary Visitation of Dr. Thomas Secker. 1738" in O.R.S. Vol.38 (1957) P.78.

(16) Henley Borough Assembly 1722-1799 Ms. D.D. Henley A V No. 8 P.717

At the start of the eighteenth century this situation appears to have presented few problems as the Corporation leased the "Royalty and toll" from the Whitlocks⁽¹⁷⁾ and thus enjoyed the rights not only to collect tolls but also apparently to hold the manorial courts, at which such offences as using defective weights and measures or selling short weight bread and butter were heard. This, in conjunction with the fact that the Mayor was permitted by the town's charters to be Clerk of the Market and to set the assizes of bread and ale⁽¹⁸⁾ would have given the town authorities an almost complete control of marketing in Henley.

In the course of the eighteenth century, however, although the Corporation took leases of the Manor in several years, notably 1736, 1744 and 1765⁽¹⁹⁾ it would appear that the Lords of the Manor came to assume more control over markets and marketing. Thus, at least spasmodically from the mid eighteenth century and permanently from 1786 the Court Leet was presided over by the manor steward.⁽²⁰⁾

(17) Borough Assembly Minutes 1687-1722 Ms D.D. Henley A V No.7 Passim. The last lease agreement included here is dated 1715. It is unclear for how long it was intended to run.

(18) J.S. Burn Op.Cit. Pp.52; 53; 55; 82.

(19) Ibid. Pp.252-253.

(20) It is not always clear who was holding the Court in the mid eighteenth century. However, as early as 1733 we find a reference to the Court being held before Francis Blandy, gentleman, steward of the Manor.

This meant that manor officials presided over the examination of weights and measures and the punishment of those selling foodstuffs deficient in weight⁽²¹⁾; the town authorities meanwhile retaining responsibility for the setting of the assize of bread.⁽²²⁾ To complicate matters further, the offences of forestalling, engrossing and regrating apparently came within the jurisdiction of the Borough Quarter Sessions.⁽²³⁾

A more disturbing development from the point of view of the town authorities was that, from 1786, and possibly earlier the Lord of the Manor made himself responsible for the collection of tolls.⁽²⁴⁾ In 1786 we find a declaration

(21) The offences which were stated to have been within the jurisdiction of the Henley Court Leet were those connected with weights and measures, the sale of unwholesome food and the keeping of alehouses without being licenced.

(22) For example, in 1800 we find the Mayor of Henley being threatened over the assize of bread.

(23) For example, J.S. Girdler records a conviction for regrating at Henley Borough Quarter Sessions in 1796. J.S. Girdler Observations on the Pernicious Consequences of Forestalling, Regrating and Ingrossing, with a list of Statutes (1800) P.214.

(24) It is not certain precisely when the Lord of the Manor took over the collection of the Henley tolls. We find as late as 1768 that the Corporation was letting the tolls of the "stalls" and the "hair" market but it is unclear to what "stalls" refers and it is possible that the town's cattle market was held on land not owned by the Lord of the Manor and was therefore under the control of the town's authorities anyway.

Borough Assembly 1722-1799... P.333.

A reference to the toll on corn in the same year is equally inconclusive. The reference which is to the damage which could be done to the revenue of the market if forestalling barley were to be permitted and to the willingness of the Mayor to defend the privileges appurtenant to the town as a market town might suggest that the Corporation was still responsible for the collection of corn tolls but this is not stated.

Mr. Hayes Opinion about Forestalling Ms. D.D. Henley A XXII No.3. All that can be stated with certainty is that the Corporation had lost its right to collect the tolls by 1786.

that the Corporation had the right to lay claims to the tolls of Henley being curtly dismissed by Strickland Freeman⁽²⁵⁾ and in 1788 evidence that the collection of tolls had become the responsibility of the Lord of the Manor, can be found in the material arising out of a legal battle between the City of Oxford and Strickland Freeman and his bailiff over the tolling of corn sold by a freeman of Oxford in Henley.⁽²⁶⁾

Other events in the last two decades of the eighteenth century show clearly the very real problems involved in manorial ownership of the market site in an important market town. In 1781 the Corporation obtained an Act of Parliament permitting the demolition of the old market house⁽²⁷⁾ and in 1793 Strickland Freeman agreed with the Corporation that the building should be taken down. In 1794, following representations from the inhabitants, the Corporation signified their wish to reconstruct a market building on the old site, only to find that as Freeman's tenancy of the manor was only for life he could not give them

(25) Borough Assembly 1722-1799... Pp.581-582.

(26) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801" in O.H.S. N.S. Vol.XV (1962) Pp.191; 194.

(27) 21 George III Cap.XXXIII 1781. An Act for Building a Bridge over the River Thames at the Town of Henley... and Making Commodious Avenues thereto; for widening some part of the High Street and the Market Place. In The Statutes at Large Vol.XXXIII Part II Pp.260-261.

title to the land, without permission from Parliament. (28)
 After the requisite act was obtained, at a cost of at least £156⁽²⁹⁾, an agreement was reached with Freeman, reserving to him all his rights and the use of the market which was to be open and for the use of the public; the ground on which the buildings were to be erected being vested in the Corporation. The work on the new market house was finally completed in December 1796⁽³⁰⁾. There seems little doubt that if the Corporation had owned and controlled Henley market necessary improvements in marketing arrangements could have been made more cheaply and more quickly.

In Burford the Lord of the Manor was more completely the owner and controller of the market. During the sixteenth century the Burgesses of Burford had taken upon themselves the supervision of the market and fairs held in the town and had collected and used the tolls. In 1621, however, following a claim by Sir Lawrence Tanfield, the then Lord of the Manor, that the burgesses had no legal right to exercise these privileges, the control of the market and of the town's two fairs; including the Holyrood fair, which had, in fact, been granted to the Bailiffs, Aldermen and Burgesses, (31)

(28) Borough Assembly 1722-1799... P.689; 723-724.

(29) Henley Corporation Treasurer's Account 1794-1875
 Ms D.D. Henley A XII (1).

(30) Borough Assembly 1722-1799... Pp.735-6; 792.

(31) It is possible, however, that the town regained control of the Holyrood fair.
 M. Sturge Gretton Burford Past and Present (2nd Ed. 1944) P.133.

passed to the Lords of the Manor. In 1728, the town's leaders considered briefly, making an attempt to regain control of the market, but their claims were not pursued seriously⁽³²⁾ and throughout the century the Lenthall family as Lords of the Manor remained firmly in possession of the market, even if they did not always involve themselves in the collection of the tolls. Thus, in 1799, we find that, "All the Tolls arising within the Manor of Burford, due and payable to the Lord of the said Manor", were to be sold by auction.⁽³³⁾

At Witney, although as at Burford, the market was privately owned, the local community had a greater degree of control over it.

The Lords of the Manor of Witney were the Bishops of Winchester, but, throughout the eighteenth century, they leased out the manor to local landowners, the lessees from 1751 onwards being the Dukes of Marlborough.⁽³⁴⁾ Records from the first half of the eighteenth century show the decisions on the market to have been made by the "Borough Court"⁽³⁵⁾, which was presided over by the town Bailiffs,

(32) The dispute between the burgesses and Tanfield and the events of 1728 are covered in considerable detail in R.H. Gretton The Burford Records. A Study in Minor Town Government (1920) Pp.1-2; 37; 51-59; 73-75; 390-391; 400. In spite of the total defeat of the burgesses at least two eighteenth century sources suggest that the Lords of the Manor had usurped powers which rightfully belonged to the town leaders.

The Universal Magazine... Vol.18 (1756) P.54.

(33) W. Combe Op.cit. P.62.
J.O.J. Jul. 13 1799 No.2411.

(34) J.A. Giles History of Witney with Notices on the Neighbouring Parishes and Hamlets, Cogges, Crawley, Curbridge, Ducklington, Hailey, Minster Lovel and Stanton Harcourt (1852) P.22.

(35) Also called the Court Moot. It was, in fact, a Court Leet.

The position at Thame was not dissimilar. In Thame the Lords of the Manor and market owners were the Earls of Abingdon⁽⁴¹⁾ and in the accounts of the Earls there are several references to the rent they received for the tolls and the market house.⁽⁴²⁾ However, as at Witney, it would seem that the actual involvement of the Lords of the Manor in the running of the market was limited and that the manorial courts were probably responsible for decisions on its organization.⁽⁴³⁾

The disagreements which arose in the privately owned markets at which we have hitherto been looking occurred between the Lords of the Manor and the leaders of local communities. Charlbury presents a somewhat different case, as here there was disagreement between two private owners of market rights; a situation which the town's people exploited.

The Lords of the Manor of Charlbury were the President and Scholars of St. John's College, Oxford, who farmed the manor to the Earls of Litchfield.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Problems arose because, although St. John's College had enjoyed the right to hold a market in Charlbury from the sixteenth century, the Earl of Litchfield was independently granted a market and 4 fairs with,

(41) H. Lupton History of Thame and its Hamlets (1860) P.10.

(42) Papers of the Earl of Abingdon. Earl's Estate Accounts 1771-1780 Mss Top Oxon c 388 P.165.
This book also gives the name of the lessee of the shambles, P.164.
Accounts of the Estates of the Earl of Abingdon 1803-1804
Ms Top Oxon c 383 P.12.

(43) For example, Ibid. P.42. The reference here is to an order made by the Court Leet for the replacement of a pump in the market place.

(44) Court Rolls of the Manor of Charlbury. 4 April 1743 - 3 March 1761 Misc Watney II/1/7 P.11.

"all Libtys, and free Customes, Toll
 advantage, stallage, Pickage, fine and
 amerciamt and all other Pfitts, advantages
 and Emoluments whatsoever to the same
 Markett and ffares respectively in any
 wise belonging," (45)

in 1678. In the early eighteenth century the right to collect
 tolls was leased by Litchfield to the Bailiff of the manor,
 and when a dispute arose between the Bailiff and local people
 over the tolls the townsmen backed up their claim that the
 market should be toll free by suggesting that the market
 charter held by St. John's was still valid and that by it,
 they were exempted from the payment of toll. (46) It is unclear
 precisely how this dispute was resolved but it is certain that
 it helped irreperably to damage Charlbury's market.

The issue of ownership was reopened in the 1770's. In
 1772 the lease of the Manor of Charlbury granted by St. John's
 to the Earls of Litchfield expired and between 1772 and 1774
 the College apparently took the manor and the fairs and
 (defunct) market into their own control. In 1774 Robert,
 Earl of Litchfield, negotiated a new lease and it would seem
 that he may have claimed that the College did not own
 Charlbury's marketing facilities and that they should not
 therefore be included in the lease. The College's solicitor

(45) Copy of a Grant to the Rt Honoble Edward Henry Earle of
 Litchfield for the Markett and Ffares att Charlbury
 18 Apr. 1678.

(46) Notes on Refusal of Tenants of Charlbury to pay Market
 Tolls and Dues. c 1717 DiL IV/6/13(iii).

replied that "upon looking into the Conveyances thereof to the College in the reign of Queen Eliz. we find the Fairs, Markets and Tolls expressly conveyed to them." (47)

Robert died in 1776 and after his death we find no evidence of rent being paid to the Litchfields for the markets and fairs, which they had always sublet. It would seem likely that St. John's retained ownership possibly until the early nineteenth century by which time the trustees of the town lands had become the market authority. (48)

While Oxfordshire's remaining markets were not the subject of dispute, an examination of who owned and controlled them reveals yet another form which ownership could take.

In 1596 the manor of Bicester Market End including the ownership of the market was leased by the Earl of Derby to his 31 tenants. (49) The manor, which became known as the Bailiwick of Bicester was thenceforth owned not by an individual but by a significant number of the townsfolk and the market was controlled by a bailiff or steward whom they appointed; (50)

(47) Letter from James Morrell to Earl of Litchfield about Fairs and Markets belonging to St. John's College 1774 DiL IV/6/13(iv) Ditchley. Rentals, usually with cash Books, for Oxon Estates. 1771-1778 DiL I/L/33 P-Q.

(48) Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X P.145.

(49) The details of this transaction are given in full in 3 works:-
J. Dunkin Op.Cit. Pp.169-172.
G.H. Dannatt, "Bicester in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in Oxoniensia Vol.27 (1962) P.245.
Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VI P.37.
Here the date is given as 1597.

(50) Ibid P.33.

the profits of the market and fairs being shared between the owners.⁽⁵¹⁾ Although the owners of the largest part of the old manor enjoyed the greatest local influence⁽⁵²⁾ the fact that control of the manor was divided meant that the success of the market was of very real concern to a large part of the population, including the poor of the parish.⁽⁵³⁾

A final point to note on Eicester is that the manor of King's End was separate and the ownership of this, which was in possession of the Coker family, carried with it the control of the important St. James's Day fair.⁽⁵⁴⁾ This may account for the fact that, when, in the nineteenth century, the owners of the Bailiwick gave up their right to collect tolls from

(51) The U.B.D. Vol.II P.477.

"The property of this manor and bailiwick including therein the right of the tolls of markets and fairs belong in different shares to Sir Gregory Page Turner, Bart, John Coker Esq., Mrs. Mary Metcalfe, Mr. Henry Churchill, and others..."

In 1846 when the market and fairs became free it was announced that the owners of the Bailiwick of Eicester had agreed to forego their claim to toll.

O.C.B.B.G. Apr. 25 1846 No.482.

(52) J. Dunkin shows that, in fact, firstly Thomas Coker and, in the mid eighteenth century, Sir Edward Turner came to be regarded, incorrectly, as the sole Lords of the Manor. J. Dunkin Op.Cit. P.172. That Sir Edward Turner regarded himself as an important local influence can be seen from the defence he offered when explaining his conduct in trying to prevent markets and fairs at Banbury during the cattle plague in 1752. "So far have I avoided partiality that the Town of Bister (with which I have a very near connection) hath suffered more than any other in the County by the Prohibition of Markets."

Ed. L. Dickins and M. Stanton An Eighteenth Century Correspondence.... (1910) P.211.

(53) J. Dunkin Op.Cit. P.172.

(54) Ibid. P.124.

those using Bicester Market End fairs, tolls continued to be demanded from those attending King's End fair. This was the subject of violent dispute. (55)

A somewhat similar situation to that found in Bicester Market End appears to have prevailed in Watlington. There, in the early seventeenth century, the lease of the manor, amongst the properties of which were the tolls of the market and fairs, was bought by a number of the local gentry. In 1669 54 of the inhabitants of Watlington, purchased from the lessees the manorial rights, which by this stage probably meant simply the privilege of holding manorial courts. (56) This may have given the 54 a measure of control over marketing practices in the town. However, unlike in Bicester, the tolls of the market and fairs appear to have belonged to one family only; it being suggested that the Stonors who purchased Watlington Park of the original purchasers of the lease, probably also bought the tolls. (57) Certainly in 1747 we find a later Thomas Stonor acting apparently independently in the sale of the toll of Watlington for about £100 to one Thomas Johnston. (58)

(55) O.C.B.B.G. Aug. 1 1846 No.496; Aug. 8 1846 No.497; Aug. 18 1849 No.654.

(56) J. Badcock Op.Cit. Pp. 52-54.
H.E. Salter "A Popular Lecture on the History of Watlington", in North Oxfordshire Archaeological Society. Report for the Years 1921 and 1922. P.312.

(57) Ibid. P.312.
It was a member of the Stonor family, who with the consent of the freeholders, undertook the construction of a new market house in Watlington in 1664.
J. Badcock Op.Cit. P.57.

(58) Manuscript of Places in Oxfordshire collected about 1750 by /Rev. Thomas Delafield/ owned by H.W. Taunt. Ms Top Oxon d 88 P.51.

Two points should have emerged from this examination of the formal structure of market ownership and control in Oxfordshire's market towns: Firstly that there was often sufficient doubt as to the validity of an "owner's" market title to permit ownership disputes to occur and secondly, that even where a market was in the undisputed possession of one individual the local community might have a significant role to play in its control.

On the first point we may note simply that the ownership of a market rarely became a matter of dispute for itself alone. Ownership of a market was usually contested, either for financial reasons, as part of a campaign to gain control of the tolls or have tolls abolished; or in an attempt to establish a particular interpretation of how a market should be organized; or because it involved the right to control land-use in a town or, finally, as part of an all-embracing power struggle inside a community, in which a successful bid for ownership of the market would also permit the victor to gain control of local courts or achieve total dominance over the town's trading community.

We shall now turn to the second point.

We have seen that, particularly in the early eighteenth century, communities could help to control their local markets and to combat market offences through their participation in manorial courts. We have also suggested that frequently the right to collect tolls might be farmed out by market owners and that local tradesmen could thus acquire an opportunity to supervise the financial arrangements of a market. Furthermore, the right to collect payment from market users was a privilege enjoyed not simply by the lessees of tolls but could also be

possessed by owners and tenants of properties around a market place or in streets where livestock was sold. (59) Numerous examples exist of townsmen having the right to place pens for livestock outside their properties and charge for their use, or to erect stalls for the display of the products of local craftsmen. Thus, several late seventeenth century leases show their holders being permitted to set up sheep pens in Chipping Norton. (60) Again, an eighteenth century advertisement for the Blue Boar public house in Bicester declared it to possess sheep pens able to hold upwards of 100 sheep every market day. (61) Finally,

(59) A.M. Everitt makes this point when discussing the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce", in Ed. J. Thirsk Op.Cit. P.485.

(60) Lease for Penning Sheep in Chipping Norton Market Place 1686/7 Misc. LM I/1.
Counterparts of unexpired Leases. Ms Book of By-Laws. Similarly, in seventeenth century Banbury the householders in Sheep Street set out sheep pens in front of their houses on market days and in other parts of the town householders were known to erect stalls for the use of pedlars, butchers and shoemakers on fair days. It would appear, however, that in Banbury the householders of Sheep Street lost their rights in the middle of the century.
 J.S.W. Gibson, "Trouble over Sheep Pens", in C. and C. (Spring 1977) Vol.7 No.2 Pp. 35; 40; 44.

(61) J.O.J. May 9 1789 No.1880.

another advertisement announced that the innkeeper of the Oxford Arms, Thame, would be putting out pens for the pig market at his door. (62)

In the later eighteenth century, however, when as we shall see market revenue was possibly dropping, market abuses were increasing and their punishment becoming less acceptable, and the advantages of ownership were thus becoming less obvious, it is clear that the role of the local communities in the regulation and control of their markets both altered and became more significant. Indeed, evidence from Oxfordshire supports the view of J. Chartres who suggests that, in the course of the eighteenth century, new groups, including those actually involved in the process of buying and selling began to regulate markets on an informal basis and to take over from the owners much of the control of their markets. (63)

The increased influence of local residents and tradesmen reveals itself in a number of ways. Firstly tradesmen, farmers and food dealers can be found as an informal pressure-group, urging, for example, that local authorities and market owners, establish new fairs or alter the dates of existing ones. Thus, we find that at Bicester in the 1760's two cattle fairs were founded by the desire "of the principal graziers, Dairymen, and Dealers in Cattle", (64) and that the date of one of Henley's fairs was altered by the mayor because the new date was thought to be more convenient for dealers and farmers. (65)

(62) J.O.J. May 12 1781 No.1463.

(63) J.A. Chartres Markets; Fairs and the Community in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century England... P.25.

(64) J.O.J. Mar. 26 1763 No.517.

(65) J.O.J. Feb. 9 1760 No.354.

Secondly one can find evidence of these same groups acting, apparently without consulting market owners, to re-establish or support markets and fairs or to examine the organization of a market to see if it were functioning in the way best calculated to satisfy their needs. We have already noted, for example, how innholders and publicans played an important part in the attempted re-establishment of Charlbury and Bampton markets and how maltsters, bakers and innholders met to consider how to promote Oxford's corn market. Other examples may be given. Thus, in December 1756, a large number of corn dealers, including two from Kelmscot in Oxfordshire, publicly declared their intention of attending Lechlade market on a regular basis.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Again, in 1793 farmers from Cowley, Horspath, Aston and Toot or Marsh Baldon put their names to the following resolution:

"In order to establish a YEARLY FAIR in Abingdon for LAMBS and other CATTLE, on the Feast of St. JAMES Old Style which is a chartered Fair Day, We hereby give Notice that we shall attend Fairs on Old St. James's Day, for the Purpose of buying and selling Lambs and other Cattle."⁽⁶⁷⁾

Finally, in 1766 those "highly interested in the Corn Trade" agreed, apparently independently of the market authorities,

(66) J.O.J. Dec. 18 1756 No. 190.

It is possible, however, that this announcement was intended more to indicate their attitude to the grain crisis of 1756-57 than to signify that they wished to promote Lechlade market.

(67) J.O.J. Jul. 20 1793 No. 2099.

to prohibit sample-selling in Oxfordshire's markets. (68)

Obviously when a market's success was dependent upon an agreement by tradesmen to attend and support it the market owner could be forced to abdicate some of his claim to regulate and control.

Re-establishing markets or agreeing to support those which already existed tended to be, and to some extent had to be, predominantly the work of those who used markets as part of their business. However, in the later eighteenth century a considerable part of the community could become involved in their markets largely through helping to finance improvements, the cost of which, market owners or local landowners or Members of Parliament might be no longer prepared to meet. (69)

Developments at Henley in the 1790's provide a useful illustration of this. When the market house at Henley was demolished and the market owner and the Corporation signified that the Guildhall which would be erected to replace it would not include a shelter for market users, the "inhabitants" of Henley were summoned by circular letter to a meeting, at which it was declared that the decision to have an open market place was unacceptable. The Corporation and the Lord

(68) J.O.J. Oct. 18 1766 No. 703.

(69) In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century it appears to have been usual for the leaders of local society to be expected to contribute towards the cost of local improvements. Thus, when it was decided to enlarge the market place in Oxford in 1709, Lord Abingdon, the City's Members of Parliament and certain gentlemen were asked to make contributions to help meet the cost of the work.
M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1701-1752", in O.H.S. N.S. Vol.X (1954) P.59.

of the Manor being informed of this were prepared to agree to the construction of a new market house if the Committee of the Inhabitants would undertake to raise "a handsome subscription" towards building the same. The Committee of the Inhabitants then met again and resolved that the best position for the new market house would be on the site of the old. This was found acceptable if the Committee could raise £700 towards the cost of the work. We thus find many of the wealthier inhabitants of the town gaining the right to determine the type of market facilities the town possessed through their preparedness to finance improvements. The reasoning behind their actions was that they felt that the town's trade would have diminished if the market traders were not provided with the protection of a market house and....

"We apprehend it is of real consequence to the inhabitants at large that the people should be encouraged to supply our market with the natural produce of the adjacent country and to take back in return their necessities from the established shops in this town."

Moreover, it was known that the pitched corn market was threatened if the farmers ~~were~~ denied a dry place to show their corn, several farmers having declared that they would sell corn by sample alone unless a market house were built. Generally the farmers themselves seem to have been anxious to preserve the pitched corn market, a number offering to make contributions to help pay for the new building. ⁽⁷⁰⁾

(70) Henley Borough Assembly 1722-1799 Pp.689; 709-712; 722-725.

The construction of Oxford's new provisions market was financed in part by loans from the City and University, and the inhabitants of Oxford, unlike those of Henley, were not expected to contribute financially before the market could be built. Nevertheless local people did have the opportunity to use their money to further the market's development - by purchasing annuities or loaning money to the Market Committee.⁽⁷¹⁾ Thus by the late eighteenth century the market could occupy the same role as the canal or turnpike road in that it could provide an outlet for local capital⁽⁷²⁾; and, while those investing in market development in this way did not, on the whole, acquire any appreciable control over the market, it is likely they would have taken an active interest in the market's success, if only to ensure an adequate return of their capital.⁽⁷³⁾ On this point we

(71) The means by which the new market was to be financed are set out in the Act of Parliament which established it. This Act also allowed for the granting of building leases. Ed. L.L. Shadwell, "Enactments in Parliament..." vol.II I. George I-II George IV... Pp.131-132.

(72) A good discussion of those investing in turnpike road schemes occurs in W. Albert The Turnpike Road System in England 1663-1840 (1972) Pp.93-131.

(73) The interest which was paid to investors does appear, in fact, to have been dependent upon the success of the market. In 1786, for example, we find, "Ordered that the several security for money lent upon loan to this Comdit ... putting the act of parliament into execution do carry interest after the rate of four pounds and ten shillings per cent from this June instead of four pounds for which the securities are made out but this order shall continue in force no longer than the profits of the market are capable of paying such increase of interest."
The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835... P.90.
 On the other hand, we find in 1797 that the arrears of market rents had become so considerable that the Committee was unable to pay the interest and the annuities due.
Papers of the Market Committee 1774-1823 D.3.11(9) 16 Mar. 1797.

should, however, note that as the turnpike trusts often raised capital from their trustees, so the investors in market improvements might be the same people as those supervising the developments. Thus, amongst those investing in the new market, we find the Principals of Hertford College and Alban Hall, both members of the Market Committee, and also the treasurer, Mr. Licham.⁽⁷⁴⁾

While these major construction programmes in the later eighteenth century might have been demanded and paid for by the local communities it is nevertheless true that the provision of the basic market site and its maintenance were and remained primarily the most important duties of the market owners.

The positioning of a market and the level of facilities provided varied greatly from town to town. In some towns the market was held in one central street. This was the case at Thame⁽⁷⁵⁾, for example, and also in the early eighteenth century in Charlbury.⁽⁷⁶⁾ In the larger towns, notably Banbury⁽⁷⁷⁾

- (74) Others who invested in Oxford's new market were members of the University, including 2 College butlers; the secretary of the Radcliffe Infirmary; a lady from Faringdon and a man from Banbury.
Oxford Market. Papers of the Committee 1771-1772 D.3.9(viii)
 9 Jul. 1771. D.3.9(xix) 28 Feb. 1772.
Oxford Market. Papers of the Committee 1773 D.3.10(11)
 Mar 1773 D.3.10(26).
The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835... Passim.
- (75) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed.J. Thirsk Op.cit. P.380.
- (76) The market was probably held in Church Street at the commencement of the eighteenth century.
 Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X... P.144.
- (77) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk Op.cit. P.480. Everitt records that even quite modest towns like Banbury had a Horse Fair and a Cornhill. In addition, we know that in the seventeenth century the sheep market was held in Sheep Street.
 J.S.W. Gibson Loc.cit. P.35.

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 J.S.W. Gibson Loc.cit. P.35.

and prior to the building of the new market, Oxford, trading took place in a number of streets. In Oxford the lack of a good market place was generally thought to detract from the city's appearance and the inconvenience occasioned by the selling of foodstuffs in the central streets was much remarked upon by contemporaries. T. Salmon, for example, writing in 1743 observed,

"Another thing which takes off much from (the city's) beauty is the Butcher-Market, held here every Wednesday and Saturday, when the stalls extend half the length of this fine street (that is High Street), and indeed there are no other Market-Places in Oxford than the great streets: As the Butchers take up this, the Farmers incumber the other principal streets with their Waggon and Corn, and Fish and Poultry are sold in both." (78)

The problems created by markets, especially those for livestock, being held in the centres of towns, did lead, in fact, to attempts to resite certain markets on waste land. In Oxford, for example, the pig market, held in the seventeenth century in High Street was moved in 1684 to Gloucester Green, which, as we have seen, was also regarded as the most suitable site for markets for sheep, cattle and horses. Again, in Charlbury in 1696, it was decided, most probably because the street was becoming overcrowded on market days, to erect some stalls for markets and fairs on the Lord's waste. This move led, however, to a major quarrel between the Bailiff of the

(78) T. Salmon Op.cit. P.28
 Again, T. Baskerville, writing in the late seventeenth century, declared, "as to Carfix, had there been a fair circling markett place about this Aquaduct, it would have added to Oxford. This and a sumptuous Cathedrall... beeing her greatest absent beautyes."
 Ed. H. Baskerville, "Thomas Baskerville's Account of Oxford," in Ed. Committee of the Society, "Collectanea Vol.IV" in O.H.S. Vol.XLVII (1905) P.180.

manor and the townsmen, who denied that the land belonged to the Lord and therefore refused to pay stallage.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Within the spaces and streets set aside for the holding of markets and fairs a variety of facilities might be available to allow the display of commodities and stock and to provide shelter for market users. We have already discussed the provision of pens for livestock and here we shall look at the other types of facility provided.

Most Oxfordshire towns had a building described variously as the town hall, guildhall, market house or tolsey. It was not always the case that such a building was used for marketing. In Watlington, for example, the seventeenth century market house, was used by the early nineteenth century, for the holding of manorial courts, for public meetings and for a school, while the market was held in the parlours of local inns.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Nevertheless in most cases the market house or town hall was constructed in such a way that it provided both a room or rooms for the holding of meetings and courts and a shelter underneath still being used by farmers and food dealers on market days. For example, we find references to the town halls

(79) Letter (John Cary to John Ball) about setting up stalls on waste ground 1696 DiL IV/b/13(1).
Notes on Refusal of Tenants of Charlbury to Pay Market Tolls and Dues c 1717.
A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X... P.145.

(80) J. Badcock Op.cit. P.57.

at Witney⁽⁸¹⁾ and Henley⁽⁸²⁾ having "piazzas" beneath where market transactions could take place. Again, in Oxford a lean-to along the front of the Guildhall served throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as protection for the City's 5 senior fish chandlers⁽⁸³⁾ and when the Guildhall was reconstructed in 1751-52 an arcade was incorporated underneath the building specifically for the protection of market users⁽⁸⁴⁾. A reference in 1774 to a dealer in bacon and hog-meat, "keeping market under our Town Hall"⁽⁸⁵⁾, and a request in 1808 that the corn market might be transferred there⁽⁸⁶⁾ suggests that this arcade was

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- (81) A description of Witney in 1852 includes the following:
 "In the broad part of the High Street immediately below the green is the Market Cross, and lower still the Town Hall, a large modern building of stone with a piazza beneath intended for a market place."
 J.A. Giles History of Witney... P.12.
 It seems probable that this Town Hall would have replaced the Tolsey or Market House under which stalls were mentioned to have been erected in 1742.
Collections Made in the Nineteenth Century by W. Langford
 Pp.129-130.
- (82) In 1820 J.N. Brewer described the appearance of the market place as follows: "The Town-Hall stands on an elevated spot in the High-Street and is a neat building, completed in 1790. Beneath the hall is a commodious piazza, used as a market-place."
 J.N. Brewer The Picture of England; or Historical and Descriptive Delineations of the Most Curious Works of Nature and Art in Each County (1820) P.165.
- (83) O. Ogle Loc.cit. Pp.37-38.
 Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701", in O.H.S. N.S. Vol.II (1939) Pp.XI; 284-285; 311.
 In 1712 the lean-to was removed and 5 new fish-boards were erected.
 Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1701-1752," in O.H.S. N.S. Vol.X (1954) Pp.xxviii-xxix.
- (84) The Universal Magazine... Vol.17 Aug. 1755 P.52.
- (85) J.O.J. Dec. 3 1774 No.1127.
- (86) Council Book 1788-1813 B.5.4. P.227.
 This request did not, however, lead to the market being moved.
 J. Ingram Memorials of Oxford (1837) Vol.III P.15.
 A shelter specifically for corn sellers had been constructed in 1536 but this was apparently demolished in the mid seventeenth century. O. Ogle Loc.cit. Pp.20-21.

definitely used by farmers and food salesmen.

Apart from town halls and market houses other structures provided for market users included the Butter Cross at Witney⁽⁸⁷⁾; the Butter Bench in Oxford, used by butter women in wet weather⁽⁸⁸⁾; a market shed in Chipping Norton⁽⁸⁹⁾ and most important shambles for the sale of fish and meat. It was, in fact, the usual pattern from the sixteenth century onwards for market authorities to erect small premises for the sale of fish and flesh⁽⁹⁰⁾ and this was certainly the case in Oxfordshire's market towns. In Witney, for example, the early eighteenth century saw the erection of 3 rows of butchers' shambles, with 10 stalls in each row⁽⁹¹⁾ and in Woodstock the old market house and market cross which were pulled down in 1766 were replaced by a Town Hall and butchers' shambles.⁽⁹²⁾ Again, in Oxford there were 2 sets of butchers'

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- (87) This was built by William Blake of Cogges in 1683 and repaired by the people of Witney in 1811.
S. Tymms The Family Topographer (1834) Vol.4 P.143.
- (88) Ed. M.G. Hobson "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801"... P.xxvi.
O. Ogée Loc.cit. P.42.
- (89) It is unclear what this building was like. It replaced the town's former market house in 1723.
Common Council Minute Book. Chipping Norton Borough 1720-late Eighteenth Century. Reference under 21 Aug. 1723.
- (90) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk, Op.cit. P.483.
- (91) Collections Made in the Nineteenth Century by W. Langford Pp.121; 123.
- (92) A. Ballard records that this work was undertaken by the Corporation and certainly the Corporation records do show that the shambles were built - at a cost of £150 - and kept in repair by the Corporation. Viscount Torrington suggests, however, that the old market cross in Woodstock was replaced by a new town hall, by the Duke of Marlborough.
A. Ballard Chronicles of the Royal Borough of Woodstock.
Compiled from the Borough Records and other original Documents (1896) Pp.119; 121.
Acts of the Council 1747-1787 Box 88/1(a) Pp. 224-231; 406.
Acts of the Common Council 1787-1844 Box 89/1 P.18.
Ed. C. Bruyn Andrews Op.cit. Vol.I P.192.

shambles, one in Queen Street, used by freemen butchers on all days of the week except market days and the other in High Street used by free and country butchers on Wednesdays and Saturdays.⁽⁹³⁾ The provision of different facilities for freemen and country traders shown here was not uncommon.

The market buildings we have been discussing hitherto were constructed largely in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and the improvements which we have noted being made in the later eighteenth century involved simply the replacement or repair of the old buildings.

However, although undertaken in the 1770's, the construction of the covered market in Oxford illustrates a development in the provision of marketing facilities more usually associated with the nineteenth century. It provides, in fact, an early example of the expansion in fixed retail provisions markets which one can find taking place in many large industrial towns and cities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries⁽⁹⁴⁾, in response both to the demand of growing numbers

(93) O. Ogle Loc.cit. Pp.36-37.
Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1701-1752"... P.151.

(94) D. Alexander Op.cit. Pp.7-8. Alexander discusses how between 1785 and 1850 approximately 400 town and market improvement acts were passed for towns outside London and how these resulted in the transformation of the centres of large towns and cities and major changes in their marketing arrangements.
An important discussion of the transformation of one market, under an act of 1784, is by J. Blackman.
J. Blackman, "The Food Supply of an Industrial Town. A Study of Sheffield's Public Markets 1780-1900." in Business History Vol.V No.2 (1963). Particularly P.86.
Many parallels may be drawn between developments in Sheffield and Oxford.

of middle and working class consumers for a continuous supply of fresh and cheap vegetables, fruit and meat, and to the problems of congestion and pollution in town centres.

In many ways, indeed, the market's planning, construction and organization seem strikingly modern. The site chosen for the market, being in the City centre, had to be cleared and this involved the compulsory purchase of houses and gardens and the demolition of several buildings.⁽⁹⁵⁾ An architect, John Gwynn, was employed to design the market; estimates on

(95) Rev. H.E. Salter, "Oxford City Properties," in O.H.S. Vol.LXXXIII (1926) P.374. This lists the properties bought for the market site and the prices paid for them. Many documents have survived showing the process by which property was purchased to permit the opening up of the site so that the market could be built. They are particularly detailed on the disputes which arose both among the property owners and between certain of the owners and the Market Committee.
Quarter Sessions Bundles. Trinity 1773; Easter 1774.
 These concern the assessment of compensation for those who would not relinquish their property voluntarily.
Oxford Market. Papers of the Committee 1771-1772... Passim.
 These papers are mostly on the Committee's attempts to discover the owners of property they needed to purchase; agreements on purchase-prices and notices to tenants to vacate the houses which were to be demolished.
Oxford Market. Papers of the Committee 1773... Passim.
 These papers are largely on the disputes which arose with those unprepared to sell their properties.
Oxford City Notices G.A. Oxon b.15(4).
Papers Relative to the Market and the Market Committee 1771-1889 C.3.4(a).
 These 2 documents concern a dispute over gardens needed by the Committee.
The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835... Passim.

the cost of construction were requested from local firms and the main contract was divided between 2 local builders and a carpenter from Waterstock.⁽⁹⁶⁾ A description which illustrates how much more advanced the new market was than any previous market facility in the county occurs in

The U.B.D.:

"At the south entrance from the High-Street it contains forty commodious shops for butchers. North of these are eight others equally commodious occupied by gardeners, etc, between which are two spacious colonades for poultry, eggs, bacon, cheese etc etc divided into forty stalls; and beyond these, extending quite to Jesus College Lane, is a large area for country gardeners, fruit, and divers other commodities. There are likewise three avenues running through in direct lines, intersected by another in the middle, affording a free currency of air; and in the front four elegant and commodious houses have been erected, which give an additional ornament to one of the finest streets in Europe. The open part of this market, fronting Jesus College, is enclosed by an iron pallisade; and the avenues

(96) J.O.J. Aug.1 1772 No.1005 contains an advertisement requesting tenders to be sent to the Clerk of the Committee, by those willing to build 40 butchers' shops in the new market. Later editions of the newspaper contain requests for estimates from those willing to undertake additional construction and repair work. For example J.O.J. Sept.11 1773 No.1063. See also, Oxford Market. Papers of the Committee 1771-1772 D.3.9(xxxi) Aug. 21 1772. Oxford Market. Papers of the Committee 1773 D.3.10(a) 25 Mar.1773.

opening upon the New Parade in the High-Street are secured by iron gates. The whole extent of the ground appropriated to the purpose of erecting this market, is from north to south three hundred and forty seven feet, and from east to west one hundred and twelve."⁽⁹⁷⁾

The clearing of the site and the construction of the building cost approximately £7000⁽⁹⁸⁾ and after its completion the expenses did not cease as additions and improvements were continually made.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Moreover, the Market Committee had to meet numerous small bills from painters, plumbers, carpenters and masons for running repairs to the buildings, as well as being confronted with demands for Land Tax, Property Tax, Window Tax, Poor and Gaol Rates and fire insurance.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ It is evident that the new market was regarded in the light of a modern amenity in that it was seen as a great success in spite of the fact that it was thus both very expensive to construct and maintain, and was largely non profit making.

(97) The U.B.D. Vol.IV P.115.

(98) The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835... Pp.55; 58.

This shows that the £5000 which the Committee had been permitted to borrow for the construction of the market had proved inadequate and an additional £2000 was required. A month later, in September 1773, it was agreed that the original plan for the market would prove too costly to complete.

(99) For example, in 1797 a shed was erected for the use of the "fishermen". J.O.J. May 27 1797 No.2300.

(100) Market Committee Receipts Book 1772-1808 D.3.12 Passim.

Having described the facilities which were available to market users in the eighteenth century certain conclusions may be drawn.

Firstly, we shall summarize the guiding principles behind the provision of new facilities.

There is no doubt that an important reason both for the removal of markets to waste ground and for the construction of market buildings was a growing concern with the problems of traffic congestion in town centres and with the health hazards involved when particularly livestock and meat were sold in crowded streets. J. Chartres suggests, in fact, that the problems of pollution and congestion were taken more seriously in the eighteenth century because open markets and fairs were becoming less profitable and therefore their disadvantages drew more attention.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ It was, however, in the more successful market towns that such problems were greatest and the fact that remedial measures were taken would appear to indicate that the value of their markets was still appreciated. In Oxford, market developments were definitely a response to worries over hygiene and overcrowded streets. Thus, in 1684 it was stated that regard to "sweetness, quiet and cleanliness" had led to a prohibition on slaughtering in the city and to the removal of butchers' stalls from High Street except on general market days⁽¹⁰²⁾ and the construction of the new market undoubtedly owed much to the view that Butcher Row was "nauseous and inconvenient"⁽¹⁰³⁾ and to worries about

(101) J.A. Chartres Markets, Fairs and the Community... P.13.

(102) Ed. F.H. Blackburne-Daniel and F. Bickley Op.cit. P.310.

(103) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801"... P.xxi.

the inconvenience which arose from the large amount of traffic passing through the streets in which the market was held. (104)

A second incentive to improve market facilities was that in the larger and more successful market towns existing market places and buildings were being rendered inadequate by an increase in the volume of trade. This was important in 2 ways. Firstly, overcrowding was, in itself, inconvenient but secondly, it was well known that if existing facilities failed to accommodate increased trade many traders would use the resulting congestion as an excuse for adopting sale by sample or, worse still, rejecting the open market altogether and conducting their business in the privacy of inn parlours or at the farm gate. (105) In Oxfordshire there was much

(104) Ed. L.L. Shadwell "Enactments in Parliament... Vol.II I George I - II George IV"... Pp.121-122. This reason is stated in the preamble to the Act under which the new market was established. The construction of the new market did not, however, solve the problem of traffic congestion. In 1786, for example, informations were instructed to be laid against persons blocking Lincoln and Jesus College Lanes on market days. J.O.J. Feb. 4 1786 No.1710.

(105) Several historians have shown that overcrowding in public markets was indeed leading to an increased proportion of market transactions taking place in private. A. Everitt, for example, after stating that private marketing, particularly in inns was increasing rapidly, gives as one of the main reasons the physical incapacity of market places to accommodate growing trade. A. Everitt, "Urban Growth 1570-1770"... Pp.121-122. Again, A.B. Robertson shows that overcrowding in the markets of the City of London became the excuse for such practices as sample sale and inn-marketing. A.B. Robertson, "The Open Market in the City of London in the Eighteenth Century," in East London Papers Vol.I No.2 (Oct. 1958) Pp.20-21.

support for retaining the open character of marketing - the arguments adduced to support the building of a new market house in Henley illustrate this - and thus the development of new market facilities may be seen as, in part, an attempt to forestall the growth of private dealing and ensure the continued existence of the open market.

The second major conclusion is that the authorities in a number of towns, motivated at least in part by concern over congestion, pollution and the wish to preserve the open nature of marketing, made determined efforts to compel traders to use the facilities available. Thus, after the erection of the new shambles in Woodstock in 1766, legal opinion was sought as to whether free and country butchers could be obliged to make use of the shambles. On October 4 the Council declared that the butchers attending Woodstock market would be prosecuted by the Corporation if they refused to use the shambles and this regulation was backed up by one made in November 1767 to the effect that any butcher selling meat in his own house or in any other place than the public shambles on any fair or market day would be prosecuted.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Again, in Oxford the attempts by those selling meat, fish and garden produce to evade regulations on where they should sell their products and the attempts by the authorities to ensure that tradesmen did use the facilities available to them are themes running through the history of the provisions market from the seventeenth century onwards.

Before the construction of the new market the major problem appears to have been with the butchers. Thus the Council Acts for 1685, 1688, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1696, 1702 and 1703 all include regulations concerning the sale of meat in

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Acts of the Council 1747-1787 Pp.226; 229; 261.

the shambles in High Street and Queen Street and/or complaints about butchers selling meat in the suburbs or at their own houses.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The Company of Butchers and Poulterers appears to have supported the Council's efforts to regulate the sale of meat⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and in November 1742 it was the Company which spearheaded an attack on selling outside the market, when they complained to the Council about the activities of "foreigners" hawking meat around the City.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ In the 1750's and 1760's the earlier problems with freemen butchers appear to have recurred with orders being made in March 1756; April 1757 and February 1761 to prevent the use of High Street for the sale of meat on non-market days and with prosecutions of offenders ordered in October 1756 and May 1761.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

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- (107) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701"... Pp.178; 195; 219; 226; 231-232; 261.
Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1701-1752"... Pp.19; 21; 23.
- (108) The Company of Butchers and Poulterers... Ms Morrell 19 P.4.
- (109) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1701-1752"... P.239. Although later regulations do not indicate the commodities which were being sold by hawkers and chapmen we may note that in March 1743 the Common Council ordered that hawkers were damaging to the City's traders and should be prosecuted, and that in March 1748 the traders of Oxford petitioned Parliament for the repeal of the Acts licensing hawkers and pedlars.
Ibid. Pp.240; 263; 267.
In December 1772 the Common Council also agreed to support a petition calling for the suppression of hawkers and pedlars.
Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801"... P.101.
- (110) Ibid. Pp.15; 20; 22; 41.

Before looking at the attempts which were made to ensure that the new market was used 2 points should be made on the problems with the butchers. Firstly it is likely that the difficulties which the City experienced in ensuring that the butchers sell where they were required may have been compounded by the fact that the University was issuing them with contradictory instructions⁽¹¹¹⁾, an illustration of the problems which could arise when ownership was disputed. Secondly, it tends to be assumed that attempts to channel trade through public markets were in the best interest of the consumer. Here, however, the attempts to prevent the hawking of meat in the City were designed primarily to protect the privileged position of Oxford's "free" tradesmen. In fact, the suppression of hawkers may have been actually disadvantageous to the small suburban consumer.

Although certain tradesmen were permitted, by the terms of the Acts of Parliament on Oxford market, to continue trading from shops and houses, on the whole the Acts required that all meat, from November 1 1773; all fish, poultry, herbs, roots and garden stuff, from December 21 1774; and all butter and eggs, from 1781, should be sold in the new market.⁽¹¹²⁾ Fruit presented an exceptional case. The authorities had believed that the term "garden stuff" encompassed fruit. However, in 1776 the sellers of cherries ceased to attend the new market alleging that fruit was not comprehended within the Act. As

(111) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1701-1752"... P.xviii.

(112) Ed. L.L. Shadwell "Enactments in Parliament... Vol.II I George I-II George IV"... Pp.123; 178.
J.O.J. Oct. 16 1773 No.1068.
J.O.J. Nov. 26 1774 No.1126.

a result of this fruit was not, in fact, legally required to be sold in the new market until 1781.⁽¹¹³⁾ This incident may afford a possible explanation for the fact that the authorities in Oxford were able to preserve their open provisions market when authorities in other towns failed to do so; it appearing that, without powerful legal backing, it was not easy to insist that tradesmen must sell only through the medium of the market.

There is no doubt that the Market Committee had considerable difficulties in enforcing the terms of the Acts. Thus, Table I illustrates how the Committee was forced on several occasions to warn traders against selling out of the market.

Table I. Orders on the Enforcement of the Oxford Market Acts

<u>Date</u>	<u>Nature of the Order</u>
Mar. 28 1778	Order that all persons hawking or selling garden-stuff in Oxford, or its suburbs would be prosecuted.
May 5 1779	Order that all persons selling commodities out of the market which should be sold there would be prosecuted. This followed complaints that several persons, in particular gardeners were selling in other parts of the city.
Mar. 1 1782	Order that all persons selling butter out of the new market would be prosecuted.
Jan. 11 1783	Order that all persons selling butter, eggs, fruit, garden-stuff or other commodities in Oxford or its suburbs, out of the market would be prosecuted. This followed complaints that many persons were hawking and selling, in particular, butter, eggs, fruit and garden-stuff out of the market.

(113) Papers of the Market Committee 1774-1823 D.3.11(6).
 No one could be prosecuted for buying fruit out of the market because, "such victual only as is necessary for the food of man, is within the...statute of 5 & 6 Ed.6 and therefore apples and cherries...are not." R. Burn The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer (12th Ed. 1772) Vol.II P.199.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Nature of the Order</u>
Feb. 29 1788	Order that all persons hawking or selling meat, fowls, butter, eggs, fruit or garden-stuff in Oxford or the suburbs, out of the market, would be prosecuted.
May 7 1795	Order that every butcher, poulterer, fishmonger or dealer found selling meat or other commodities out of the market would be prosecuted. This followed complaints that persons were selling meat on Sundays at their own houses and were also selling poultry, herbs, roots and garden stuff out of the market.
Nov. 8 1797	Order that the Clerk of the new market inform against all tradesmen selling meat, and particularly pork at private houses and shops out of the market.
May 24 1808	Order that any butcher, poulterer, fishmonger or dealer selling meat, herbs, roots, and garden produce out of the market would be prosecuted. This followed complaints that persons were selling meat, herbs, roots and garden-stuff out of the market.
Feb. 19 1824	Order that every butcher, fishmonger, poulterer, higgler or dealer selling out of the market would be prosecuted and that holders of stalls guilty of the same offence would be, in addition, deprived of the right to hold a stall. This followed complaints that the practice of selling meat, fish, poultry, eggs, butter, herbs and garden-stuff out of the market had much increased. (114)

If, however, the picture is one of dispute and the evasion of regulations, it is nevertheless true firstly that the insistence that sellers use the market facilities provided

- (114) J.O.J. Mar. 28 1778 No.1300.
J.O.J. May 8 1779 No.1358.
J.O.J. Mar. 2 1782 No.1505.
J.O.J. Jan. 11 1783 No.1550.
J.O.J. Mar. 15 1788 No.1820.
The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835... Pp.96-97; 108-109.
J.O.J. May 28 1808 No.2874.
Papers of the Market Committee 1774-1823. D.3.11(26).

for them was more effective as a method of confining trade to the open market than attempts to restrict the activities of buyers, by, for example, invoking anti-forestalling legislation, and secondly that in the towns in which the authorities did try to confine trade by regulating sellers markets remained much more viable entities. For example, if we compare Oxford with Bicester and Witney, in both of which the authorities were apparently lax in their attitudes to foodsellers, we find that the City's provisions market was much more successful than those in the 2 towns. Thus, as late as 1889 Oxford did not possess a butcher's shop, meat still being sold only in the new market.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ On the other hand J. Dunkin, writing in 1816, could record that at Bicester, "The shambles... erected for the express accommodation of the butchers... are now little used; that class of the town's people preferring shops attached to their own dwellings"⁽¹¹⁶⁾, while at Witney, the 3 rows of butchers' shambles erected at the start of the eighteenth century had become by the close of the century one row and that not fully occupied.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

One explanation for the rejection of established markets by traders was that market owners usually required that the traders should make some payment for the privilege of using the facilities which they provided.

Table II illustrates the data which has survived on the payments required.

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- (115) W. Addison English Fairs and Markets (1953) P.71.
As late as 1923 H. Paintin could write that attempts to confine the sale of meat to the market had been made, if unsuccessfully, in "recent years".
H. Paintin The Oxford Mercat (1923) P.186.
- (116) J. Dunkin Op.cit. P.18.
- (117) Collections Made in the Nineteenth Century by W. Langford...
P.123.

Table II - Oxfordshire Toll Data

Place	Date	Type of Tolls; Nature of Receipts or Rents charged for Leases of the Tolls	Sum (per annum unless otherwise stated)
BANBURY (118)	1729	Rent for Piccage & Stallage	10 gns.
	1738	Rent for Piccage & Stallage	8 gns.
	1747	Rent for Wool Hall	7/6
	1747	Rent for sheep ground	£4 -
	1750-52	Rent for sheep ground	£4 -
	1753	Rent for sheep ground	£4/4/0
	1757-59	Rent for sheep ground	£4/3/0
	1764	Rent for sheep ground	£4 -
	1772-83	Rent for Horse Tolls at St. Luke's Fair and Mop Fair	1 gn. per fair
		Rent for Horse Tolls at Twelfth Fair	2 gns.
		Rent for Horse Tolls at Fish Fair	3 gns.
		Rent for Horse Tolls at Holy Thursday, Corpus Christi and Lammas Fairs	No charge
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BICESTER	1752	The profits arising from toll, piccage and stallage taken at markets and fairs	£35
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CHARLBURY	Beginning of the 18th century	Profits made by the Bailiff of the Manor from renting out stalls at markets and fairs.	£5 - £6
	c 1717 ⁽¹¹⁹⁾	Price at which ground for stalls was let to townsmen.	£5/7/6
	c 1717	Sum for which ground was sublet by townsmen.	14 gns.
	c 1717	Rent for cattle toll.	£2 -
	c 1717	Rent paid by glovers for stalls at the 4 fairs.	£1 -
	c 1717	Rent paid by shoemakers for stalls at the 4 fairs.	12/-
	c 1717	Rent paid by barkers for stalls.	4/-
	c 1717	"Pitch and shew" paid at 4 fairs.	8/-
	c 1717	Tolls on barley.	Probably 15 bushels of barley valued at £1/10/-.
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(118) Details on the profits arising from Banbury market in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are given in Eds. J.S.W. Gibson and E.R.C. Brinkworth, "Banbury Corporation Records: Tudor and Stuart", in The Banbury Historical Society Vol.15 (1977).

(119) In Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X P.145 the date is given as 1709 not c. 1717.

Place	Date	Type of Tolls; Nature of Receipts or Rents charged for Leases of the Tolls	Sum (per annum unless otherwise stated)
	c 1717	Tolls on wheat.	Probably 441 lbs valued at 3/-.
	c 1717	Profits from weighing cheese.	4/6
	c 1717	Profits from stalls let on market days.	2/11
	c 1717	Total receipts.	£12/8/3
c 1717-1772; 1774-1776	c 1717	Rent paid for tolls.	£6
	c 1717	Expenses involved in erecting stalls, collecting tolls etc.	£4/4/0
	c 1717	Net Profit	£2/4/3
CHIPPING NORTON	Oct. 1725-	"Antient rent" for toll of cattle at fairs and markets	£17/10/0
	Oct. 1726	Rent for cattle toll at fairs and markets.	£15 -
	Oct. 1727-	Rent for toll of the market (probably cattle toll)	£15 -
	Oct. 1728	Rent for toll of the market and fairs (probably cattle toll).	£15 -
	Oct. 1729-	Rent for the toll.	£15 -
	Oct. 1730	Rebate on rent because of losses due to cattle plague.	1 gn.
	Oct. 1730	Rent for toll of the market and fairs (for all manner of cattle)	£15 -
	Oct. 1740-	Rent for stall ground.	£1/10/0
	Oct. 1741	Toll free for grain and corn.	-
	Oct. 1743-	Estimated annual value of the tolls collected at Lodge's Fairs (The tolls of these fairs may always have been let separately. They are mentioned to have been separate in 1752).	£13
	Oct. 1744	Estimated annual value of the tolls collected at Lodge's Fairs.	£14
	Oct. 1746-	Rent for toll of corn sold in the market.	8 gns.
	Oct. 1747	Rent for toll of corn.	£10 -
	June 1752-	Rent for toll of corn.	£10 -
	June 1753	Rent for toll of corn.	£10 but allowed rebate of 1 gn.
	1759-1762	Rent for toll of corn.	£10 -
	1773	Rent for toll of corn.	£10 -
	1789	Rent for toll of corn.	£15 -
	1793	Rent for cattle toll.	10 gns.
	1794	Rent for toll of corn and cattle.	20 gns.
	1795	Rent for toll of cattle.	£20
	1798		
	1799		
	1800		
	1801		
	1802		
	1803-1804		
	1804-1805		
	1824		

Place	Date	Type of Tolls; Nature of Receipts or Rents charged for Leases of the Tolls	Sum (per annum unless otherwise stated)
HENLEY	1642	Toll of corn	£90/12/9½
	1700-01	Rent for toll of corn	£85
		Receipts for toll of corn	£96/10/3
	1712-13	Receipts for toll of corn	£132/14/7
	1715-16	Rent for toll of corn and royalty of manor.	approx. £90 -
	1717-18	Receipts for toll of corn	£134/16/6½
	1721	Receipts for toll of corn	probably £136/15/10½
	1724	Quit rent for hair market	£1 -
	1767-68	Rent of tolls of stalls and hair market	£4 -
	1768-70	Rent of tolls of stalls and hair market	£4 -
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OXFORD	1666-82	Profits of St. Frideswide's Fair	Annual receipts ranged between £1/3/10 and £2/2/10

The New Market

Estimates on the cost of constructing the new market; the number of shops and stalls to be erected and the rents to be charged for them were constantly altering in the early stages of the development of the new market. Furthermore, minor changes in rents were made between 1774 and 1800. Nevertheless, the figures below are a reliable estimate of the total sum which rents from the market could have been expected to produce, if the shops and stalls had been fully let and there had been regular payment of rent.

c 1774	8 front butchers' shops	£80
	let at £10 each.	
	32 remaining butchers' shops	£224
	let at £7 each.	
	8 corner gardeners' shops	£56
	at £7 each.	
	(or if 9 shops)	(£63)
	40 stalls at £2/10/0 each	£100
	Total	£460

The following figures are included for the purpose of comparison.

c 1773	Cost of building 40 butchers' shops	£1767
May 1773	Estimate on annual expenses of the Market Committee	£311/6/0
	Daily receipts of the new market (120)	

(120) These receipts were obtained from persons who attended the market to sell but did not rent fixed shops. Gardeners bringing hampers to the market had to pay 2d per hamper per day; those bringing small baskets paid 1d and those bringing goods weighing less than 1 peck paid ½d. Gardeners who rented shops and also placed goods in the market avenues had to pay 2d per intrusion. Fishermen were charged 3d per day for their standings and china-ware men setting up benches to display their

Place	Date	Type of Tolls; Nature of Receipts or Rents charged for Leases of the Tolls	Sum (per annum unless otherwise stated)
OXFORD	c 1773	Estimate on the daily receipts from the new market	£103
	1775	Daily receipts	£108/13/2 (probably)
	1776	" "	£114/4/6½
	1777	" "	£101/4/4
	1778	" "	£102/1/9
	1779	" "	£110/14/3
	1780	" "	£111/15/4
	1781	" "	£116/4/7
	1782	" "	£112/6/2
	1783	" "	£132/13/7
	1784	" "	£132/13/6
	1785	" "	£123/8/4
	1786	" "	£113/18/11
	1787	" "	£112/13/11
	1788	" "	£126/14/1
	1789	" "	£129/14/0
	1790	" "	£121/9/1
	1790	Balance in hand after annual audit (account prepared 1791)	£64/0/4
	1791	Daily Receipts	£129/1/11
	1791	Balance in hand after annual audit (account prepared 1792)	£76/18/3
	1792	Daily receipts	£119/7/6
	1793	" "	£123/0/7
	1793	Balance in hand after annual audit	£57/6/1½
	1794	Daily receipts	£124/6/2
	1795	" "	£131/1/1
May 1795 (possibly relating to 1794)		Deficit at annual audit	£12/7/4½
	1796	Daily receipts	£140/10/2
	1797	" "	£128/7/9
	1780	<u>Daily receipts collected in the new market</u>	<u>Sum per week</u>
	Jan. 3-8		£1/9/0
	Jan. 10-15		£1/8/7
	Jan. 17-22		£1/9/6
	Jan. 24-29		£1/8/1
	Jan. 31-Feb. 5		£1/12/0
	Feb. 7-12		£1/12/1
	Feb. 14-19		£1/13/0
	Feb. 21-26		£1/12/6
	Feb. 28-Mar. 4		£1/15/5

(120) goods were required to pay 6d per week.
The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835... Pp.69;
72; 73; 83; 84.

Place	Date	Type of Tolls; Nature of Receipts of Rents charged for Leases of the Tolls	Sum
OXFORD	Mar.6-11 1780		£1/17/6
	Mar.13-18		£1/16/6
	Mar.20-25		£1/17/6
	Mar.27-Apr.1		£1/16/0
	Apr.3-8		£1/15/0
	Apr.10-15		£1/14/2
	Apr.17-22		£1/14/6
	Apr.24-29		£1/15/6
	May 1-6		£1/16/0
	May 8-13		£1/17/0
	May 15-20		£1/17/0
	May 22-27		£1/19/0
	May 29-Jun.3		£2/2/0
	Jun.5-10		£2/3/6
	Jun.12-17		£2/8/6
	Jun.19-24		£2/16/0
	Jun.26-Jul.1		£3/7/0
	Jul.3-8		£4/0/5
	Jul.10-15		£3/4/6
	Jul.17-22		£3/12/0
	Jul.24-29		£3/16/6
	Jul.31-Aug.5		£2/19/3
	Aug.7-12		£2/0/1
	Aug.14-19		£1/17/2
	Aug.21-26		£1/17/6
	Aug.28-Sept.2		£1/18/0
	Sept.4-9		£2 -
	Sept.11-16		£1/18/6
	Sept.18-23		£2/3/0
	Sept.25-30		£2/6/6
	Oct.2-7		£2/3/0
	Oct.9-14		£2/4/0
	Oct.16-21		£2/7/1
	Oct.23-28		£2/7/0
	Oct.30-Nov.4		£2/7/3
	Nov.6-11		£2/6/6
	Nov.13-18		£2/5/6
	Nov.20-25		£2/0/3
	Nov.27-Dec.2		£2/2/0
	Dec.4-9		£1/19/3
	Dec.11-16		£2/2/0
	Dec.18-23		£1/12/6
	Dec.25-30		£1/15/0
THAME	Mar.1771-	Rack rent for the tolls	£25/16/0
	Mar.1772		
	Sept.1799-	Rent for the tolls of	£23 -
	Sept.1800	Thame market	
	Sept.1799-	Rent for the market house	£3 -
	Sept.1800		
WOODSTOCK	1731	Rent for the tolls.	£26/5/0
		Shortly after this the tolls were divided, the cattle tolls being let separately.	

Place	Date	Type of Tolls; Nature of Receipts of Rents charged for Leases of the Tolls	Sum
WOOD-STOCK	Mar.1732-	Rent for toll of cattle	£8/5/0
	Mar.1735	(except horses)	
	Mar.1732 (date of order)	Rent for tolls of Woodstock (except cattle)	£20 -
	Dec.1732 (date of order)	Sum allowed to Mayor instead 12 gns. of profits of cheese fairs	
	Sept.1735 (date of order)	Rent for toll, pitch and shew (except cattle tolls)	£16/5/0
	Dec.1735 (date of order)	Rent for toll, pitch and shew and piece of ground by pillory (except cattle tolls and cheese fair)	£16/15/0
	Nov.1737 (date of order)	Rent for the tolls, pitch and show and the piece of stall ground by the pillory	£15 -
	Mar.1737-	Sum allowed to Mayor instead 12 gns. of profits of cheese fairs	
	Mar.1738		
	Mar.1738-	Rent for cattle toll	£8/10/0
	Mar.1739		
	Nov.1744 (date of order)	Rent for toll, pitch and show, and profits of cheese fairs	£21/5/0
	Sept.1745-	Rent for cattle toll	£7/10/0
	Sept.1746	Rebate made because of cattle plague.	£3/15/0
	Sept.1746-	Rent for cattle toll	£7/10/0
	Sept.1747		
	Sept.1747-	Rent for toll, pitch and show and profits of cheese fairs	£21/5/0
	Sept.1748		
	Sept.1747-	Rent for cattle toll	£7/10/0
	Sept.1748		
	Nov.1750-	Rent for toll, pitch and show and profits of cheese fairs	£21/5/0
	Nov.1751		
	1751(probably Nov.1750-Nov.1751)	Rent for cattle toll	£7/10/0
	Probably Nov. 1751-Nov.1752	Rent for toll, pitch and show and profits of cheese fairs	£21/5/0
	Probably Nov. 1751-Nov.1752	Rent for cattle toll	£6/17/6
	Nov.1752-	Rent for toll, pitch and show and profits of cheese fairs	£21/5/0
	Nov.1757		
	1766-1768	Rent for the toll	£31 -
	1769-Feb.1772	Rent for the toll (except horses and corn)	£24 -
	Feb.1769-	Woodstock market toll	
	Feb.1772	free for corn	
	Feb.1772-	Rent for tolls of markets and fairs including tolls of horses (rated at 5/-)	£22/15/0
	Feb.1775		
	1775-Feb.1776	Rent for tolls of markets and fairs	£22/10/0
	Feb.1776	Woodstock market to be "for the future" toll free for corn	

Place	Date	Type of Tolls; Nature of Receipts or Rents charged for Leases of the Tolls	Sum
WOOD-STOCK	May 1776- Dec. 1779 and probably other years 1781	Rent for toll of markets and fairs No toll to be charged from Michaelmas 1781 on sheep and cattle brought to Wood- stock market. Toll continued to be paid at fairs.	£16 -
	1784-1785	Rent for toll of markets and fairs	£16 -
	Mar. 1791 (date of order)	Rent for toll and profit of markets and fairs	£18 -
	Mar. 1792 (date of order)	Rent for toll and profits of markets and fairs	£14 -
	Mar. 1795 (date from which order was to run)	Rent for toll and profits of markets and fairs and rent of "bye stalls in the shamble"	£17 -
	Mar. 1796 (date of order) Repeated 1797	Rent for tolls and profits of markets and fairs and rent of bye stalls in the shambles	£12 -
	1802	Rent for tolls and profits of markets and fairs and rent of bye stalls in the shambles	£8/10/0
	1825	Tolls were as follows: Horses 4d per head; cattle 2d per head; sheep 8d per score; piccage, stalls and stands 1d each.	
<u>Sums received for weighing cheese at the cheese fairs</u>			
	Nov. 8 1737		18/10
	Dec. 13 1737		8/3
	Mar. 25 1738		£1/2/7
	May 23 1738		2/11
	Jul. 22 1738		4/6
	Sept. 21 1738		£6/11/6½
	Nov. 7 1738		19/-
	Dec. 7 1738		4/8½
	Mar. 26 1739		£1/10/5
	Jul. 23 1739		5/2½
	Sept. 21 1739		£9/19/11½
	Nov. 6 1739		14/6
	Dec. 6 1739		3/10
	Mar. 25 1740		£1/0/6
	Sept. 22 1740		£4/10/10½
	Nov. 4 1740		5/6
	Dec. 6 1740		4/3
	Mar. 25 1741		11/5
	Jul. 22 1741		3/3
	Sept. 21 1741		£3/17/0
	Nov. 3 1741		12/-

Place	Date	Type of Tolls; Nature of Receipts or Rents charged for Leases of the Tolls	Sum
WOOD-STOCK	Dec.7 1741		5/8
	Mar.25 1742		17/-
	Jul.22 1742		3/9
	Sept.21 1742		£5/16/4
	Nov. 1742		7/4
	Dec. 1742		5/-
	Mar. 1743		17/6
	Jul. 1743		4/2
	Sept. 1743		£4/17/2
	Nov. 8 1743		10/7
	Dec. 6 1743		9/1
	Mar.26 1744		£1/1/1
	May 15 1744		3/2
	Jul.23 1744		2/-
	Sept.21 1744		£4/11/0
	Nov.6 1744		11/2

The terms used to describe payments demanded by market authorities varied both from market to market and inside individual markets and it is difficult to give precise definitions of the various phrases employed.

The term used most frequently is "toll", defined by J.A.H. Murray's A New English Dictionary (1909) as, "a charge for the privilege of bringing goods for sale to a market or fair, or of setting up a stall," and by Nuttall's Concise Standard Dictionary (1973) as "a tax for some liberty or privilege, particularly that of... vending goods in a fair or market." These 2 definitions would appear to be, to some extent, contradictory in that the one suggests that tolls were paid by persons simply bringing goods into a market place and the other that they were paid only when commodities were actually sold. There is evidence that in Oxfordshire tolls were sometimes demanded only when sales took place. Thus a report drawn up in the sixteenth century asserted that toll was not to be taken on cattle as it was brought to Oxford market but only when sales took place. (121)

(121) Oxford Miscellanies Ms Top Oxon b 116 Document 30.

Later evidence is less explicit. However, in the late seventeenth century we find that at Chipping Norton, when an individual was permitted to erect sheep pens at fairs and markets and charge for their use, the Bailiffs and Burgesses reserved to themselves all tolls and dues for the sale of sheep and lambs.⁽¹²²⁾ However, we can also adduce evidence of toll being demanded as goods were brought into towns on market days, although one should note that these tolls may have been in addition to, rather than in place of, those charged when sales occurred. An example of tolls being taken on entry into a town is from Burford. There, the Bailiffs were permitted to take toll from the owners of carts and cattle crossing the town's bridge during the Michaelmas fairs.⁽¹²³⁾ Again, at least in the seventeenth century, it would appear that non-freemen bringing corn to sell in Oxford may have been charged wheelage, that is a tax on the passage of the cart in which they carried their corn⁽¹²⁴⁾, probably in addition to a toll, in proportion to the amount of corn they actually sold.⁽¹²⁵⁾

In addition to demanding toll, market authorities might also request payment for the rights to occupy space in a

(122) Lease for Penning sheep in Chipping Norton Market Place...

(123) J.O.J. Jan. 15 1791 No.1968.

(124) Ed. M.G. Hobson "Oxford Council Acts 1701-1752"...P.308. Notes concerning "wheelage".

(125) Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.IV The City of Oxford (1979) P.308.

market place; to erect a stall, or to occupy any structure which they or the lessee of the tolls might provide. Evidence that vendors were charged simply for the privilege of using ground-space comes from Oxford. There, when an area of the new market began to be occupied by persons selling garden produce it was decided that "any reasonable sum of money" could be demanded "as compensation for the space of ground they occupy".⁽¹²⁶⁾ It is possible, moreover, that the terms "pitching pence", "pitch and share", and "pitch and shew", which were employed in several towns, refer to payments for the right simply to place goods on the market square.⁽¹²⁷⁾ However, the term piccage, which was also employed, has a more specific meaning, being generally defined as a toll paid for breaking the ground in setting up booths, stalls and tents at fairs and markets and, as it was apparently considered that pitching pence could not be demanded of the persons selling garden produce⁽¹²⁸⁾, one may suggest that, on the whole, the

(126) Ed. L.L. Shadwell, "Enactments in Parliament... Vol.II I George I - II George IV"... P.179.

(127) This is suggested by, for example, a decree that the Town Clerk of Chipping Norton was to demand from persons from Charlbury, who exposed to sale any goods, wares or merchandise in Chipping Norton market, the usual dues and fees known as the pitch and share penny.
Common Council Minute Book. Chipping Norton Borough 1720 - late Eighteenth Century.

(128) A clause in the Act of Parliament under which the new market was established, had reserved the right to collect pitching pence to the Mayor.
Ed. L.L. Shadwell, "Enactments in Parliament... Vol.II I George I - II George IV... P.123.
However, it was apparently considered that special provision had to be made before money could be collected from those selling garden produce in this one area of the new market.

use of these terms carries with it the implication that the payer would be erecting some sort of structure upon which to display his wares.

Another term in common use was "stallage", defined as "a tax or toll levied for the liberty of erecting a stall in a fair or market."⁽¹²⁹⁾ Given this definition it is not easy to ascertain the exact distinction between piccage and stallage. Certainly stallage or stall-ground payments, like piccage, might be demanded for the privilege of setting up a stall for one's own use. This is illustrated by an advertisement placed in J.O.J.: "Whereas there are two Butchers stalls left at the King's Arms in the High-Street, Oxford: Notice is hereby given that if the Owners thereof do not immediately fetch them away and pay the Stall Ground, they will be forthwith sold to defray the same."⁽¹³⁰⁾ However, stalls or standings⁽¹³¹⁾ might also be provided by market owners or those dwelling in the streets where markets were held, and it is possible that stallage could sometimes have been employed to cover the payments requested from those renting these stalls.

(129) Ed. J.A.H. Murray A New English Dictionary (1909).

(130) J.O.J. Jul. 18 1767 No.742.

(131) The word "standing" appears to mean both a booth or a stall or the position for or occupied by a booth or stall. Ed. J.A.H. Murray Op.Cit.
In Oxfordshire the term seems to have been employed most usually to indicate a stall.
J.S.W. Gibson Loc.cit. P.40.
Rev. H.E. Salter, "Oxford City Properties,"... in O.H.S. Vol. LXXXIII (1926) P.33.

Finally, one should note that market authorities might also raise money from those visiting their towns on market or fair days by providing a common beam at which goods to be sold would be required to be weighed.⁽¹³²⁾ For example, at Woodstock the profits from "weighing cheese" were a useful source of income for the Mayor.⁽¹³³⁾ Again, at Charlbury, the profits which could be gained from providing scales must have been significant for there, in the early eighteenth century, a malster acting in defiance of the Lord's Bailiff set up scales and weighed cheese, charging 2d per hundred for the service.⁽¹³⁴⁾ Finally, at Chipping Norton many local people could share in the profits to be gained from weighing cheese:

"It has been usuall for any shopkeeper and inhabitant in Chipping Norton to way cheese on the ffaire days in his own shop without paying any duty or fee. Butt all others that keep scales in the publick street pay or contract with the Lords of the manor or their Agnt."⁽¹³⁵⁾

From the above it will be evident that payments were mostly demanded of vendors on the day of the market or fair and were for facilities provided for the duration of that market or fair. As we have seen, however, there were also

(132) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk Op.cit. P.482.

(133) Woodstock Chamberlain's Accounts 1738-1834 Box 93/1.
For example Pp. 1; 3.

(134) Notes on Refusal of Tenants of Charlbury to Pay Market Tolls and Dues c 1717.

(135) 2 Papers giving Customs of Markets and Fairs at Woodstock 1709 DiL IV/5/13(11).

fixed shops and stalls in market places, and for these it was more usual for rent to be charged and paid either annually, half-yearly or quarterly. Thus, in the seventeenth century, leases were granted of the shops in Butcher Row in Henley and rents paid twice per year⁽¹³⁶⁾, and in Oxford fixed butchers' shops and fish chandlers' stalls were leased to the City's free tradesmen in return for annual rents.⁽¹³⁷⁾

The eighteenth century probably witnessed some expansion in the practice of granting leases for fixed shops. Thus, with the construction of the new market in Oxford many more permanent shops and stalls became available and were let for annual rents to both free and country butchers and to gardeners⁽¹³⁸⁾ and when the butchers' shambles in Woodstock were completed in 1766 the majority of the shops were let, for quarterly rents.⁽¹³⁹⁾

A.B. Robertson, examining how this practice developed in London, suggests that there at least there was considerable opposition to it because it was felt that temporary accommodation for which all could apply would permit country sellers to enjoy equal access to the City's markets with local tradesmen, thereby helping to promote competition and preserve the ideal of the open market.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ In Oxfordshire, local freemen do seem,

(136) Borough Assembly Minutes 1687-1722... P.6.

(137) While the butchers' shops in Queen Street were leased out and rents paid, the stalls set up in High Street and used on market days seem to have been let by the day for the payment of pitching pence and stallage.
Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701,"... Pp.216-217.
Rate Book for the Relief of the Poor... St. Peter le Bailey 1766-1771 Ms Top Oxon b 126 P.23. This lists the taxes for the relief of the poor paid by the occupiers of the butchers' shops in Queen Street.
Rev. H.E. Salter, "Oxford City Properties"... Pp.38; 150-151.

(138) Oxford Market. Papers of the Committee. D.3.10(21). This gives a full account of the terms under which the butchers' shops were let.

(139) Acts of the Council 1747-1787. P.230.

(140) A.B. Robertson Loc.cit. Pp.18-20.

in fact, to have experienced advantages when permanent accommodation was provided. Thus, as we have seen, the 20 butchers' shops in Queen Street, Oxford, were leased to free butchers only and even though the permanent stalls in the new market were made available to country traders, these were initially permitted access to their shops on general market days only.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Moreover, when in an attempt to circumvent this regulation the country butchers began to take orders on general market days and deliver the meat to the City on other days, it was decided that the practice constituted vending out of the market and that the butchers would be liable to a fine of £5 for each offence.⁽¹⁴²⁾ In Woodstock too, while both free and country butchers could take shops in the shambles, the countrymen appear to have been charged higher rents.⁽¹⁴³⁾

However, it was not necessarily the case that the provision of fixed facilities brought any more disadvantage to the visiting tradesmen than the system of temporary accommodation. Thus, in Oxford the rule that "foreigners" should not sell garden produce and cheese on any other days than general market days applied

(141) The Book of the Oxford Market Committee... P.59.

(142) Papers of the Market Committee 1774-1823 D.3.11.(2).

(143) Acts of the Council 1747-1787... Pp.229; 261.
According to this each stall was to be let to the "out town" butchers at £1/16/0 per year or 10d per day, "they paying the toll," but that 2 butchers who were freemen were to pay only 10/- per year. It is not clear what is meant by "they paying the toll". The rent of the 2 freemen butchers was raised to 20/- per year in 1767.

when these products were still sold from temporary stalls set up in the streets.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Moreover, it is important to note that when and where commodity tolls were the most usual payments demanded, certain sections of the community might also enjoy a privileged position.

Many different groups, in fact, enjoyed or claimed a total or partial exemption from the payment of both tolls and the fees demanded for the use of scales⁽¹⁴⁵⁾, even if they usually expected to pay piccage and stallage.

The most usual groups to be exempt from the payment of tolls were the members of Corporations, freemen and often all the inhabitants of the town in which the market was held. For example, in Banbury the town's freemen did not pay sheep tolls⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ and in 1672 when a Holton grazier became a freeman of Oxford he was given a charter to go toll-free.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Again, the inhabitants of Chipping Norton and Over Norton, which had been formerly part of the same manor and continued to be in the same parish, had the right to trade freely in Chipping Norton market.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

It was less usual for the freemen of a town to be able to claim the right to be exempt from paying toll not only in their

(144) O. Ogle Loc.cit. P.87.
Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701"... P.296.

(145) A common balance with common weights was expected to be provided in every market town. "At which balance all the inhabitants may freely weigh without anything paying."
R. Burn The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer (12th Ed. 1772) Vol.IV P.341.

(146) J.S.W. Gibson Loc.cit. P35.

(147) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701"... P.57.

(148) 2 Papers giving Customs of Markets and Fairs at Woodstock 1709..

own market town, but throughout the country. This privilege was, however, claimed by the Citizens of Oxford, whose rights were enshrined in the City's Charters, for example that of 1228, in which we find,

"the burgesses (of Oxford) should be free of toll, passage etc.; with all liberties which they had been used to have with the citizens of London.." (149)

Oxford's claims did not go unchallenged and sometimes legal action was required before they were respected. Thus, in the 1580's Oxford apparently attempted to have its right to sell merchandise free of toll accepted by the authorities in London, M.L. Prior suggesting that, "This may well have been a preliminary step to opening the navigation and expanding trade." (150) A century later, when according to Dr. Prior the river traffic was booming (151), the dispute was reopened when the authorities in London demanded toll on malt sent from Oxford. (152) The Mayor of Oxford vigorously asserted that the City's freemen were exempt from the payment of toll.

Moreover, it was not simply in London that Oxford's claims were pursued. Thus, in 1697 the Council promised to defend several butchers who had complained that they had been distrained for toll in a number of markets, one of which was

(149) H.A. Merewether and A.J. Stephens Op.cit. Vol.I P.447. The right of the freemen of Oxford to trade without paying tolls must have been generally known. It is mentioned, for example, in T. Read Op.cit. P.423.

(150) M.L. Prior Fisher Row - The Oxford Community of Fishermen and Bargemen, 1500-1800. D.Phil. Thesis Oxford (1976) Pp.147-148.

(151) Ibid. P.148.

(152) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701"... Pp.133-134; 192; 195.

probably Thame⁽¹⁵³⁾ and in 1790 Oxford Corporation commenced an action against the Lord's Bailiff of Henley for attempting to toll corn sold by an Oxford freeman. On the latter occasion the Lord of the Manor was forced to acknowledge that his Bailiff had been at fault, and J.O.J. summarizing the case concluded,

"We cannot find from the City Records that this Claim of Exemption was ever before a subject of contention, and it's Issue is an additional Proof that the Charters of this Corporation retain their original Force and Effect in their full Extent."⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

Besides the freemen of Oxford there were others in the County who asserted that they should enjoy the privilege of trading toll-free in markets and fairs throughout the country. These included the Lords and tenants of particular manors and the occupiers of certain lands. For example, the occupants of demesne tenements of the former royal manor of Woodstock claimed total freedom from the payment of toll. An exemption certificate dated 1710 runs as follows:

"Appears from a survey taken in the 4th year of King Edward VI that the ancient demesne tenements of the manor of Woodstock among divers other liberties should be free from the payment of toll and tribute in all fairs and markets within

(153) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701"... P.272.

(154) J.O.J. Mar. 13 1790 No.1924.

the realm. The bearer hereof (Thomas Boughton) is an inhabitant of Stonesfield within the manor of Woodstock and a tenant of the said manor and has the right to use the ancient liberties." (155)

It is significant that this states that the tenement was freed from the payment of toll. It seems, in fact, that there was a distinction made between the person who enjoyed an overall exemption from paying toll and the one who enjoyed that exemption by virtue of his occupation of certain lands. Thus, in Chipping Norton the claims of a number of persons that they should be permitted to sell cattle toll free in the market there were rejected by the Corporation on the grounds that the livestock they were bringing to sell had not originated on the lands to which the exemption belonged but had been brought from other areas or purchased at fairs or markets. (156)

In addition to tenants of the manor of Woodstock, the inhabitants of South Leigh and Stanton Harcourt also claimed to be exempt from paying toll, as the villages were close to the royal manor and the villagers had formerly been obliged to perform certain services for the King, for which,

"they have ever heretofore been freed from the payment of all Toll and Tribute in all Fairs and Markets whatsoever within his Highnesses Realms and Dominions." (157)

(155) Paper Concerning Exemption from Toll 1710 Misc. LIDDLE II/viii/1.

(156) Common Council Minute Book. Chipping Norton Borough 1720 - late Eighteenth Century. Reference under 20 Dec. 1725.

(157) Ed. E.W. Harcourt The Harcourt Papers (N.D.) Vol.I Pp.22-23.

Finally, the inhabitants of the manors of Bicester King's End and Kirtlington, which were part of the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster claimed to be freed from paying toll in all markets and fairs, except those held within the Duchy itself. (158)

However, one should note that even where groups of people might claim a total exemption from paying toll they appear, on the whole, to have pursued their claims most forcibly in the adjacent market towns and possibly also in the regional market centres. Thus, the inhabitants of Bicester King's End successfully established their right to trade freely in Bicester Market End (159) and apparently tried to assert it in Oxford (160); and the inhabitants of Kirtlington also refused

(158) J. Dunkin Op.cit. P.136.

It would appear that at Kirtlington a ceremony known as the Lady of the Lamb was performed by the inhabitants and Thomas Hearne suggests that this was to celebrate their freedom from paying toll. The same ceremony is also believed to have taken place at Wytham in Berkshire and at Eynsham. In this context one should note that the inhabitants of Eynsham refused to pay tolls at Woodstock market.

Ed. by the Committee, "Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne Vol.VIII (Sept. 23 1722 - Aug. 9 1725)" in O.H.S. Vol.L (1907) P.68.

Mrs. B. Stapleton suggests that the ceremony took place at Kidlington not Kirtlington. This would appear to be erroneous. Mrs. B. Stapleton, "Three Oxfordshire Parishes, A History of Kidlington, Yarnton and Begbroke," in O.H.S. Vol.XXIV (1893) P.160.

(159) J. Dunkin Op.cit. P.136.

The inhabitants of the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster were, of course, expected to pay toll at Bicester King's End fair.

(160) When, in the early eighteenth century, the problem of wheelage was considered by Oxford Corporation, the question of whether the inhabitants of Kirtlington and Bicester King's End should pay toll, stallage and piccage appears to have been raised.

Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1701-51"... Pp.310-311.

to pay toll in Woodstock, their closest market town.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Again, there is evidence that tenants of the royal manor of Woodstock had their exemption claims accepted in Woodstock itself⁽¹⁶²⁾, Oxford⁽¹⁶³⁾ and probably also in Chipping Norton. It seems, in fact, that there it was the activities of inhabitants of the former royal manor, particularly men from Finstock, Deddington and Stonesfield (probably Thomas Boughton), which led the authorities to make a distinction between exemptions applying to individuals and to lands.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

In conclusion, one may note that while the documentation and traditions upon which exemption claims were based often stretched back to the thirteenth century, the claims were far from being pursued out of antiquarian interest. Indeed, it may be argued that the decisions of farmers and dealers to attend one market and not another were most probably influenced significantly by whether or not they could attend one of the markets without having to pay the authorities for the privilege of so doing. Moreover, in Oxford decisions on long-term trading and marketing policies appear to have depended, to some extent, on the acceptance by London of the City's exemption claims.

(161) Papers Relating to Woodstock 1602-cl825 Ms Top Oxon c351 No.162. The validity of their claim to exemption was not, however, acknowledged by the authorities in Woodstock. The exemption claims of the inhabitants of Stanton Harcourt, who did possess a charter right to go toll free throughout the country, were also rejected. The inhabitants of North Leigh and Ramsden also refused to pay toll in Woodstock.

(162) The authorities in Woodstock acknowledged the exemption claims of the inhabitants of Old Woodstock, Wootton, Bladon, Hordley Farm, Long and/or Church Hanborough, Freeland, Combe, Stonesfield, Finstock, Fawler, Charlbury, Deddington and Bloxham.
Ibid.

(163) Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxford shire Vol.IV... P.310.

(164) Common Council Minute Book. Chipping Norton Borough 1720... References under 20 Dec. 1725 and 25 Jan. 1725/26.

Exemption claims, being often difficult to substantiate or unacceptable to market authorities, were, as we have seen, the cause of several disputes. Toll disputes also arose for other reasons. For example, there was often disagreement, arising from uncertainties about the ownership of markets, as to who, in fact, should enjoy the privilege of receiving toll payments. Thus, in Oxford, where both city and university laid claim to the revenue derived from the markets, on many occasions, particularly in the seventeenth century, one party might hamper the collection of tolls, stallage and piccage by the other or encourage tradesmen to refuse to submit to toll demands. (165)

A more specifically eighteenth century problem was that of whether toll could be taken on produce purchased outside the market precincts and/or by sample. An examination of this issue is revealing in that it helps to show both how market

(165) In 1620, for example, the Vice-Chancellor ordered the bakers and butchers to set up their stalls in the market without paying toll to the City.
 Ed. A. Clark, "Register of the University of Oxford. Vol.II 1571-1622," in O.H.S. Vol.X (1887) P.339.
 In 1639 and 1661, on the other hand, it was the turn of the City to deny the University's claims.
 Thus, in 1639 it was affirmed by Tobias Payne of Oddington, "that Mr. Weeks of Magdalen parish in Oxon persuaded him and other Cuntry men not to paye toll, and avouched if any was due, it was due to the Cittie of Oxon, not to the Universitie," and in 1661 it was declared in a petition from the University to the King that "(the) Citty incroach upon (the) Markett, and disturb those who come to sell cloath victualls and other comoditys, and disturb (the) Clerke of (the) Markett to take toll."
 O. Ogle Loc.cit. Pp.85; 68.

authorities in different towns tried to protect their revenue when faced by new developments in marketing and also how in the less successful market towns a failure to come to terms with such problems might both be symptomatic of, and hasten, the decline of the open market.

Thus, in Charlbury when the Lord's Bailiff was faced with the fact that the town's maltsters were buying barley by sample in Chipping Norton and then having it delivered to Charlbury on non-market days to avoid toll payments, he failed both to prevent the practice and to secure the market revenue⁽¹⁶⁶⁾, and this failure was undoubtedly a factor in the market's decline. The authorities in other towns, however, while failing to prevent altogether such practices, often found ways of protecting revenue, thereby reducing the advantages of by-passing their open markets. Thus, when the authorities in Chipping Norton, Woodstock and Wallingford in Berkshire were faced with a similar situation to that which had arisen in Charlbury, they decided to take toll on the corn brought into their towns to the maltsters, not only on market days but every day of the week.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ This was also seen as the solution when the same issue arose at Henley in 1768. There, however, when legal opinion was sought, the view given was that, as the corn had not been brought to market, no toll could be demanded.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Nevertheless, in spite of this unfavourable decision, in 1793 a committee was set up to discover if tolls were payable on grain no part of which had been pitched⁽¹⁶⁹⁾, and, as late as 1808, the Court Leet Jury

(166) Notes on Refusal of Tenants of Charlbury to Pay Market Tolls and Dues c 1717.

(167) Ibid
2 Papers giving Customs of Markets and Fairs at Woodstock 1709

(168) Mr. Mayes Opinion about Forestalling 1768.

(169) J.O.J. Jan. 26 1793 No.2073.

asserted, "that the Lord of the Manor, or his Tenant, the Lessee of the Tolls is intitled to take Toll from all Corn sold within this Manor, whether in the open Market or elsewhere, and as often as the same shall be sold." (170)

Finally, one may note that in Abingdon in Berkshire, not only was it ensured that there was no financial advantage in selling privately but selling in the market was accorded active encouragement. Thus, W. Mavor, writing in the early nineteenth century, recorded that on the 2 official market days, Monday and Friday, corn could be sold and delivered toll-free, whereas on non-market days payment was demanded from those bringing corn into the town. (171)

While the disputes discussed above arose because, in these cases, there were genuine doubts as to whether the authorities had the right to collect tolls, it was also the case that tradesmen might reject indisputably legitimate requests for payment. In Oxford, for example, throughout the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries the butchers constantly refused to pay pitching pence (172), and the situation did not improve after the construction of the new market; fishermen rejecting claims

(170) Courtleet Book 1786-1881 Pp.55-56.

(171) W. Mavor Op.cit. P.450.

(172) Exemplification of a Judgment as to Picage and Stallage.
 May 9 1687 I.41.
 O. Ogle Loc.cit. Pp.89-91.
 Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701" PP.185;
 194; 206; 216-217.
 Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1701-1752" Pp.lviii; 239.
 Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801" Pp. 5-6;
 13; 20-21.

that they should pay for standings⁽¹⁷³⁾ and regular stall-holders falling as much as 3 years behind with their rents.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ In other towns the authorities were faced with similar problems. Thus we find that in 1710 the authorities in Henley were having to order,

"that such persons as shall refuse to pay to Thomas Barrett such moneys as are usually paid for pitching or setting anything for sale on markett dayes in or about the markett cross bee proceeded against for the same att the charge of this Corporation,"⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

and that in 1785 the Corporation of Banbury was contemplating taking action against several persons making default in the payment of toll.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

Finally, it is clear that even when tradesmen might make the requisite payments to the authorities they could still find ways of defrauding market owners. For example, a tradesman

(173) The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835... Pp.75-77.

(174) Ibid P.76 and Passim.
Papers of the Market Committee 1774-1823 D.3.11(8); (9); (10)
J.O.J. May 16 1795 No.2194.
 The problem of arrears among the tradesmen in the new market was particularly acute in the period 1794-1797; and it does appear that the butchers were having real difficulties in meeting their financial commitments, one being actually imprisoned for debt and others urging that they were unable, not simply unwilling, to raise the money required to pay off their arrears. It is possible to suggest, therefore, that butchers and gardeners, at least, may have failed to profit from the high prices and food shortages of these years.

(175) Borough Assembly Minutes 1687-1722...

(176) Minute Book of Banbury Corporation 1764-1812 P.88.

might pay stallage, erect a stall, apparently for his own use and then, perhaps in defiance of the market authorities, let the stall at a considerable profit. This occurred at Charlbury.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ Again, a stall-holder might permit another vendor to stand at his stall with him. This happened in the new market at Oxford.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ These 2 points are important in that they may suggest both that markets were capable of generating greater profits than were ever seen by market owners or toll-farmers and that more tradesmen may have been involved in the marketing process than would appear from stallage accounts.

It will have become clear already that many factors influenced the revenue which a market-owner could derive from a market. This makes any attempt to interpret apparent trends in toll receipts, or to use toll data to assess the volume of trade moving through a particular market, very difficult.

Other factors also render toll material of the type contained on Table II of questionable value as an indicator of developments in marketing.

A series of problems stem from the way in which toll was collected. Thus, although market toll was sometimes collected by an officer appointed by the market owner or granted as an ex-officio payment to a borough official, who was then responsible for its collection, a town's tolls were frequently farmed to a private individual, or a series of private individuals; that is the right to collect stallage, piccage, fees for weighing produce and tolls upon cattle and corn

(177) Accounts of Michael Gardner of Profits of Markets and Fairs c 1717 DiI IV/b/13(iv).
Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X.. P.145.

(178) The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835.. P.80.

might be let separately. Under these circumstances the only toll records to have survived in many towns are the details of the rents paid by the farmers, and particular caution has to be exercised in using this material.

Here we shall discuss 2 major problems. Firstly, in order to interpret trends in rents correctly, it is necessary to know precisely which payments a farmer was entitled to collect at any given time. The need for this can be illustrated from the Woodstock data; an examination of which reveals that the increase in the rent paid by the lessee in the 1740's was almost certainly due solely to the fact that he had acquired responsibility for weighing cheese and that the decreases in rent in 1769 and 1776 were the result, in part at least⁽¹⁷⁹⁾, of the abolition of tolls on corn.

Secondly, and more problematical, there is usually no way of assessing the relationship which rents bore to the sums actually collected from market users. There is, indeed, evidence to suggest that the rent paid by a farmer might not have related realistically to the profits to be derived from the market. Thus P.V. McGrath suggests that the authorities of the City of London often failed to increase rents when the value of a market to the farmer was greatly increasing⁽¹⁸⁰⁾,

(179) It would seem likely that the construction in 1766 of fixed butchers' shops for which rents were charged and paid directly to the Corporation, would have diminished the returns which could have been expected from pitch and show and may have also contributed to the decrease in rent charged in 1769.

(180) P.V. McGrath The Marketing of Food, Fodder and Livestock in the London Area in the Seventeenth Century with some Reference to the Sources of Supply. Univ. of London M.A. Thesis (1948) P.109.

while at Woodstock, where the lessees of the tolls appear to have experienced difficulties in paying their rents⁽¹⁸¹⁾, it may have been the case that the rents were fixed at a higher level than the market profits really warranted. Moreover, evidence from the 2 towns from which both rents and receipts have survived - Henley and Charlbury - shows that the relationship between rents and receipts might vary widely from town to town. Thus, at the start of the eighteenth century, in Henley the receipts from the corn market were worth only 13% more than the rent of the corn tolls, while at Charlbury the market receipts were more than double the rent paid by the lessee of the tolls. A further point is that the Charlbury data shows that there might be a not inconsiderable difference between receipts and profits, the lessee of the tolls being sometimes obliged to meet the expenses involved in holding the market.⁽¹⁸²⁾

Receipt material might appear initially to be a more reliable source. Again, however, problems arise with the interpretation of the data. Firstly, like rents, market receipts might rise and fall simply in response to changes in the commodities on which toll was being collected. Thus, the rise in Oxford new market receipts after 1781 may be accounted for, in part, by the fact that from that year fruit, butter and

(181) Chamberlain's Accounts 1738-1834 Box 93/1 Passim.

(182) Another example of the lessee of the tolls being obliged to meet market expenses comes from Witney. There, in 1705, the Jury of the Borough Court presented that the watercourse through the market place was out of repair and that the person receiving the piccage and stallage of the market should repair the same.
Collections Made in the Nineteenth Century by W. Langford...
 P.124.

eggs were required to be sold in the new market. Secondly, when trying to use receipt material to assess the volume of trade passing through a market, or to compare the relative success of 2 markets one is faced with the problem that tables showing the rates at which tolls were charged have frequently failed to survive. For example, no data on the rates at which toll on corn was taken has been found.⁽¹⁸³⁾ Moreover, one does not usually know whether changes were made in the rates, during the course of the eighteenth century.

Given both the inadequacy and problematical nature of toll data it is not easy to test the most widely held view on market receipts, that is that they were generally declining during the eighteenth century.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Nevertheless, having, as far as possible, taken into account the difficulties discussed above, one may suggest that the trend in rents at Woodstock was definitely a downward one, with a noticeable fall in the 1790's and early nineteenth century, and that this was most probably a reflection of falling receipts. The limited evidence on Thame would also appear to support the view of a downward trend in receipts.

A downward trend is not, however, noticeable in all markets. At Chipping Norton, for example, rents, and therefore possibly receipts, appear to have remained stable from the mid 1720's onward, and, at Oxford, while the new market receipts fluctuated widely from year to year, over the period as a whole they appear

(183) One may note, however, that in 2 towns in the adjacent country of Berkshire - Newbury and Reading - toll was taken in the early nineteenth century at the rate of a quart of grain for every quarter sold.
W. Mavor Op.cit. Pp.459; 464.

(184) J. Chartres, for example, suggests that the overall trend in market revenue from the late seventeenth century was downward, but he adds that superimposed on the downward trend were marked periodic or even cyclical fluctuations in receipts. J. Chartres Markets, Fairs and the Community... Pp.10; 12.

to have moved upward.

Although inconclusive, the above evidence may suggest that the view that market receipts fell during the eighteenth century may require modification, in that trends in receipts appear to have varied from market to market, and also according to the type of product from which the receipts were drawn.

An explanation of the apparent trends involves many factors. For example, the shorter-term falls in rents and receipts can often be accounted for by such problems as outbreaks of cattle disease or smallpox epidemics, which resulted in market closures. Thus, at both Woodstock and Chipping Norton falls in the value of the rents paid by the lessees of the cattle tolls in the 1740's can be accounted for by the restrictions on the movement and sale of cattle enforced at a time of disease. Again, falling receipts might be the product of nationwide harvest failures and food shortages. Thus, the drop in the fees received for weighing cheese at Woodstock in 1740-1741 may be seen simply as the product of a general fall in the volume of trade in a period of severe weather and supply failures. Finally, the dramatic fall in the profitability of the new market in Oxford between 1793 and 1795 can be seen most probably as the result of the failure of the butchers and gardeners to meet rent demands.

When we turn to rising rents or receipts a similar variety of explanations offer themselves. Firstly, we may suggest that particularly where the farmer collected his tolls in kind and then sold what he had collected, a rise in rent may simply reflect the effects of inflation. Thus, it is possible that the higher rents demanded by Chipping Norton Corporation in 1794 and 1802 reflect the higher corn prices in these years

and the fact that the lessee of the tolls would have been able to realize a greater profit from the same or a lesser quantity of corn.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ Secondly, it would appear that rises in the receipts from Oxford new market in 1795 and 1796 may perhaps have been related to 2 specific policy decisions taken by the market authorities; the first to permit every day of the week to be a general market day and the second to conduct a campaign to reduce the incidence of offences which were considered injurious to the market revenue.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

In conclusion, although one might expect there to be a correlation between falling receipts and declining markets and rising receipts and expanding ones, it is only on rare occasions that one can suggest with confidence that this was the case. Thus, it is probably true that the fall in rents at Woodstock is indicative of a decline in its market and that the upswing in receipts from Oxford's provisions market is evidence of an expansion in its trade. Finally, however, one should note that even where improved market receipts probably indicate successful markets there is no reason to suppose that the open market was taking a greater proportion of total trade. Thus, while Oxford new market's trade was apparently growing in the 1790's, the Market Committee, in 1793, drew attention to the extent to which buying and selling

(185) Although the correlation between corn prices and rent increases is inexact it is nevertheless true that when rents were raised in 1794 prices were moving up and that 1798, the only year when the rent was reduced, was one of falling prices. The rent increase of 1802 may have been a belated attempt to take account of the price rises of 1800-1801.

(186) The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835 Pp.96-100.

were taking place outside the market, suggesting that private trading may also have been expanding at this time.

If, however, it is difficult to draw conclusions on the importance of the open market in the eighteenth century, from toll data the material can certainly be employed to elucidate other aspects of marketing, in particular market specialization and seasonality in sales.

Thus, the Oxfordshire material reveals clearly the very great importance of Henley as a centre of the corn trade in the early eighteenth century⁽¹⁸⁷⁾; provides evidence of Banbury's important role in the Midlands livestock trade and suggests that Woodstock's fairs had a significant part to play in the dispersal of cheese. The data is, however, insufficiently informative for deductions to be made on the relative value of corn and cattle sales in any one market town.

Again, on the question of the seasonal nature of sales of agricultural produce, the tables can be used to illustrate the way in which sales of different commodities peaked at different times in the year. Thus the Woodstock cheese fairs data suggests that the Autumn was the high point for cheese sales, with a lesser peak in the Spring, while the Banbury material shows that dealings in horses were concentrated at the beginning of the year, with a smaller number of sales

(187) As a guide to the significance of the Henley figures one may note that at Newbury in Berkshire, one of the largest grain markets in the Thames Valley area, in 1809, when wheat was selling at the advanced price of approximately 12/- per bushel, the corn tolls were let for £365 per annum and estimated to produce double that sum for their lessee.
W. Mavor Op.cit. P.459.

taking place in the Autumn. The Oxford general market receipts for 1780⁽¹⁸⁸⁾, which relate in particular to meat and vegetables, reveal a more complex pattern. From a low point in January sales appear to have climbed throughout the Spring, peaking in the early summer, then falling away sharply in August, before reaching another, lesser peak in October - November. No eighteenth century⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ toll data has survived to illustrate the seasonal pattern in corn sales.

The pattern described above can, of course, be ascribed largely to the seasonal nature of agricultural production. Other factors were, however, influential. At Oxford, for example, the pattern of receipts in the new market probably reflects the increase in the City's population during university terms⁽¹⁹⁰⁾, and adverse weather conditions may help to account for reduced sales over the winter months.

The final problem to consider in this discussion of tolls is their abolition.

Although certain markets had always been toll free⁽¹⁹¹⁾,

(188) Lists of daily receipts are available for all years from 1775 onwards. 1780 was chosen at random.
Oxford Market Daily Receipts 1774-1834 W.4.13.

(189) An account of the tolls collected on corn in Henley market between October 1641 and August 1642 shows the receipts to have been greatest between October and December and in February and March, much reduced in January and falling steadily from April to August.
J.S. Burn Op.cit. P.85.

(190) As late as the early twentieth century the fluctuations in Oxford's population caused by the presence of the University were still affecting the trade in market garden produce. A.W. Ashby shows that during university terms local supplies of vegetables and fruit were failing to meet demand but that there was no incentive to increase supplies because of the fall in demand during vacations.
A.W. Ashby Allotments and Small Holdings in Oxfordshire (1917) P.129.

(191) L.F. Salaman "The Legal Status of Markets", in The Cambridge Historical Journal (1928) Vol.II No.3 P.206.

the eighteenth century and particularly the early nineteenth century witnessed an upsurge in the creation of toll-free fairs and markets and also the widespread abandonment of commodity tolls in market towns, in which it had been customary to collect them.

J. Chartres suggests that this may have been a symptom of the failure of open market institutions to compete with free and private markets⁽¹⁹²⁾ and there is evidence to suggest that tolls were abandoned in certain towns as the outcome of an absolute decline in their markets and in an attempt to win back custom. Thus, at Stow-on-the-Wold in Gloucestershire it was definitely the decline in trade in the sheep market which led in 1791 to a 3 year ban on the collection of tolls⁽¹⁹³⁾, and it is possible that the temporary abandonment of corn tolls at Chipping Norton in 1759⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ and Woodstock in 1769⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ and the permanent abandonment of corn tolls at Woodstock in 1776⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ and sheep and cattle tolls in 1781⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ may also have been the product of concern by the authorities that the open market trade in these commodities was declining. On the other hand, it is also possible that the abolition of

(192) J. Chartres, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce...." in Ed. M.A. Havinden Op.cit. P.72.

(193) J.O.J. Feb. 26 1791 No.1974.

(194) J.O.J. Jul. 21 1759 No.325.

(195) J.O.J. Feb. 18 1769 No.825.

(196) J.O.J. Feb. 17 1776 No.1190.

(197) J.O.J. Sept. 1 1781 No.1479.

tolls in these cases may have been in part the product of the many toll disputes discussed above which made the collection of tolls an arduous task. Thus, it would seem probable that it was not coincidental that corn tolls were abandoned in Woodstock in 1776, a year in which the collection of tolls had devolved upon the Corporation, no one being found to take a lease of them. (198) It is likely, however, that even if this were the case the disputes themselves may have been, in part, a reflection of impatience with the tightly regulated open market, at a time when alternative marketing facilities were becoming increasingly available.

Other evidence of an association between declining markets and the abandonment of tolls comes from Oxford, Charlbury and Bampton, where attempts to revive markets which had decayed or ceased to exist were accompanied by promises that for the first year at least, while the markets were becoming established, no tolls would be taken. One should note, however, that a factor, which may have influenced the decisions to revive Charlbury and Bampton markets toll free was that the groups who spearheaded the revivals would not have benefited from the taking of tolls. (199)

(198) Acts of the Council 1747-1787 P.377.

(199) We have seen, however, that these attempted revivals were unsuccessful. This must suggest that freedom of trade did not offer a sufficient incentive to tradesmen to persuade them to attend a market, which in other ways did not answer their needs as well as alternative marketing institutions. However, if freedom from toll did not necessarily determine the actions of market users a high level of toll appears to have had the effect of deterring them from attending certain markets and fairs. Thus, at Charlbury in the early eighteenth century the town's tradesmen used the high level of tolls as justification for turning to alternative market facilities and abandoning the principles of the open market, and then used their rejection of the market as an argument to pressurize the authorities into declaring Charlbury toll free. Notes on Refusal of Tenants of Charlbury to Pay Market Tolls and Dues c 1717.

Nevertheless, tolls were not abandoned simply to attract trade back to declining markets. It was not, in fact, unusual for new market institutions to be founded toll free. For example, in the second half of the eighteenth century the announcements of the foundation of new fairs at Bampton⁽²⁰⁰⁾, Charlbury⁽²⁰¹⁾, Deddington⁽²⁰²⁾ and Burford⁽²⁰³⁾ were accompanied by declarations that no tolls would be taken on cattle and sometimes on all produce sold.

In the early nineteenth century the abandonment of tolls became more widespread. Thus it was decided at Banbury in 1835 that the abolition of tolls at existing fairs and markets was an essential prerequisite to the successful implementation of plans for expanding the market facilities⁽²⁰⁴⁾ and this resulted in the announcement in April 1836 that the collection of tolls from those selling cattle, horses, sheep and pigs in the markets and fairs would be discontinued immediately.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ The reasoning behind the cessation in toll demands at Bicester's markets and fairs 10 years later⁽²⁰⁶⁾ is unclear but it would seem possible that cattle dealers may have influenced the decision by suggesting that they would be more likely to attend Bicester's fairs and markets if no charges were made.⁽²⁰⁷⁾

(200) J.O.J. Oct. 5 1799 No.2423.

(201) J.O.J. Jul. 21 1753 No.12.
J.O.J. Jun. 27 1773 No.1313. This announcement declared the fair to be toll free for cattle for 3 years only.

(202) J.O.J. Sept. 18 1779 No.1377.

(203) J.O.J. Apr. 8 1786 No.1719.

(204) J.O.J. Feb. 21 1835 No.4269.

(205) J.O.J. Apr. 16 1836 No.4328.

(206) O.C.B.B.G. Apr. 25 1846 No.482.

(207) B.G. Oct. 7 1847 No.223. It is stated that an important consideration with dealers attending Bicester's Michaelmas fair was that it was toll free.

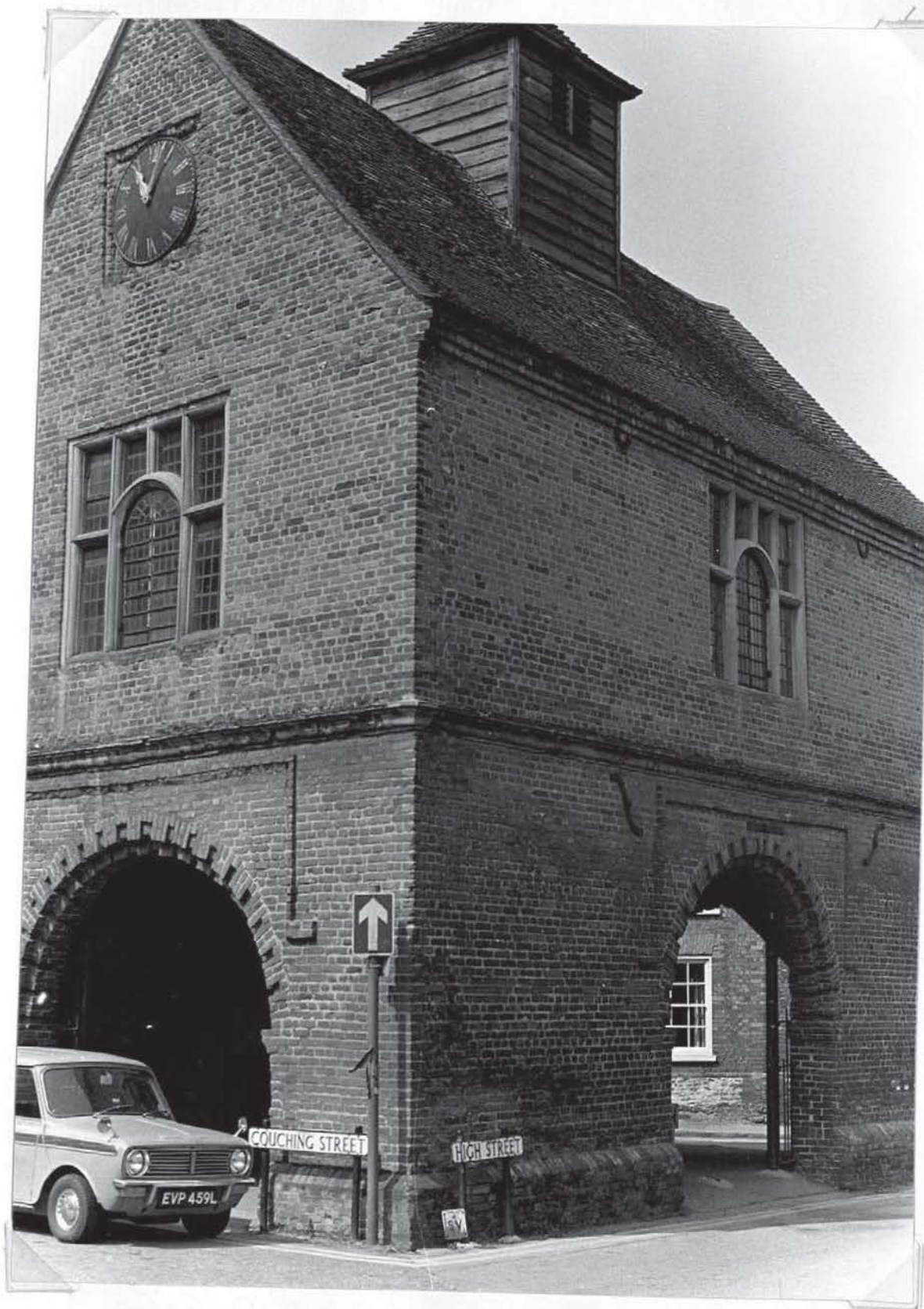
It is also likely that these later decisions to abolish tolls may have been influenced by the fact that the authorities had developed alternative sources of revenue which were easier to collect.

In conclusion one may suggest that while the knowledge that alternative marketing facilities were available probably provided the background to decisions to abandon tolls, the abolition of tolls in a particular town should not be taken as indicative of the decline of that town's market. Furthermore, the abolition of tolls is one more indication that revenue was not the ultimate raison d'être of markets and market improvement. In many towns, markets and fairs were seen, particularly in the later eighteenth century, as public services, designed to provide local farmers and dealers with centres for the disposal of their produce, local consumers with a ready and cheap supply of food and local tradesmen with a constant inflow of potential purchasers of their goods and services. Moreover, this view of markets was, at least in part, a response to the high degree of local involvement in markets and fairs, which we have emphasized throughout this chapter. Under these circumstances a market's success would have been measured not in terms of how much income it generated for its owner but in terms of how good a service it provided for the local community.

BURFORD : TOLSEY



WATLINGTON : MARKET HOUSE



WATLINGTON : MARKET HOUSE



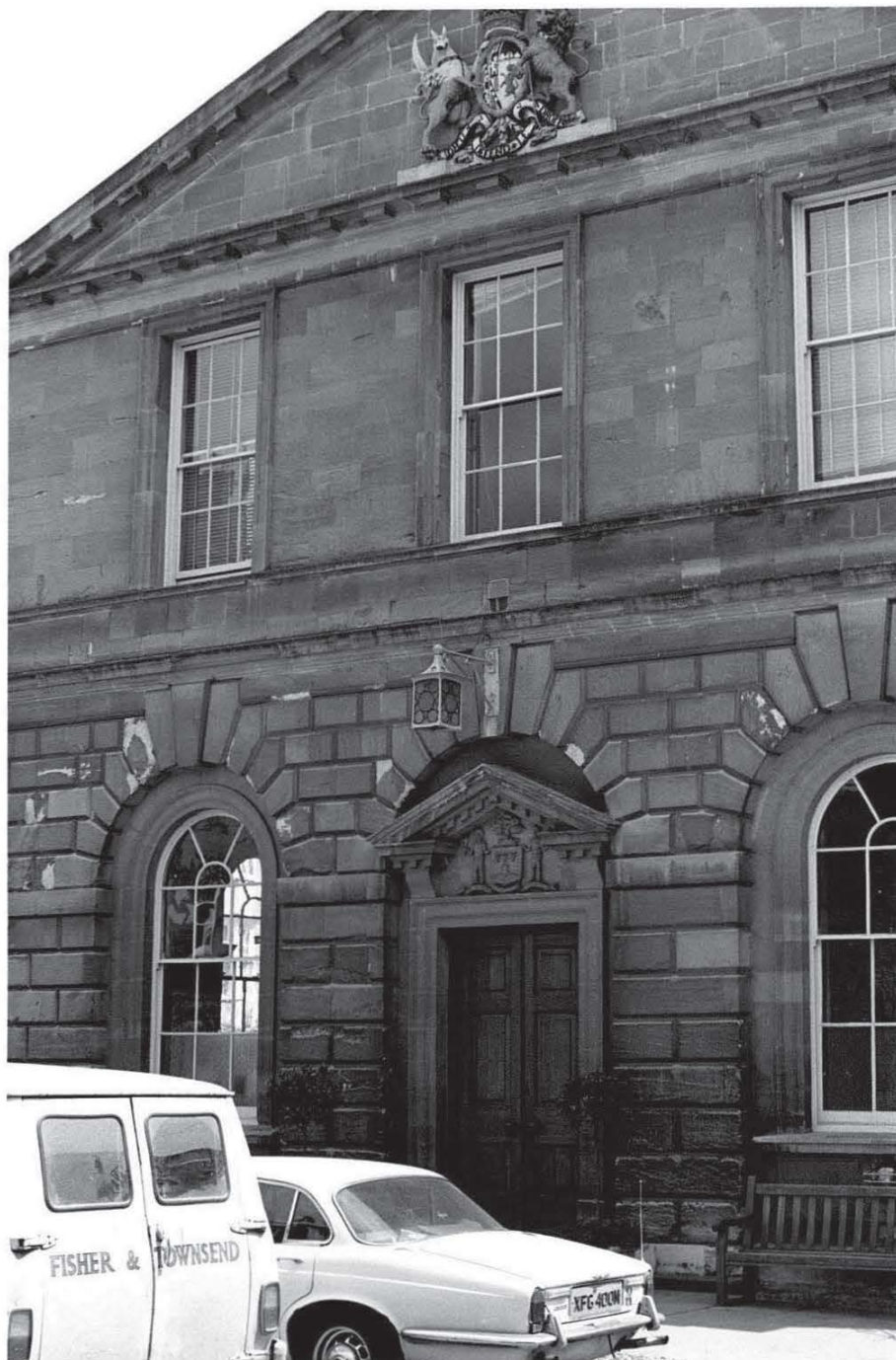
WITNEY : BUTTER CROSS



WITNEY : TOWN HALL



WOODSTOCK : TOWN HALL



CHAPTER IV

The Eighteenth Century Corn Market

Part I: Introduction

The following discussion of the sources from which information on Oxford corn market has been drawn, is intended as an introduction both to Chapter IV and also to the tables of prices which appear as an appendix to the thesis.

The operation of Oxford's corn market can be examined from an extensive range of material, the collection and preservation of which stem largely from the University's control of the market. Firstly, as we have seen, University officials were responsible for the setting of the assize of bread and this required them to keep an accurate record of the market price of wheat.⁽¹⁾ Secondly, by 18 Elizabeth c VI (1575-6) it was enacted that lessees of properties owned by Eton, Winchester, and Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, should discharge one third of their rents in wheat and malt or in money calculated according to the prices of wheat and malt sold on the market day preceding the day upon which the rent was due.⁽²⁾ This led to the recording of the highest price

(1) The University was also responsible for the setting of the assize of ale and this may account for the extensive series of barley prices recorded between 1692 and 1700. However, we should note that when the assize of ale was set during this period it was calculated according to the price of malt.

(2) This act is given in full in Ed. L.L. Shadwell, "Enactments in Parliament specially concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge... Vol.I 37 Edward III - 13 Anne," in O.H.S. Vol.LVIII (1911) Pp.190-191.
O. Ogle Loc.cit. P.6.

The data which was collected by the University for the assessment of corn rents was published as early as 1830 by W.F. Lloyd in a short book entitled Prices of Corn in Oxford in the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century. Also from the Year 1583 to the Present Day - and since then corn rents data has been printed and used by several scholars.⁽⁷⁾ However, this material is not fully reliable, a fact of which Lloyd was aware.⁽⁸⁾ If Lady Day or Michaelmas fell upon Thursday, Friday or Saturday, the prices on which the rents were set were those of the previous Wednesday. If, as frequently happened, no corn were sold on the Wednesday, then the rents were set according to the prices recorded on the previous price day, six months earlier, irrespective of any subsequent change in price levels. This seems to have been the practice for the greater part of the eighteenth century, although we have evidence that a College might make a private agreement with a tenant if a genuine price for corn could not be obtained. For example, in February 1800, on Exeter College price day, no malt being sold, an arrangement was made between the Rector of Exeter College and Mr. Knapp, tenant of a college estate at Kidlington, that both would accept that had malt been sold it would have reached a price of 8/- per bushel.⁽⁹⁾ Under

(7) For example, J.E.T. Rogers in A History of Agriculture and Prices in England (1259-1793) 8 vols. (1866-1902).

(8) W.F. Lloyd Op.cit. P.12.
Lloyd also quotes malt prices. The prices which we have recorded for malt appear on occasion to diverge somewhat from those given by Lloyd. The reason for this is not clear.

(9) Corn Book of the Clerks of the Market 1779-1805...

these circumstances the prices which Lloyd quotes for wheat during the period 1700-1733, and which form the only continuous series for these years⁽¹⁰⁾, and the prices for coarse grains after 1733, listed on Table H, must be regarded as of questionable value.

The prices which were collected to enable the assize of bread to be set are of more value. Between 1692 and 1700 as many as 7 prices for a bushel of wheat were recorded each market day and represent the 7 highest prices obtained for wheat.⁽¹¹⁾ Every market day a price was also recorded for a quarter of barley, although it is unclear whether this represents the highest price for which barley was sold, or an average. The highest and second highest prices of wheat are recorded on Table A and the prices of barley on Table G. From 1733 only the highest and second highest prices

(10) A short series of Oxford grain prices from the mid 1720's is, in fact, included in The Northampton Mercury. Moreover, from mid century, Henley and Oxford prices can be found quoted regularly in The Reading Mercury (continued as The Oxford Gazette and Reading Mercury) and J.O.J., which also includes occasional accounts of prices prevailing in other Oxfordshire towns, particularly Chipping Norton and Banbury. However, for 2 reasons, no attempt has been made to tabulate this information. Firstly, a series of prices fails often to cover a sufficiently long period of time for useful conclusions to be drawn from it. Secondly, and more important, it is rarely stated what the prices in the newspapers actually represent. Thus, the measure by which the corn was sold is not always stated and it is not clear how and how accurately the material was collected or which types of transactions took place at these prices. The difficulties involved in interpreting price data in the newspapers are discussed by:-
 Ed. A.G.L. Rogers: J.E.T. Rogers A History of Agriculture and Prices in England... Vol.VII 1703-1793 (Part I 1902) Pp.vi-vii.
 W.J. Shelton English Hunger and Industrial Disorders: A Study of Social Conflict During the First Decade of George III's Reign (1973) Pp.13; 72-73; 140.

(11) While it is certain that the 7 prices were the highest paid it is not certain how many more transactions took place at lower prices. The material cannot, therefore, be used to

for a bushel of wheat were recorded and these are shown on Table B. From approximately 1771, although prices were still recorded frequently, they were no longer preserved each week and from 1779 price data appears to have been collected much more spasmodically. The decline in the quality of the records may have been a result of the passing of 10 George III c 39, which perhaps rendered it less important that the University should be as scrupulous as it had been in registering corn prices. This Act required county Justices to transmit to the Treasury the average price of a Winchester bushel of wheat, rye, barley, oats and beans, recorded each week in between 2 and 6 towns in each county. An abstract of the returns was then published in The London Gazette.⁽¹¹⁾ The Oxfordshire Justices required price data to be collected in Banbury, Henley and Oxford and records of the weekly averages in the 3 towns for long periods between 1770 and 1782 have survived. Table C has been produced to display this data both to supplement the University material and to allow comparison between price movements in the 3 towns.

There are 2 important advantages possessed by the assize of bread material. Firstly, the price series are continuous,

(11) discover average prices. Moreover, it should be noted that the difference between the highest and seventh highest price might be as much as 1/-. This problem is discussed by W.F. Lloyd, who examined similar material for the first half of the seventeenth century. W.F. Lloyd Op.cit. Pp.20-21.

(12) R. Burn Op.cit. Vol.I Pp.400-401.
T. Tooke and W. Newmarch A History of Prices and of the State of Circulation (1857. Reproduced 1928) Vol.V Pp.356-357.

and, as we always have a record of the highest and second highest prices for a bushel of wheat, enable an accurate assessment of price trends to be made. Secondly, the type of transactions which were taking place at these prices is known. Thus, the prices are those which were paid in the open market by food processors purchasing from local farmers. What we cannot determine with any degree of exactitude is how these prices related to those paid by large-scale purchasers buying privately or by small purchasers buying wheat for their own consumption. (13)

During the 1790's it appears to have been rare for the Clerks of the Market to have noted more than the price of wheat upon which the assize of bread was set and, although this should have been the second highest price of a bushel of wheat, it is clear that the assize was, in fact, set sometimes on prices higher but more often on ones considerably lower than this, rendering the material unreliable as an indicator of price trends.

From 1795, however, the price material collected under 31 George III c XXXI becomes available. The books of Corn Returns contain a supposedly full account of the quantity of corn sold in Oxford market; the prices paid and the measures employed in each transaction. Table D which shows the highest and lowest prices paid for wheat, barley, oats, beans and pease between September 1795 and November 1800 has been produced from this material.

(13) There is no doubt, however, that small-scale transactions probably took place at higher prices. Thus, the implication of a decision by the farmers of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1765 to retail their barley and wheat to the poor at the same price they sold it for per quarter, is obvious.
J.O.J. Jun. 15 1765 No.633.

Under the terms of the Act the Inspectors had to use the data they collected in order to ascertain the average price of each type of corn sold, using the Winchester measure, and return the same to the Receiver of Corn Returns in London, whose duty it then was to deduce the average prices for each county and the country as a whole. The returns which the Inspector received are in the Public Record Office under Quantities and Average Prices of Corn (Corn Returns) Weekly Returns by District M.A.F. 10. No table has been produced to show the Oxford averages, except those for 1800, but Tables E and F show the average prices recorded for Burford in 1795 and for Burford, Henley, and for the sake of comparison, Oxford, in 1800.

Unfortunately the averages are of doubtful value for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is little doubt that the books of Corn Returns from which the Oxford averages were drawn, list only a proportion of the sales which took place in Oxford market. This is clear from the fact that in December 1796⁽¹⁴⁾ and again in May 1800⁽¹⁵⁾ notices appeared in J.O.J. detailing the terms of 31 George III c XXXI and asserting that the magistrates were determined to enforce its performance; the implication of which must be that corn buyers were failing to report all their dealings. Secondly, on certain market days only one transaction might be recorded with the result that the average is sometimes no more than the price for which one lot of corn was sold. Moreover, as

(14) J.O.J. Dec. 10 1796 No.2276.

(15) J.O.J. May 17 1800 No.2455.

Table D shows, a very wide range of prices could be recorded on one day, and thus an average may have been taken from a totally unrepresentative price. We cannot know if the Henley and Burford averages were based upon equally unreliable statistics but the fact that often prices were recorded as the same over many weeks may indicate that some of the material is of questionable reliability. Obviously if the averages for particular towns are unreliable, even more caution has to be exercised in using county averages. Furthermore, the county averages for 1795 are particularly unreliable in that no inspector was appointed for Henley, or for Oxford before September, and the averages given for Oxfordshire between January and October 1795 are therefore nothing more than those for Burford.

A further problem to arise from the apparent failure of corn purchasers to inform the inspector of their transactions is that doubt is then cast on the value of almost the only figures available for an assessment of the volume of trade passing through Oxford's corn market.

As we have seen⁽¹⁶⁾, Anthony Wood reported that on September 17 1664 240 loads of corn were offered for sale in Oxford market. Wood did not specify what he meant by the term "corn" but figures which purport to detail the total number of bushels of wheat sold between September 1663 and March 1669 suggest that he must have been referring to barley and malt. These figures indicate that a mere 25 bushels of wheat were sold on September 17 1664 and that between 1663 and 1669 the greatest number of bushels sold on one market day

(16) See Chapter II P.26.

was 78, that is less than 2 loads. ⁽¹⁷⁾

If we assume that the record of sales between 1692 and 1700 omits transactions which took place at low prices then from the 1660's until 1795, apart from occasional reports of very large or very small markets ⁽¹⁸⁾ we have no data on the size of Oxford's grain trade. Nevertheless, certain points do emerge on the size of individual transactions. Between 1692 and 1700 the smallest quantity of wheat recorded to have been purchased was 1 bushel and the greatest 5 quarters. The majority of purchasers appear, however, to have bought between 3 and 9 bushels. Between 1733 and 1768 almost every purchaser of wheat was reported to have bought 3 bushels. The significance of 3 bushels is that the 3-bushel sack was in general use ⁽¹⁹⁾ but the reason almost all purchasers should have been reported to have bought this amount is less clear. It would seem unlikely that no one purchased larger or smaller quantities. One may suggest, therefore, that sales of lesser quantities were perhaps not recorded because they took place at higher prices and, as the price material was collected to enable the assize of bread to be set, it was thought fairer to pay attention to the prices

(17) N.S.B. Gras The Evolution of the English Corn Market (1926) Pp.409-414.

(18) For example, in 1767, after a very small market on September 26, that on December 12 was said to have been the largest for years.
J.O.J. Oct. 3 1767 No.753.
J.O.J. Dec. 19 1767 No.764.
 Nothing on the overall state of the market can, however, be deduced from these occasional references; the fluctuations in the size of the markets can usually be attributed to seasonal factors or to an upswing in demand at a time of nationwide harvest failures.

(19) There are several references to the 3-bushel sack or measure. For example, Rev. W. MacRitchie Diary of a Tour through Great Britain in 1795 (1897) Pp.108; 113.
A. Murray General View of the Agriculture of the County of Warwick: with Observations on the Means of its Improvement (1815) Pp.47; 168.

at which larger-scale transactions took place; these being the ones to which the bakers would have been parties. As for the apparent absence of larger-scale transactions one may suggest that while they probably did sometimes take place, 3 bushels could have been frequently the largest quantity bought, as, before the permanent establishment of sale by sample, it may have been, on the whole, as large an amount as it was practicable to buy on one market day.

Certainly the scale of transactions to be observed after 1795, by which time sample-selling was standard practice, is very much greater. Thus, few purchasers were reported to have bought less than 1 load or 45 bushels of wheat and several buyers purchased as many as between 6 and 8 loads, on one market day. Barley may always have been bought in larger quantities than wheat, but the scale of transactions after 1795 is very large. For example, in February 1800 one purchaser bought almost 100 loads on one market day. The figures provide support for the view that the eighteenth century witnessed a general increase in the scale of agricultural transactions. (20)

It is difficult to know if small quantities of corn were ever sold in the late eighteenth century. One should note, however, that in October 1800 one purchaser was recorded to have bought one peck of barley and another, one peck of wheat. This may suggest that small quantities of corn were occasionally sold, although it would be unwise to generalize from such inadequate data, especially as it comes from a month in which food rioting may have been affecting market practices.

(20) This view is suggested by, for example, A. Everitt. A. Everitt, "The Food Market of the English Town 1660-1760," in Third International Conference of Economic History Munich (1965) Vol.I P.68.

Table I shows the total number of quarters of corn reported to have been sold in Oxford market between September 1795 and November 1800. Allowing for the fact that these figures underestimate the volume sold it would still appear likely that Oxford was not of major importance as a wheat market; the largest number of quarters of wheat sold on any one market day being 219 or approximately 44 loads. This figure compares unfavourably with, for example, that which W. Mavor gave in 1809, for the volume of trade passing through the successful wheat market of Reading. Mavor suggested, in fact, that not less than 500 quarters or 100 loads of wheat were sold in Reading market each week. (21) Nevertheless, Oxford would appear to have retained something of its early importance as a barley market with as many as 661 quarters or 132 loads recorded as sold and with not infrequent references to sales of 300 or more quarters. As many as 219 quarters of oats and 118 quarters of beans were reported to have been sold but sales of these, and of pease, if regular, were largely not large-scale. The figures would appear in fact to lend support to the view, which we shall discuss later, that fodder crops tended not to be sold through the medium of the open market. The highest number of quarters of all corn sold on any one market day was 1163 or 232 loads or 10,467 bushels.

Apart from the information on the prices and amounts of corn sold, the Assize Books and books of Corn Returns also include details of the clientele of the market. Firstly, the Assize Book for 1692-1700 lists the names of the purchasers

(21) W. Mavor Op.cit. P.464.

of the several highest priced bushels of wheat sold on each market day and those for 1733 until 1768 contain a record of the purchasers of the highest and second highest priced bushels of wheat. Secondly, books for 1739 onwards list the names of those expected to offer malt for sale in the market and those for 1756 until 1822 contain occasional accounts of the names, places of residence and less usually the occupations, of the purchasers and sellers of the highest priced bushels of wheat, malt and barley, sold at Lady Day and Michaelmas.⁽²²⁾ Thirdly, the Corn Returns list the names of all the buyers of wheat, barley, oats, beans and pease.⁽²³⁾

Obviously the list of names of those who bought and sold corn in the market, derived from these sources, is an incomplete record of all those using the market. The names of sellers were very seldom recorded and, until 1795, the buyers whose names were noted were those who purchased the most expensive and best quality wheat only. Furthermore, almost all the purchasers were buying large quantities of corn and we have already suggested that we cannot be certain that small-scale transactions were not taking place and simply passing unrecorded. Finally, we should note that, before commencing an analysis of buyers and sellers, the already incomplete list of persons had to be reduced further

(22) From 1822 the Clerks of the Market, while still noting the names of the buyers and sellers at Lady Day and Michaelmas, recorded the place of residence of these persons less frequently. Tables VI and XIII detail the information which was stated but no attempt has been made to trace persons for whom no place of residence was recorded.

(23) For the purposes of this study names have been drawn from the first 2 books of Corn Returns and for the period until January 1800 only.

by the omission of those with nationally or locally common surnames, whose identities clearly could not be established with certainty. (24)

A wide range of sources was consulted in an attempt to establish the places of residence and occupations of the remaining persons. Amongst the classes of material which proved most useful were poll books; trade directories; city and county legal records particularly recognizances and lists of alehouse-keepers and higgler; canal company records; papers of the companies of Mercers and Grocers, and Butchers and Poulterers, and of the Oxford Loyal Volunteers; apprenticeship records and lists of freemen; Oxford market papers kept by University and City and the writings of Thomas Hearne and Arthur Young. Material edited by M.G. Hobson; H.E. Salter; W.O. Hassall and Mrs. B. Stapleton was also used extensively. In addition a less thorough check was made through farm accounts and estate papers; lists of wills; records of the towns of Banbury, Henley, Woodstock and Chipping Norton; a small number of parish records and letters to the Home Office and Privy Council. (25)

Although the sources used were therefore numerous, problems exist with many of them. For example, the lists of freemen of Oxford fail to make clear, firstly that a freeman

(24) The period 1733-1768 was particularly difficult to investigate in that during these years it was customary to record surnames only.

(25) The details of all these sources are included in the bibliography.

of Oxford was not necessarily a resident of Oxford, and secondly that a free tradesman who was resident in Oxford might also possess and use land in surrounding villages and practise more occupations than the one he was reported to have exercised at the time the freedom was granted. If we take into account the considerable versatility of the eighteenth century tradesman, illustrated by the following quotation -

"As late as 1792 a baker called Gabriel Maynard also had a hemp-shop in Bicester, cultivated part of the garden-ground near Crockwell, farmed two copyholds in Launton and owned the mills at Weston-on-the-Green which his son occupied," (26)

- it will be evident that the limited nature of the information to be drawn from the lists of freemen might mean that the particular occupation which required a tradesman to attend the market might not emerge.

A more basic problem is that the great bulk of the material consulted contains data on the inhabitants of towns in general and Oxford in particular. This has meant that the proportion of buyers attending Oxford market from the City itself has almost inevitably been exaggerated. Certainly it would seem likely that if more evidence were available to enable the inhabitants of villages to be identified one would find that the role of the City in providing the market's

(26) G.H. Dannatt Loc.cit. Pp.263-264.

clientele would diminish. This is suggested very clearly by the fact that when the places of residence of buyers and sellers were actually given, both were shown to have travelled frequently from villages up to 20 miles from Oxford.

Finally, it should be noted that the problem of identifying occupations has been compounded by my own assumptions as to the type of person who would have been using the corn market. Thus, it has been easier to accept that a buyer has been identified correctly if his name occurs in a directory as a baker than if it appears in the same directory as a tailor or schoolmaster.

In spite of problems with identification, it is, however, believed that Tables II-XIII still provide a valuable indication of the occupations of and distance travelled by, the whole-sale corn-buyers attending Oxford market on a regular basis.

Table I

Table to show the Volume of Corn Sold in Oxford Market
Between September 1795 and November 1800.

The volume sold is given in quarters corrected to the nearest half quarter. The Oxford quarter contained 9 Winchester bushels.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>	<u>Total</u>
19 Sept 1795	15			11½		26½
26	85	6	6½			97½
3 Oct	70	17	2			89
10	55	10	27	1	3 sacks	93
17	120	39½		1		160½
24	114	67	26	1		208
31	131½	193½	30	2½		357½
7 Nov	51½	97	12½	9½		170½
14	148	159		7½	9	323½
21	89½	145½	21½	12		268½
28	96	123	20	1 sack		239
5 Dec	102½	159	12	22	1	296½
12	60	107	16			183
19	31	160	6	10		207
26	69	107	22			198
2 Jan 1796	46	148	26		2½	222½
9	36	299	18	35	2	390
16	19	116				135
23	64	438½	50			552½
30	65	147½	7		10	229½
6 Feb	56	216	16	18½		306½
13	29	95	27		19½	170½
20	47	243	16	7½	5	318½
27	56½	130	10	7	2½	206
5 Mar	26	58		13		97
12	93½	173	13			279½
19	40	228	32		2½	302½
26	85	257	15			357
2 Apr	34	104	24	7	2	171
9	20	77				97
16	46	125	22			193
23	91	37	1	4		133
30	74	179	5			258
7 May	106½	84½	17			208
14	170½	36	10			216½
21	113	20				133
28	40½	64		1		105½
4 Jun	75	38				113
11	81			5		86
18	75½	18				93½
25	39			10		49
2 Jul	26					26
9	39½		12			51½
16	66½			7½		74
23	69			15		84
30	59					59
6 Aug	91½		12			103½
13	12½					12½
20	7½					7½
27	5			5		10

Date	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Pease	Total
3 Sept 1796	76	5	10			91
10	119		25	19		163
17	66½	6		15		87½
24	95	52	8	3		158
1 Oct	168½	51	6	4		229½
8	147½	119	26	8½		301
15	186½	76½	24	13		300
22	111½	245	21	13		390½
29	119	92	20			231
5 Nov	100	212	35		½	247½
12	101	240	20	30	½	391½
19	53	175	29	10	2½	269½
26	97½	229½	26	9		362
3 Dec	53	317	34½	17	1	422½
10	73½	267	25	10	8	383½
17	37½	193	51	18½		300
24	71½	176	43	10		300½
31	79½	201	10	2		292½
7 Jan 1797	68½	255	47	3	6	379½
14	137½	230	32½	12		412
21	62	278	53½	12½		406
28	41	219½	20	7½	15	303
4 Feb	67½	364	95½	14	3	544
11	47	132	79	31½	7½	297
18	27½	108	40	9		184½
25	42	97	62	13		214
4 Mar	42½	6	44			92½
11	106½	122	13½	19		261
18	60	180½	73	2½	1	317
25	100	213½	48			361½
1 Apr	128	258	36	8		430
8	94½	114½	99½			308½
15	42	119	8	5		174
22	120½	274	82	9½	1½	487½
29	138½	183	17			338½
6 May	67½	129	56	14½		267
13	163	203	115	17½		498
20	179½	99½	41½	5		325½
27	159	53	94	18		324
3 Jun	101	40	30			171
10	144	63	82	17½		306½
17	78	22	54½	15		169½
24	108	10	80	1		198½
1 Jul	138	17	35			190
8	114½		31	17½		163
15	5		42½	9½		57
24	12½		45½	3½		61½
29	69½	6	77	16		168½
5 Aug	122½		28	10		160½
12	159	5	48	37		249
19	108		32	11		151
26	64		32	4		100
2 Sept	176		55	24		255
9	62½	5	90	5		162
16	47½		33	5		85½
23	45	5	15	11	12	88
30	106	19	137	25		287

Date	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Pease	Total
7 Oct 1797	137½	52	50	27½	5	272
14	79½	57	32	15½		184
21	166	63	45	19½		293½
28	75	150	146½	25	7½	404
4 Nov	195½	112	20	4½	1½	333½
11	169	154	83½	7		413½
18	129	92	139	5½		365½
25	194½	154	51½	11½		411½
2 Dec	118½	143	20	7½		288½
9	85½	97	38	5		225½
16	119	166½	3	17½		306
23	60½	213	33	5½	2½	314½
30	88	87	37	½	5	217½
6 Jan 1798	74½	293½	76½	19		463
13	85	122	69½	17½	15	309
20	46	262	79	41	7½	435½
27	55	165	103	12	5	340
3 Feb	114½	160	54	½		328½
10	122½	277½	63	118½	2½	584
17	109	74	20	31	2	236
24	71½	115	97	21½	½	304½
3 Mar	109½	165	100	14½		389
10	111½	71	123½		3½	309½
17	134½	100	76	19	1 bushel	329½
24	37½	56	149	10	1	253½
31	61½	163	37	17½	1½	280½
7 Apr	90	75	95½	7½		268
14	99	84	23½	7½		214
21	94	52	45	3		194
28	82	45	35½	10		172½
5 May	91	21	64			176
12	65	95		5		165
19	110	59½	15	10		194½
26	55½	26	39	7		127½
2 Jun	110½	37	58	22½		228
9	93		40	3		136
16	73½	25		5		103
23	87	10	53½	2½		153
30	101	13	50			164
7 Jul	102	10	63½	10		195½
14	68½	1	123	42		234
21	99	2	79½	22½		203
28	192½		72	13½		278
4 Aug	66½	2	15	10		93½
11	10		26			36
18	32		20	5½		57½
25	39½		74½	15		129
1 Sept	40½		10	13		63½
8	91½	38	120	38½	10	298
15	141	89½	61	7½	½	299½
22	137½	117	39	11		304½
29	135½	253	86½	44½	1	519½
6 Oct	219	168	121	24½	4	536½
13	74	135	94	29	2	334
20	142½	199	50	40		431
27	131	158	50½	10	6½	356

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>	<u>Total</u>
3 Nov 1798	90	96½	44	39½		270
10	75½	282½	84	28		470
17	139½	206	132	44	17	538½
24	101	303	65	53		522
1 Dec	30½	209	20	7		266
8	25	38	70	19		152
15	94½	97	41	27½		260
22	37½	65	56	10	5	173½
29	46	75		7½		128½
5 Jan 1799	52	154	45	12½		263½
12	71½	196	77½	27		372
19	95	76	71	30	10	282
26	83½	249	56	49	19	456
2 Feb	16	97	15		5	133
9	84	152	118	23½	1	378½
16	138½	208	86½	42½	1	475½
23	51½	91	127	24½	5	299
2 Mar	68	74	140	20½	½	303
9	85½	75	103	½		264
16	75	94	39½	4	4	216½
23	95	65	111	4½	4	279½
30	57½	122	57½	15		252
6 Apr	114½	117	90	17½		339
13	133	93	58	23		307
20	138½	6	117	7½		269
27	101	4	99	40		244
4 May	121½	36	72	23½		253
11	146½	6	45			197½
18	62½	30	128	24½		245
25	124	5	13	11		153
1 Jun	88½	61	27	16		192
8	64		37	53½		154½
15	102		80	27½		209½
22	92		26	10		128
29	116½		71	10		197½
6 Jul	115½	5	63½	21		205
13	42		91½	18		151½
20	28		87	20		135
27	61½	3	20			84½
3 Aug	107		60	15½		182½
10	89	4	36	12½		141½
17	123½	3	41	20		187
24	149½		60	22½	5	237
31	106		60	27		193
7 Sept	20		51½	10	7½	89
14	68½	23	131½	5	6	236
21	61	2	51	11	5	130
28	74		39	10	7	130
5 Oct	105		94	23½	1	223
12	107	5	72	10		194
19	148	8	78	23½	5	262½
26	121½	40	47	28½	14½	251½
2 Nov	121½	5	91	27½		245
9	94	38	79	18	½	229½
16	147½	117	63	8	4½	340
23	136½	88	47	20½	1 bushel	292
30	119½	32	78	13½	3½	246½

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>	<u>Total</u>
7 Dec 1799	72	99½	164	12	½	348
14	118	91½	17	22	7½	256
21	151	84½	20	9½		265
28	121	91	71	41	½	324½
4 Jan 1800	161	169	54½	13½		398
11	104½	181	87	61½	3½	437½
18	105½	182½	54	37	7½	386½
25	109	163	47	40½	1	360½
1 Feb	122½	348	141	29	5	645½
8	101½	312	114	33	7½	568
15	179	661½	219	103½	15	1163
22	112½	39	58	109½	15	334
1 Mar	65½	40	28	21		154½
8	111½	155½	40	89½	17½	414
15	103	93	33	20½		249½
22	64½	167	10	113	1	355½
29	73	349	21	41	6	490
5 Apr	62½	55	33	12½		163
12	91	345	84	21		541
19	129	114	33	5	18	281
26	107	305½	48	17		477½
3 May	132	43	32	7½		214½
10	67½	61	39	60½		228
17	136	102	30	20		288
24	163	68½	17½	6		255
31	203	80	18	20		321
7 Jun	153	64½	55	35		307½
14	159	10	12	18		199
21	157	50	66½	44½		318
28	89	23	38	39		189
5 Jul	67½	129	12½	33½		242½
12	110½	9	21	5		141
19	104½	33	50	58½		246
26	107					107
2 Aug	78½	4		10		92½
9	97			11		108
16	85		26	20½	2½	134
23	119½		26½	19½		165½
30	143	12	95	15	2½	267½
6 Sept	12		23	10		45
13	41	2	68		19½	130½
20	55½	3	35½		5	99
27	85½	27	46	14	1½	174
4 Oct	54	60	33	27		174
11	71½	42	39½	28½	5	186½
18	70½	89½	87	59½	5	311½
25	180½	175½	32	30	7½	425½
1 Nov	123½	220	NOT GIVEN			

Table II

Table to show the Villages in Oxfordshire and Berkshire from which a Total of approximately 80 persons were required to bring corn (of unspecified type) to Oxford Market each week by an Order of the Vice-Chancellor and Clerks of the Market 1623. (1)

Oxfordshire

Cassington
Elsfield
Eynsham
Forest Hill
Garsington
Headington
Horsepath
Iffley
Islip
Kidlington

Littlemore
Marston
Nuneham Courtenay
Sandford-on-Thames
Stanton Harcourt
Stanton St. John
Temple Cowley
Wheatley
Wolvercote

Berkshire

Bessels Leigh
Botley
Cumnor
Dry Sandford
Eaton
Kennington

North Hinksey
Radley
Wytham
(Also 3 places not definitely identified but apparently in Berkshire, 2 being near Cumnor).

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- (1) Reproduced in Rev. W.F. Lloyd Op.cit. Pp.21-22.
There are 2 possible reasons for this order. Firstly, the University did enjoy the privilege of being able to require the inhabitants of the countryside within 5 miles of Oxford to bring in provisions for its supply and this privilege was certainly invoked in the mediaeval period.
Ed. A. Clark, "Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford..." Vol.I... P.53.
However, it is more likely that in 1623 the University officials were acting in response to the dearth of 1621-1623 and to the reissue of The Book of Orders in 1622.
N.S.B. Gras Op.cit. P.236.

MAP TO SHOW THE PARISHES FROM WHICH A TOTAL OF APPROX-
IMATELY 80 PERSONS WERE EXPECTED TO BRING CORN (TYPE
UNSPECIFIED) TO OXFORD MARKET WEEKLY IN 1623
Circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.



Table III

Table to show the Villages noted as important suppliers of
Grain for Oxford Market c 1660. (1)

Oxfordshire

Cassington

Cowley

Garsington

Marston

Temple Cowley

Berkshire

Cumnor

North Hinksey

South Hinksey

(1) Ed. A. Clark "Survey of the Antiquities of the City of
Oxford..." Vol.I P.53.

Table IV

Table to show Occupations of Persons attending Oxford Market to sell Wheat, Barley, Malt and Beans between 1733 and 1822. (1)

Brewers	11	
Brewer and Barber	1	
Brewer and Maltster	1	
Dairyman	1	
Farmers	7	
Farmer and Bailiff	1	
Innkeeper	1	
Maltsters	7	
Victuallers	2	(F.N. 2)
Yeomen	3	(F.N. 3)

(1) The information is derived from O.U.A. Corn Books of the Clerks of the Market 1733-1822.

(2) The brewers, innkeepers, maltsters and victuallers were selling malt.

(3) The occupations of 35 out of a total of 80 recorded sellers have been ascertained. Of the 80 sellers, 40% were selling malt and 60% were selling corn.

Table V

Table to show Towns and Villages from which Persons came to Oxford Market to sell Wheat, Barley, Malt and Beans between 1733 and 1822. (1)

KEY: B = Barley Be = Beans M = Malt W = Wheat

The number indicates the number of individuals from each village selling grain.

Oxfordshire

Combe	1B
Crowmarsh Gifford	1M
Deddington	1W
Dorchester	1B
Forest Hill	1WB
Garsington	1Be
Hampton Poyle	2W
Headington	1B
Holton	1W
Horton cum Studley	1W
Iffley	1M
Islip	1B
Kidlington	1M 1W
Littlemore	3M
Marston	1B 1W
Oxford	22M 2W
St. Clement's	1M
Shillingford	1M
Shotover	1W
(on map included under Oxford)	
Stanton Harcourt	1B 1W
Wolvercote	1W
Yarnton	1B

Berkshire

Appleton	1BW 1W
East and/or West Hanney	7W 1B
Garford	1W
Kennington	1W
Marcham (Chalworth Farm near Marcham)	1W
North or South Hinksey	1W
Sutton	1M
Wytham	1W

Buckinghamshire

Brill	1W
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Unknown

1 place (2)	1MB
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- (1) The information is derived from O.U.A. Corn Books of the Clerks of the Market 1733-1822. Other sources reveal the existence of a barley seller from Nuneham Courtenay; a seller of 'corn' from Bicester and a seller of meal from Abingdon. These references date from 1761-62; 1710 and 1800 respectively.
- (2) The places of origin of 69 out of a total of 80 sellers have been ascertained.

KEY: - B = Barley Br = Bran M = Malt W. = Wheat.
The number indicates the number of individuals from each village selling each grain.

circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.

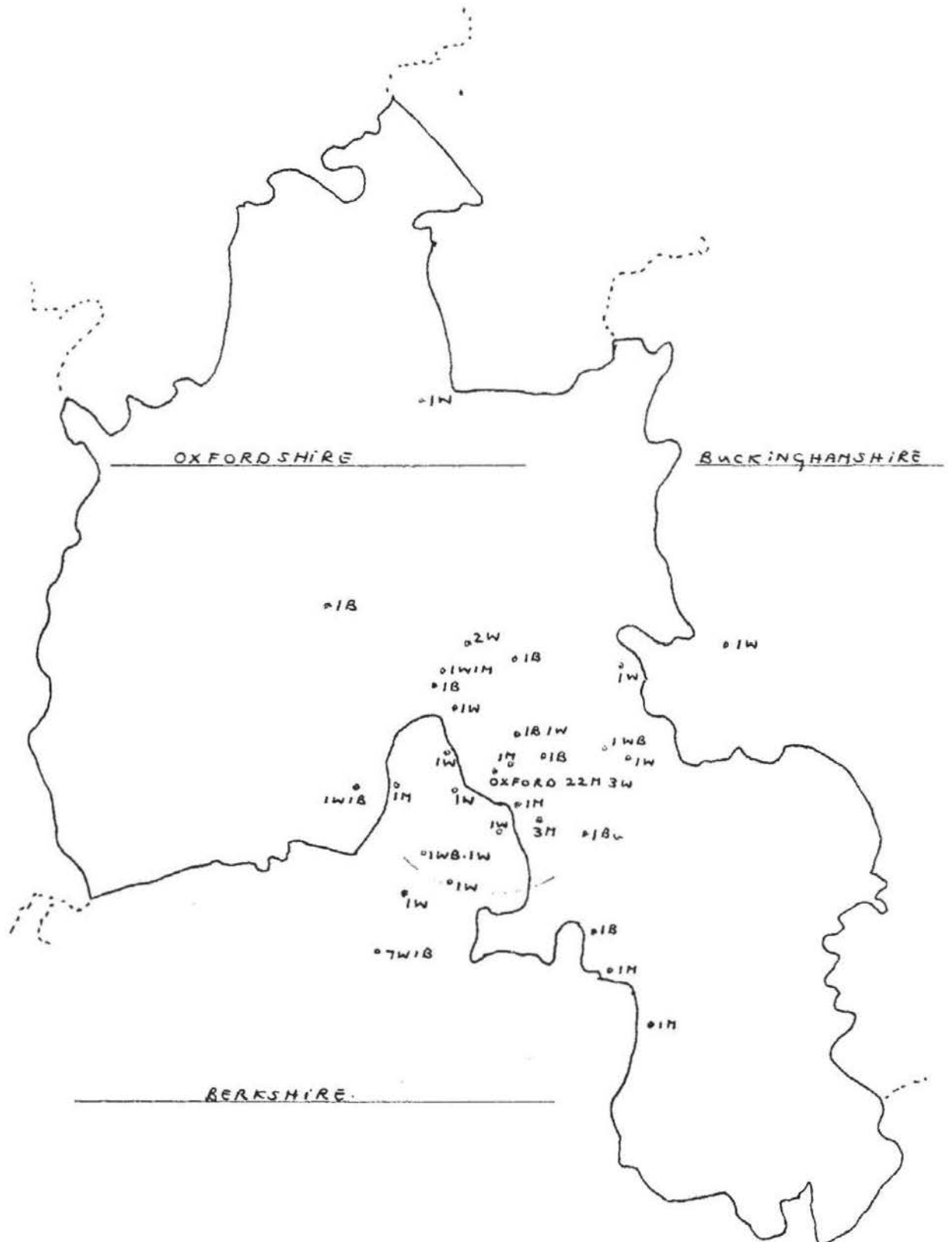


Table VI

Table to show Places of Origin of known sellers of Barley,
Wheat and Malt in Oxford Market 1822-1870. (1)

KEY: B = Barley M = Malt W = Wheat

The number indicates the number of individuals from each town or village selling grain.

Oxfordshire

Chislehampton	1B
Headington	1B
Horton cum Studley	1B
Iffley	1B
Islip	2W
Kidlington	1B
Little Milton	1W
Littlemore	1W
Oddington	1B
Tackley	1B
Wheatley	1W
Wood Eaton	1W

Berkshire

Abingdon	1W
Dean Court	1W
Milton	1W
(North or South)	
Hinksey	1W

(1) Information derived from University and City of Oxford
Assize of Bread Books 1822-1870. Ms Top Oxon d 68 and d 69.

MAP SHOWING TOWNS AND VILLAGES FROM WHICH PERSONS
CAME TO OXFORD TO SELL GRAIN c 1822-1870

KEY:- B = Barley M = Malt W. = Wheat.

The number indicates the number of individuals from each town or village selling each grain.

Circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.

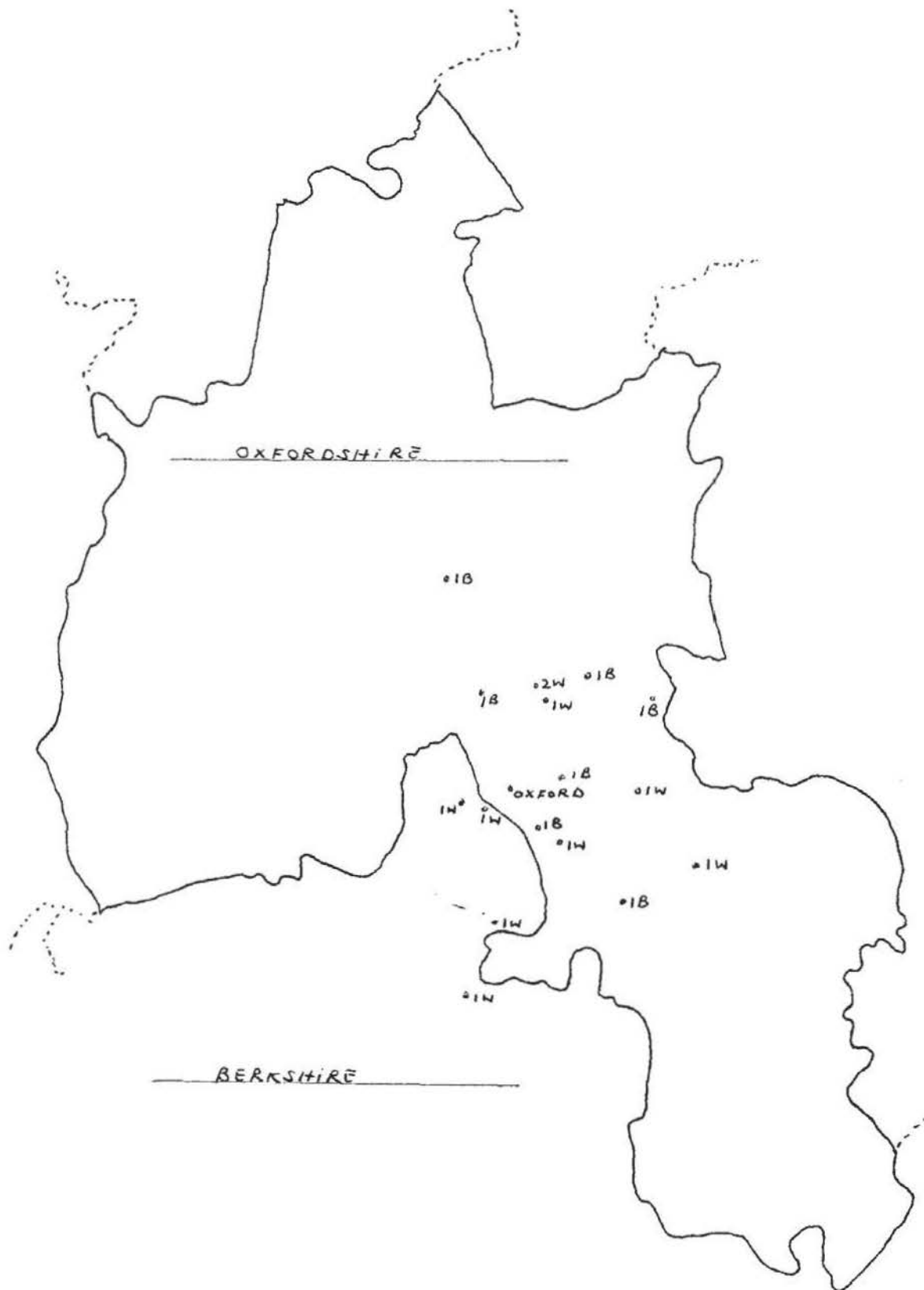


Table VII

Table to show Occupations of Persons attending Oxford Market
to Buy Wheat Aug. 1692 - Aug. 1700. (1)

Apothecary	1
Apothecary's servant	1
Bakers	18
Bakers and Corn Badgers	4
Bakers and Widows	2
Blacksmith	1
Brewer	1
Brewer and Corn Badger	1
Butchers	2
Chandlers	2
Chandler and Woman	1
Corn Badger	1
Country Baker	1
(Country Man	1)
Dr. Beeston's servant	1
Dr. Hammon's servant	1
Dr. Broston	1
Innholder and Woman	1
Maltster and Corn Badger	1
Mealmen	3
Mealmen and Corn Badgers	5
Millers	7
Milliner	1
Owner of a Malthouse and Wharf	1
(A Stranger	1)
Victuallers	2
Whitebakers	5
Whitebaker and Corn Badger	1
Women (4 described as Widows)	8
Yeoman	1

(1) A total of 143 persons are named in The Assize of Bread 1692-1700 Ms Top Oxon f 18. The occupations of approximately 54% of these have been ascertained. Of these approximately 40% were bakers.

Table VIII

Table to show Towns and Villages from which Persons came to
Oxford to Buy Wheat Aug. 1692 - Aug. 1700. (1)

Oxfordshire

Cuddesdon	1
Headington	1
Horspath	1
Kidlington	1
Oxford	52
St. Clements	1
Sandford-on-Thames	1
Weston-on-the-Green	1
Wolvercote	1

Berkshire

Abingdon	2
Upton	1

Buckinghamshire

High Wycombe	1
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(1) A total of 143 persons are named in The Assize of Bread 1692-1700 Ms Top Oxon f 18. The places of origin of approximately 46% of these have been ascertained; of these approximately 82% came from Oxford itself.

185
MAP TO SHOW TOWNS AND VILLAGES FROM WHICH PERSONS

CAME TO OXFORD MARKET TO BUY WHEAT 1692-1700.

Circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.

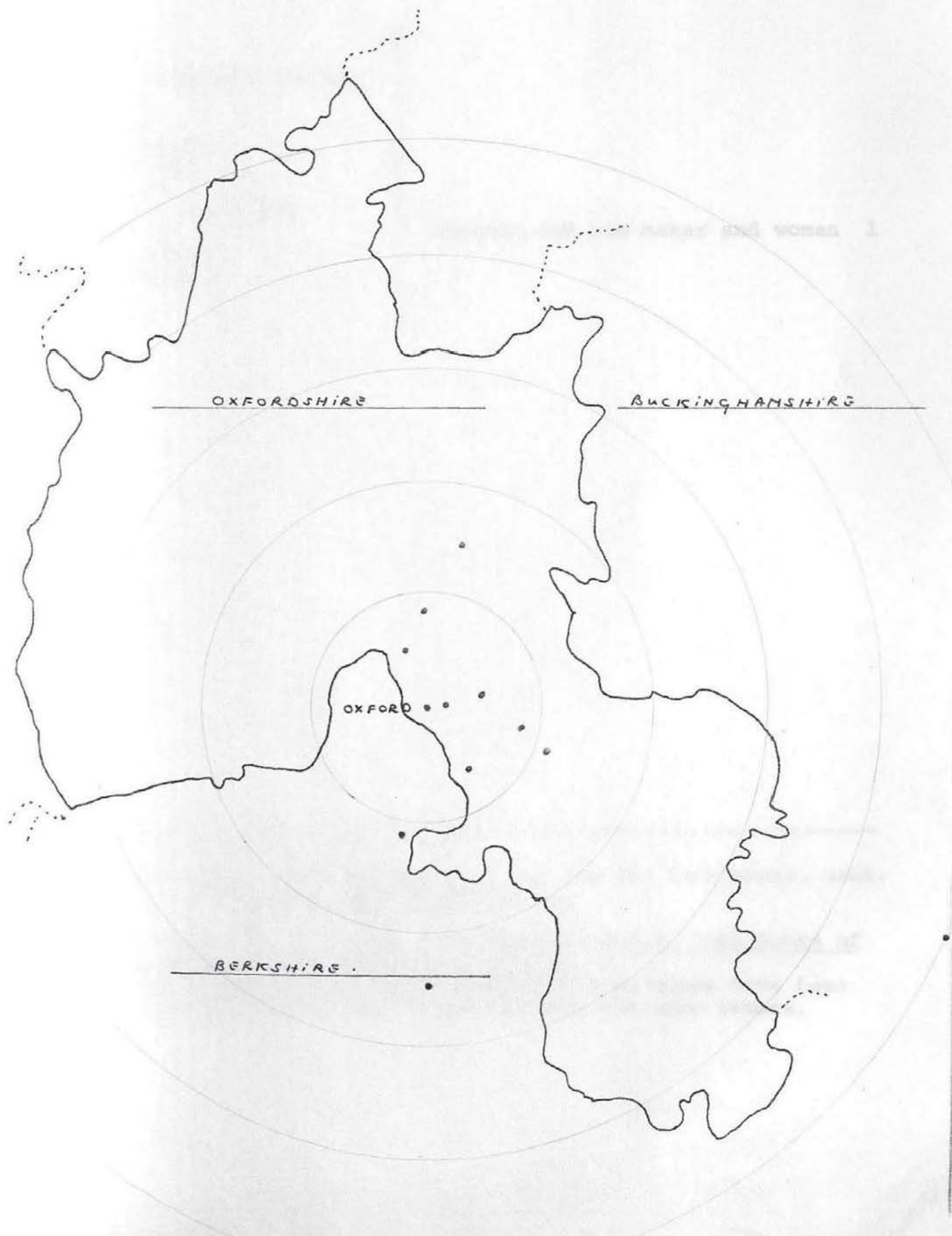


Table IX

Table to show Occupations of Persons attending Oxford Market
to Buy Wheat ⁽¹⁾ 1733-1778. ⁽²⁾

Bakers	33	
Brewer	1	
Dr. Frampton's servant	1	
Farmer	1	
Grocer	1	
Innkeepers	2	
Maltsters	2	
Mealman	1	
Mealman and woman	1	
Millers	3	Sausage and pie maker and woman 1
Victualler	1	
Whitebaker	1	
Women	2	
Yeoman	1	

(1) The brewer was buying barley and the two innkeepers, malt. All other purchasers bought wheat.

(2) A total of 138 persons are named in O.U.A. Corn Books of The Clerks of the Market 1733-1778. The occupations of approximately 38% of these have been ascertained; of these approximately 63% were bakers.

Table X

Table to show Towns and Villages from which Persons came
to Oxford to Buy Wheat 1733-1778. (1)

Oxfordshire

Cowley	1
Deddington	1
Eynsham	1
Headington	2
Kidlington	1
Kirtlington	1
Osney	1
Oxford	44

Berkshire

Abingdon	1
Cumnor	1
Sunningwell	1

(1) A total of 138 persons are named in O.U.A. Corn Books of the Clerks of the Market 1733-1778.
The places of origin of approximately 40% of these have been ascertained; of these approximately 80% came from Oxford itself.

MAP TO SHOW TOWNS AND VILLAGES FROM WHICH PERSONS

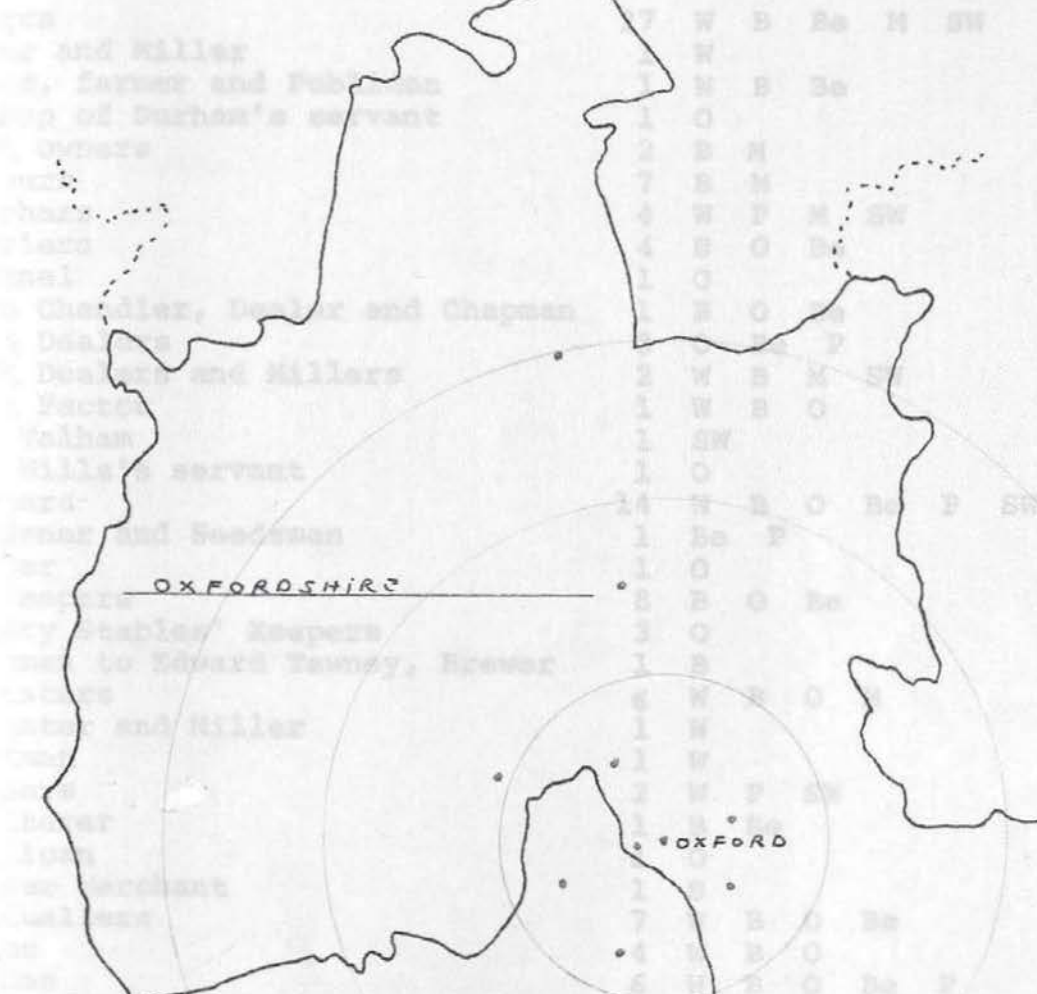
CAME TO OXFORD MARKET TO BUY WHEAT 1733-1778

Circle indicate distance from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.

The numbers indicate the number of persons of each occupation visiting the market.

Wheat B = Barley O = Oats Ba = Beans P = Pease M = Malt
SW = Seed Wheat

Presence of one of these letters against an occupation indicates that at least one person of that occupation purchased a particular type of corn.



BERKSHIRE

A total of 175 persons are named in O.U.A. Town Books of the Oxford Market and Corn Returns 1733-1778. The latest two books purporting to list all purchasers of grain in Oxford Market between September 1733 and January 1740. The occupations of approximately 11% of the 175 purchasers have been ascertained; of these approximately 11% were farmers.

Table XI

Table to show Occupations of Persons attending Oxford Market to Buy Wheat, Barley, Oats, Beans, Pease and Malt 1789-1822. (1)

The numbers indicate the number of persons of each occupation attending the market.

W = Wheat B = Barley O = Oats Be = Beans P = Pease M = Malt
SW = Seed Wheat

The presence of one of these letters against an occupation indicates that at least one person of that occupation purchased that particular type of corn.

Bakers	27	W	B	Be	M	SW
Baker and Miller	1	W				
Baker, farmer and Publican	1	W	B	Be		
Bishop of Durham's servant	1	O				
Boat owners	2	B	M			
Brewers	7	B	M			
Butchers	4	W	P	M	SW	
Carriers	4	B	O	Be		
Colonel	1	O				
Corn Chandler, Dealer and Chapman	1	B	O	Be		
Corn Dealers	3	O	Be	P		
Corn Dealers and Millers	2	W	B	M	SW	
Corn Factor	1	W	B	O		
Dr. Talham	1	SW				
Dr. Wills's servant	1	O				
Farmers	14	W	B	O	Be	P SW
Gardener and Seedsman	1	Be	P			
Grocer	1	O				
Innkeepers	8	B	O	Be		
Livery Stables' Keepers	3	O				
Maltman to Edward Tawney, Brewer	1	B				
Maltsters	6	W	B	O	M	
Maltster and Miller	1	W				
Mealman	1	W				
Millers	2	W	P	SW		
Poulterer	1	B	Be			
Publican	1	O				
Timber Merchant	1	B				
Victuallers	7	W	B	O	Be	
Women	4	W	B	O		
Yeomen	6	W	B	O	Be	P

(1) A total of 375 persons are named in O.U.A. Corn Books of the Clerks of the Market 1789-1822 and Corn Returns 1795-1800, the latter two works purporting to list all purchasers of grain in Oxford market between September 1795 and January 1800. The occupations of approximately 31% of the 375 purchasers have been ascertained; of these approximately 23% were bakers.

Table XII

Table to show Towns and Villages from which Persons came to
Oxford to Buy Wheat, Barley, Oats, Beans, Pease and Malt
1789-1822. (1)

W = Wheat B = Barley O = Oats Be = Beans P = Pease M = Malt
SW = Seed Wheat

The presence of one of these letters against a town or village
indicates that at least one person from that town or village
purchased that particular type of corn.

Oxfordshire

Beckley	2	W	B	P				
Binsey	1	W	B	Be				
Caulcott	1	W						
Chipping Norton	1	W	B					
Cowley	2	W	M					
Cuddesdon	1	W						
Elsfield	1	SW	Be					
Enstone	1	B						
Eynsham	3	W	O	P				
Garsington	1	B	P					
Hampton Poyle	1	W						
Headington	3	O	Be	P				
Iffley	1	M						
Kirtlington	1	B						
Littlemore	1	B	O	SW				
Marston	3	W	B	Be	P			
Mongewell	1	O						
Oxford	74	W	B	O	Be	P	M	SW
Sandford-on-Thames	3	W	M	SW				
Shillingford	3	B						
Stadhampton	1	B						
Stanton Harcourt	2	W						
Water Eaton	1	B	Be					
Wheatley	1	W						
Yarnton	3	W	B	Be	P			

Berkshire

Abingdon	7	W	B	O	Be	P	M	
Wallingford	1	W						
Wytham	4	W	B	O	Be	P	SW	

Warwickshire

Birmingham	1	B						
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(1) A total of 375 persons are named in O.U.A. Corn Books of the Clerks of the Market 1789-1822 and Corn Returns 1795-1800. The places of origin of approximately 33% of these purchasers have been ascertained; of these approximately 60% came from Oxford itself.

MAP TO SHOW TOWNS AND VILLAGES FROM WHICH PERSONS
CAME TO OXFORD MARKET TO BUY WHEAT, BARLEY, OATS, BEANS
PEASE, MALT AND SEED WHEAT 1789-1822
Circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.

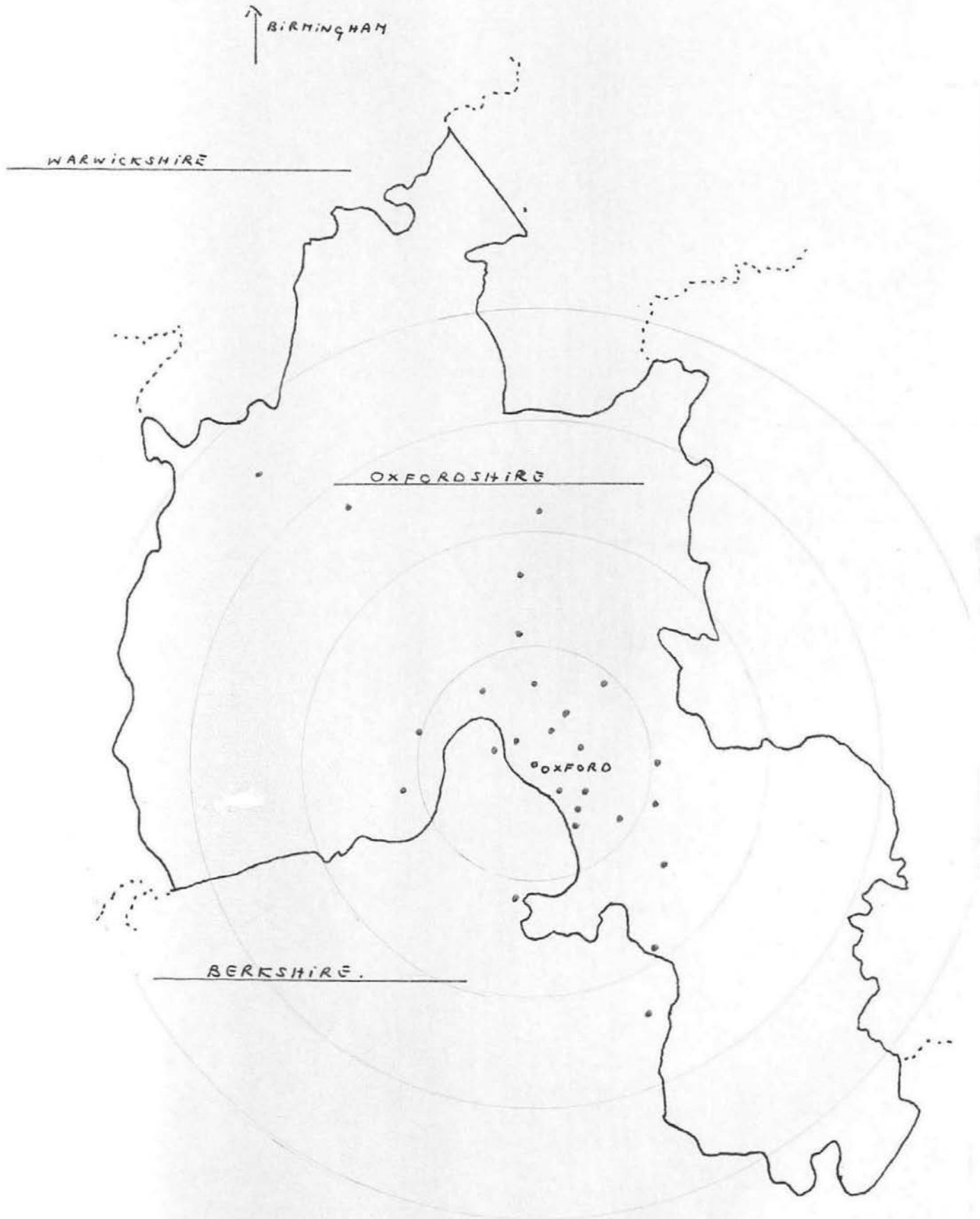


Table XIII

Table to show Places of Origin of Known Buyers of Barley,
Wheat and Malt in Oxford Market 1822-1870. ⁽¹⁾

KEY: E = Barley M = Malt W = Wheat

The number indicates the number of individuals from each town or village buying grain.

Oxfordshire

Chislehampton (or Stadhampton)	1M	
Dean	1M	
Dorchester	1BW	1W
Eynsham	1B	
(Lower or Upper) Heyford	1W	
Northmoor	1B	
Oxford	4M	2W
Warborough	1W	

Berkshire

Wytham	1M
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Warwickshire

Birmingham	1W
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(1) Information derived from University and City of Oxford Assize of Bread Books 1822-1870. Ms Top Oxon d 68 and d 69.

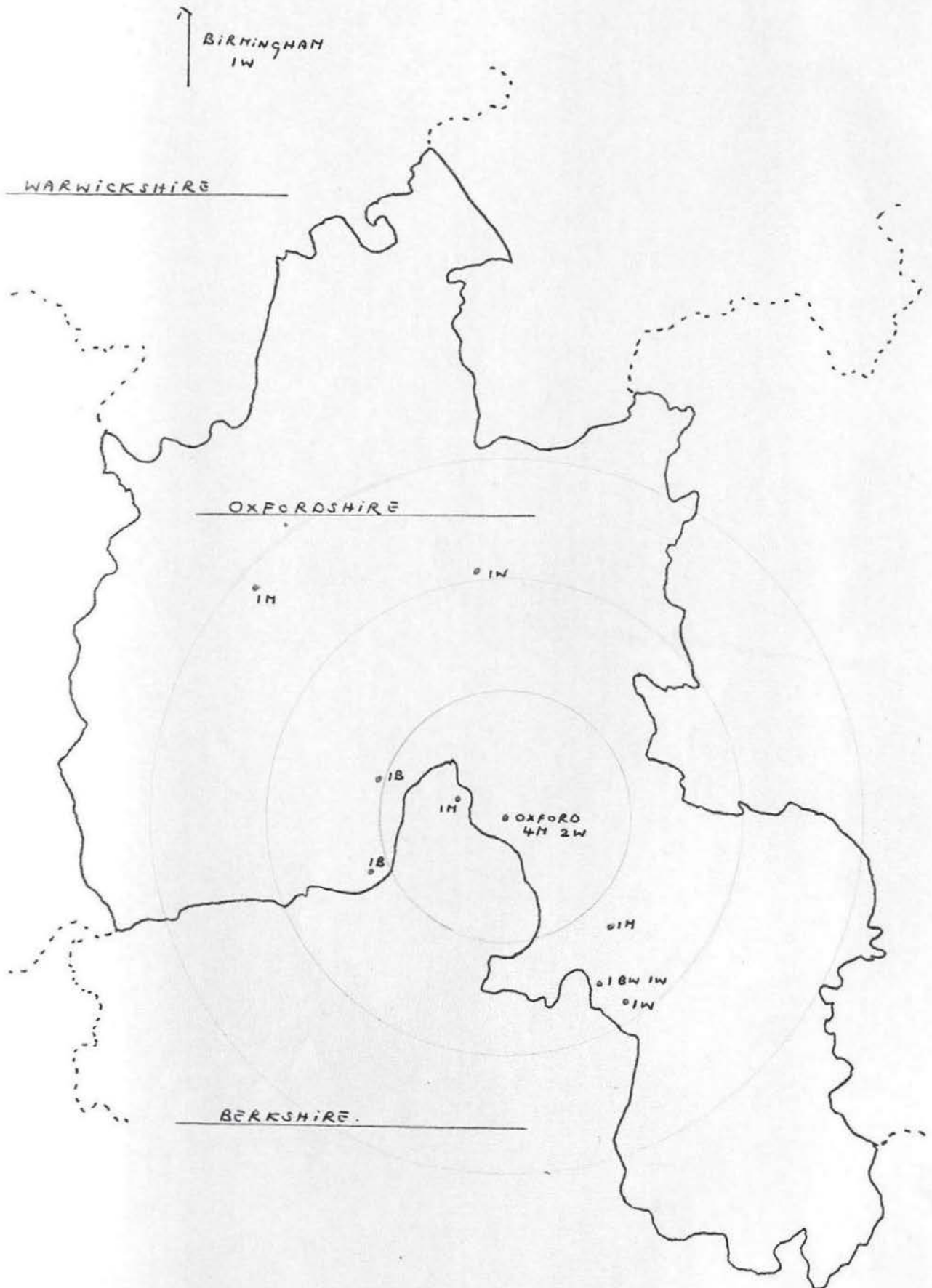
Another source reveals the existence of a buyer of 'grain' from Chadlington.

MAP SHOWING VILLAGES FROM WHICH PERSONS CAME TO
OXFORD MARKET TO BUY GRAIN c 1822-1870

KEY :- B = Barley M = Malt W. = Wheat.

The number indicates the number of individuals from
each village selling each grain.

Circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.



Appendix I A Note on Measures

Although it had been suggested as early as the late seventeenth century that selling by weight would have been the fairest method of dealing in corn; weight giving an indication of quality⁽¹⁾; throughout the eighteenth century corn and corn products continued to be sold by measure.

As early as the reign of Charles II it was enacted that a standard measure, the Winchester of 8 gallons to the bushel, should be adopted throughout the country. However, as R. Burn suggests, for the greater part of the eighteenth century a wide variety of measures were employed and where their use was sanctified by custom, they were apparently not regarded as illegal.⁽²⁾

Throughout Oxfordshire, from Henley in the South⁽³⁾ to Banbury in the North⁽⁴⁾ the measure employed in the sale of corn, until at least the 1790's, was the larger 9 gallon bushel.

(1) Ed. R. Bradley A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade... Collected by John Houghton (1727) Vol.II P.267.

(2) R. Burn Op.cit. Vol.I Pp.398-399.

(3) Henley upon Thames. A Return of the Price of Corn from this Market Thursday April 11 1771. O.S. Bundles. Michaelmas 1771.

(4) The Town Clerk of Warwick, recorded, in the 1760's, that millers attending Warwick market sometimes agreed to buy by Banbury or Shipston measures, which, he believed, were about 3 quarts in a bushel more than Winchester. Papers and Letters laid before the Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Enquire into the Scarcity of Provisions Sessions 1765.

The only exception to this was to be found in Oxford where an 8½ gallon bushel was employed in the sale of malt.

W.F. Lloyd, in trying to explain this exception wrote,

"Possibly before the imposition of a tax upon malt, the old bushel of nine gallons may have been used for malt as well as other things; and the operation of the excise laws, by forcing on the maltsters the use of the Winchester bushel at an early period, may have effected a compromise between the two measures."

He added, however, that he had no evidence to support this suggestion. (5)

The first serious attempt to enforce the use of the Winchester measure in Oxfordshire appears to have been made in 1793. Thus, in January it was announced that the farmers and dealers in corn frequenting Henley market had agreed that they would buy and sell by the Winchester measure alone, (6) and in May farmers throughout the County announced their commitment to the smaller measure. (7) Added weight was given to these voluntary agreements in May 1794, when the County Quarter Sessions declared that the Winchester was the only legal measure and that persons using other measures

(5) W.F. Lloyd Op.cit. P.32.

(6) J.O.J. Jan. 26 1793 No.2074.

(7) J.O.J. May 4 1793 No.2088.

laid themselves open to prosecution.⁽⁸⁾ This order must have been ignored for the Trinity Sessions of 1797 could be found again calling for the adoption of the Winchester measure, and, although it was hoped that it would prove unnecessary for the authorities to resort to prosecutions⁽⁹⁾, it was declared by the Clerk of the Peace on August 8 that unless buyers and sellers commenced using the Winchester measure immediately they would face prosecution.⁽¹⁰⁾

It is difficult to be certain how quickly the Winchester bushel did in fact become established in Oxfordshire. We do know, however, that in Oxford itself, while there was certainly a small number of sales involving the 8 gallon bushel in the 1790's, it was not until 1813 that the Winchester finally displaced the traditional measures.⁽¹¹⁾ Moreover, although this was probably an isolated survival, as late as 1829 it was found that Magdalen College brewed by the 8½ gallon measure.⁽¹²⁾ In addition, although we have no clear evidence from other Oxfordshire towns, it is evident that it was not in Oxford alone that the traditional

(8) J.O.J. May 3 1794 No.2139. This declaration followed upon discussions between magistrates from Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire on the whole problem of non-standard measures.

(9) J.O.J. Jul. 15 1797 No.2307.

(10) J.O.J. Aug. 12 1797 No.2311.

(11) O.U.A. Corn Book of the Clerk of the Market 1805-1816.

(12) Papers Relating to the Clerks of the Market and their work 1821-1851 Mss Top Oxon e 98 P.32.

measures survived into the nineteenth century. Thus, in 1809, W. Mavor criticized the way in which non-standard measures still tended to be used in the towns of the Vale of the White Horse in Berkshire. (13)

The way in which the standard measure was only gradually adopted by farmers and dealers in spite of Acts of Parliament and decisions taken to enforce its use, illustrates the difficulties which the authorities often faced when trying to enforce market regulations. If common practice ran contrary to a particular regulation and if its enforcement was not generally desired by those involved in the actual marketing process the authorities appear to have been quite powerless to ensure that the law was obeyed.

(13) W. Mavor Op.cit. Pp.504-506.

Part II The Open Market and the Local Trade in Corn

According to A. Everitt the traditional methods of marketing corn, with the farmers taking their own corn in bulk to their nearest market town and selling it to retail customers, did not die out entirely in the eighteenth century:

"They were still important in some towns as late as 1740, and in a few they probably lingered on till the widespread building of provincial corn-exchanges in the middle of the nineteenth century." (1)

Moreover, in certain areas of the country, for example Cornwall⁽²⁾ and the less populous districts of Devon⁽³⁾, commercial dealings in corn were almost entirely of the traditional type throughout the eighteenth century.

However, while traditional methods might persist, many alternative ways of marketing corn existed in the eighteenth century. A particularly influential factor in the development of alternatives was that the corn requirements of London, from the sixteenth century, and major provincial towns and expanding industrial areas from, at latest, the early eighteenth century, were growing to such an extent

(1) A. Everitt, "Urban Growth 1570-1770"... P.125.

(2) N.J.G. Pounds, "Barton Farming in Eighteenth Century Cornwall," in The Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall N.S. Vol.VII Pt.I (1973) P.75.

(3) J.H. Bohstedt Riots in England 1790-1810 with special Reference to Devonshire. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Harvard (1972) Pp.291-292.

that these regions were forced to look far beyond their immediate localities for supplies. Indeed, as the century progressed most parts of the country came to contain at least one area, the grain requirements of which could not be met by local farms.⁽⁴⁾ This situation both extended the marketing options available to the farmer and created a growing need for the middleman, who could buy up corn in the producing areas and then transport it to and market it in, the consumption centres.

Obviously, however, whatever role the middleman or dealer might have been called upon to play in the corn trade, the initial vendor of corn had to be the farmer who had grown it.

Charles Smith, writing in 1758, suggested that the nation's corn supplies were dispersed each year by a succession of farmers, starting with the poorest and ending with the richest.⁽⁵⁾ Thus, the period until Christmas saw the heaviest sales and corn at its cheapest because of the large numbers of small farmers forced to sell as soon as their crops were harvested in order to pay Michaelmas and Christmas rents, supply themselves with necessities and

(4) For example, Plymouth and Devonport in Devon.
R. Wells, "The Revolt of the South-West, 1800-1801: A Study in English Popular Protest," in Social History No.6 (1977) Pp.714-715; 741.

(5) C. Smith Three Tracts on the Corn Trade and Corn-Laws (2nd Ed. 1766) Pp.11-13.

finance the farming year.⁽⁶⁾ From Christmas until the following harvest supplies remained adequate, because, until Spring, the moderate farmers, facing the same expenses and obligations as the smaller but better equipped to meet them, marketed their produce and from Spring until the next harvest the farmers in good circumstances, who had held onto some corn in the hope of rising prices, sold it off. According to Smith, only the wealthiest farmers and the farming gentry were able to store corn throughout the year and choose precisely when they would sell.⁽⁷⁾

As E.P. Thompson has suggested, however, this free market model did not correspond to reality.⁽⁸⁾ By mid century, indeed, many contemporaries were indicating that supplies were not reaching the open market at least, in this sequential way and that, in fact, only the poorest farmers were still under the necessity of taking their corn to sell in the market place. Thus, a report from Chester in 1764 declared that it was only a few petty farmers who condescended to visit the market with a few sacks of corn.⁽⁹⁾ It was felt

(6) These points are made by several other writers including:-
 Ed. R. Bradley Op.cit. Vol.I P.217.
 G.E. and K.R. Fussell The English Countryman. His Life and Work A.D. 1500-1900 (1955) P.82.
N.M. Dec. 9 1728 Vol.IX No.XXXIII contains a report of an attack on a poor farmer who was attending the local market town to sell some wheat, in order to raise money to complete the sum required for his Christmas rent.

(7) C. Smith Op.cit. P.12.

(8) E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," in Past and Present No.50 (Feb. 1971) Pp.90-94.

(9) ...Committee of the House of Lords...Scarcity of Provisions 1765.

that the combined effect of rising prices and the foundation of country banks; established in large numbers in the closing years of the eighteenth century⁽¹⁰⁾; was such that even quite small farmers were enabled to hold onto their grain for speculative purposes, and that the wealthier farmers were not only avoiding the open market themselves but were also buying up the corn produced by their less affluent neighbours⁽¹¹⁾ and when prices were high selling all their wheat and barley to middlemen at the farm gate or in inns, or sending supplies direct to dealers and food-processors in the growing population centres.

(10) Ed. E.L. Jones Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1650-1815 (1967) P.32.

2 remarks made in 1800 show the way in which country banks were regarded.

The first was to the effect that country banks had enabled selfish individuals to monopolize corn which they would otherwise have sent to market.

G.M. Vol.LXX Pt.2 (1800) P.764.

The second, which occurs in papers on the effects on Oxfordshire of the crisis of 1800 is that, "The Farmers are become speculators & are assisted therein by the private Banks."

H.O. 42:52 Replies to the Queries Sent to the Bishop of Oxford.

(11) For example, a writer living in Gloucester, suggested, in 1765, that the opulent farmers were engrossing supplies and keeping corn from the open market by buying up the crops of their poor neighbours.
....Committee of the House of Lords...Scarcity of Provisions 1765...

Again, in 1766 J.O.J. carried a report on the existence of similar practices in Kent and a suggestion that they were common in other parts of the country.

J.O.J. Nov. 22 1766 No.708.

We now intend to look at the situation which existed in Oxfordshire's market towns and to examine firstly the extent to which the pattern of selling in the County's open markets fits in with the picture described above.

The first point is that there is no evidence to suggest that, except in years of dearth⁽¹²⁾, Oxfordshire's corn markets were ever supplied by dealers. Thus, when those who supplied the markets were spoken of in general terms they were always described as the farmers. For example, in November 1767, when the statute dictating wheel size was suspended for waggons carrying corn to market, the order was addressed to Oxfordshire's farmers⁽¹³⁾ and in 1800, when riotous populations were frequently exhorted not to attack the vendors of foodstuffs, the notices invariably contained such expressions as

"let me desire that you will not interrupt the Farmer in bringing his Wheat to market, nor in his disposal of it there."⁽¹⁴⁾

(12) Even in years of dearth it was rarely suggested that the dealers may have been selling in the open market. Thus, even the following quotation, which is the only one we have found which would appear to suggest that dealers might have attended open markets is not conclusive. "The lower class of people now say that since soldiers were sent into this country and the Duke of Portland's letter to the Duke of Marlborough the farmers and jobbers dare demand double the price they wo'd gladly have taken 3 weeks ago and last Tuesday £40 a load was actually asked and £36 was really given for wheat at the last Woodstock market." H.O. 42:35 Document 367 Sir Christopher Willoughby to Duke of Portland 7 Aug. 1795.

(13) J.O.J. Nov. 7 1767 No.758.

(14) W.E. Taunton A Short Address to the People of Oxford, occasioned by the late Riot (2nd Ed. 1795) P.7.

Further, although there is very little data available on individual sellers of corn in Oxford market, that which there is suggests that wheat, barley and beans were being sold solely by the local farming community.

Table I illustrates the way in which it was very much the surrounding countryside which supplied Oxford market; the great majority of vendors coming from within 10 miles of the City; and, as Table II suggests, it would seem likely that most of the County's successful market towns would have had catchment areas of approximately 300 square miles. Henley alone may have attracted corn from a wider area, it being suggested that the whole County contributed towards its supply. (15)

Table I

Table to Illustrate the Distances which Persons Travelled to Oxford Market to Sell Wheat, Barley, Beans and Malt 1733-1822.

<u>Distance</u>	<u>Percentage of Sellers Travelling each Distance</u>
0-5 Miles	69.1%
6-10 Miles	26.5%
11-15 Miles	4.4%

It is more difficult to attempt to ascertain the type of farmer supplying the open market and whether there was a perceptible difference in those supplying the market at different times in the year. The sample of Oxford sellers is a small one; is drawn from a very long period and, as it includes only those selling the highest priced grain, is

(15) N. Spencer Op.cit. P.337.

Table II Table to illustrate Distances Travelled by Persons Visiting Markets and Fairs in Oxfordshire and by Oxfordshire Persons Visiting Markets and Fairs in Adjacent Counties to Buy and Sell Corn

Date	Type of Person	Place of Residence	Market or Fair Visited	Approximate Distance Apart	Purpose of Visit/Comments
Mar 1798	Farmer	Sibford Ferris	Banbury	c 7 miles	Exchanging and selling oats.
Mar 1798		Milcombe	Banbury Market	c 5 miles	Buying oats.
Aug 1798	Farmer	Sibford Ferris	Banbury Market	c 7 miles	Selling 14 bags of wheat.
1709	Miller & Corn Badger	Stratton Audley	Bicester Market	c 3 miles	Buying corn regularly.
1710	Tailor	Launton	Bicester Market	c 2 miles	Buying corn on behalf of the above.
Sept 1766	Gentleman	Ambrosden	Bicester Market	c 2 miles	Selling wheat to the Poor.
Sept 1798	Farmer	Sibford Ferris	Chipping Norton Fair	c 8 miles	Selling 1 load of wheat.
Sept 1798	Probably Banker and Mealman	Chipping Norton	Chipping Norton Fair	0	Buying wheat.
Jun 1761	Farmer's servant	Stoke Talmage	Henley Market	c 12 miles	Selling 6 quarters of wheat.

Date	Type of Person	Place of Residence	Market or Fair Visited	Approximate Distance Apart	Purpose of Visit/Comments
1793	Brewer Maltster Corn Chandler	Henley Henley Henley	Henley Market	0	{ Buying and/or selling corn on a regular basis.
May 1796	Gentleman	Hare Hatch between Twyford and Maidenhead	Henley Market	c 4 miles	Buying oats.
Oct., Nov., Dec. 1761	Foreman and Glebe Manager	Nuneham Courtenay	Shillingford Market	c 5 miles	Selling wheat, barley and oats.
Oct 1766	Farmer	Burwell Farm, near Witney	Witney Market	c 1 mile	Selling wheat.
Jun 1795	Baker	Woodstock	Witney Market	c 8 miles	Buying 14 sacks of flour.
Jun 1795		Standlake	Witney Market	c 5 miles	Selling 14 sacks of flour.
Oct 1782		Ditchley Farm	Woodstock Fair	c 4 miles	Possibly selling oats.
1756	2 Corn Dealers	Kelmscott	Lechlade, Gloucester- shire Market	c 3 miles	Agreeing to attend market on regular basis to buy corn.
May 1757		Bampton	Lechlade, Gloucester- shire Market	c 8 miles	Selling corn.

unlikely to be representative. With a larger sample it might be worthwhile to attempt to discover the acreages the open market suppliers were farming, whether they were tenants or owner-occupiers and if they were from areas of open fields or enclosures. This has not been attempted and all we shall do here is offer a few general points, with suggestions of where the work might usefully be expanded if a larger sample were available.

Although the data is obviously insufficiently informative to permit a detailed critique of Charles Smith's analysis, there is some evidence to support his views. Thus, it is clear from an examination of the quantities of corn sold in Oxford market between 1795 and 1800⁽¹⁶⁾ that, while grain sales fluctuated widely throughout the year, there was always a peak in sales in October-November, which may suggest that even at the close of the century many small farmers might still be under the necessity of selling their crops as soon as harvest was over. Secondly, turning to individual sellers, it is perhaps noteworthy that the 2 farmers who were reported to have sold wheat in Oxford market in the post-Christmas period were both mentioned in A. Young's General View of the Agriculture of Oxfordshire⁽¹⁷⁾ and were therefore, one assumes, important members of the farming community. Both were, in fact, from the same enclosed village and on this point one may note that of the remaining 9 Oxfordshire villages from which farmers went to Oxford market to sell wheat, barley

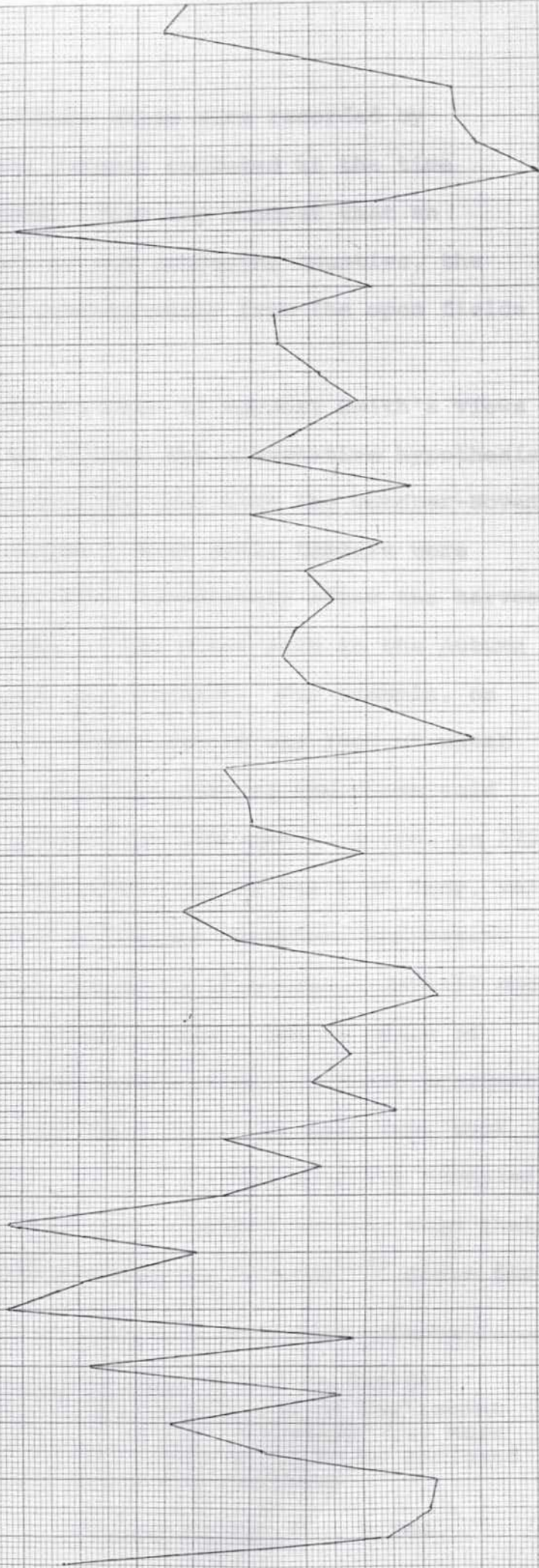
(16) See Graph I.

(17) (Reprint 1969) Pp.178; 275.

Graph I

Graph to show the number of quarters of wheat
sold each week in Oxford Market.
September 1797 - September 1798.

200
190
180
170
160
150
140
130
120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10



2 9 16 23 30 7 14 21 28 4 11 18 25 1 8 15 22
SEPT. OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUN. JUL. AUG. SEPT.
1797 1798

and beans and whose enclosure dates were recorded by H.L. Gray⁽¹⁸⁾ only 2 were largely enclosed at the time they were supplying Oxford. This may suggest that an investigation of whether, in the producing counties, the open market was supplied predominantly from the open fields might be of interest.

If there is a little evidence to support Smith's views there is probably more to support the alternative hypothesis. Thus, it is not even necessarily true that the October-November peak can be adduced as evidence that small farmers were constrained to sell their crops immediately after the harvest; it being possible that some of the wheat sold in the Autumn was left over from the previous harvest. For example, on October 17 1795 "new" is written against one load of wheat only, possibly suggesting that the rest of the wheat sold that day may have been part of the 1794 crop. Again, in 1757 "old" wheat, presumably therefore part of the 1755 crop, was reported to have been sold as late as February, indicating that grain might be stored for up to 18 months. 1756-57 and 1794-95 were, admittedly, abnormal years and in years of good or average harvests and steady prices it would presumably have been less usual to find that crops had been kept back in this way. Nevertheless, we can produce specific examples from normal years which show small farmers holding onto their crops. Thus, Bullock, who managed the 54-acre⁽¹⁹⁾ glebe for

(18) H.L. Gray English Field Systems (1915) Pp.536-542. Gray lists those places enclosed by Act of Parliament between 1758 and 1864. 5 of the "townships" had more than three quarters of their area still to be enclosed and 2 had between half and three quarters.

(19) Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.V... P.244.

the Reverend James Newton of Nuneham Courtenay sold much of the wheat, barley and oats harvested on the ~~globe~~ in September 1761, between October 1761 and February 1762, at 3 local markets. In the harvest year 1760-1761, however, he had been able to keep 10 quarters of wheat to sell as late as May.⁽²⁰⁾ Again, John Lamb, a small farmer of Sibford Ferris was able to sell a load of wheat in Banbury in September 1798 a full year after it was harvested.⁽²¹⁾

The remaining evidence to support the view that farmers were enabled to hold onto their crops comes again from crisis periods. Thus, we find that in October 1766 the Oxfordshire Justices promised to encourage their tenants to thresh out and sell their corn as soon as it was harvested⁽²²⁾, and that in May 1767 the Earl of Guilford apparently required the Steward of his estate at Wroxton to discover whether his tenants were

"keeping their Corn in order to raise
the Price of it;"⁽²³⁾

(20) Diary of Reverend James Newton,... Passim.

(21) Farm Diary and Farm Accounts of John Lamb of Sibford Ferris, Oxfordshire 1774-1798 OXF 14.3.1 P.43.
The wheat was referred to as "old". Lamb appears to have sold corn throughout the year.

(22) J.O.J. Oct. 11 1766 No.702.
As E.P. Thompson shows similar resolutions were made by landowners in other counties during the late eighteenth century food shortages. E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. P.123.

(23) Letters from Stewards of Estates 2. 1765-1800 Ms North d 3 P.88.
The steward apparently found no evidence that Guilford's tenants were hoarding.

both of which references suggest that the County's land-owners believed that the majority of tenant farmers were not compelled to sell their crops immediately after harvest.

Finally we should note that, by mid century at latest, it was probably unusual for the wealthiest farmers and the gentry to send their crops to the local open markets at all. Thus, we find that it was always regarded as noteworthy if "respectable" farmers or members of the gentry agreed, in crisis periods, to take their wheat to the nearest market town. For example, when, in September 1766, Sir Edward Turner gave orders that all his wheat should be sold in Bicester market the decision was reported in J.O.J. (24) Evidence from other parts of the country suggests that such decisions were, in fact, exemplary; the magistrates suspending self-interest and their normal marketing practices in order to encourage others to supply the local community, in the hope that if supplies reached the markets public order would be preserved. (25)

Obviously, with such scanty evidence conclusions must be very tentative. However, 2 broad conclusions would seem possible. Firstly, it would seem that throughout the eighteenth century the open market was supplied by the local farming community. Secondly, one may suggest that,

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- (24) J.O.J. Sept. 20 1766 No.699.
It was also reported in the newspaper when, the following month, Mr. Staley of Burwell Farm took his wheat to Witney market.
J.O.J. Oct. 4 1766 No.701.
- (25) This point is discussed by J. Bohstedt in an unpublished paper, "Devon Food Riots and the Politics of Community Conflict ca 1800." P.51.

from mid century, rising prices probably did begin to enable even small farmers to hold onto their crops and choose the best moment to sell their grain. An important question which is raised, however, is whether it was principally in the actual high price years that the smaller farmers held onto corn for speculative purposes or whether the overall increase in prices from mid century caused a more general breakdown in traditional patterns of supply.

Before commencing an examination of the buyers of corn one further group of vendors should be noted - those selling malt. Information exists for Oxford alone, where the great majority of sellers were independent maltsters; brewers, most of whom in Oxford did their own malting and probably inhabitants of local villages, who combined the occupations of farmer and maltster. Probably the main reason why the Oxford brewers and maltsters were selling malt in the market was that the grant of a maltster's licence was conditional upon the holder agreeing to

"bring or cause to be brought into ye
Market for ye University and City of
Oxford, half a Quarter of good sweet
clean Merchandizable mault,"

each Lady Day and Michaelmas; ⁽²⁶⁾ another example of the way in which, in Oxford, it was very much the policy of the market authorities to require the vendors of foodstuffs to use the open market. It should be noted, however, that there appears to have been widespread evasion of the regulation - throughout

(26) O.U.A.
Miscellaneous Market Regulations c 1664-1732 N.E.P. Supra 14
Pp.14-15.

Turning to the identified buyers of wheat, the first point is that there is very little evidence of consumers buying directly from producers in Oxford market. Between 1692 and 1800 as few as 8 persons can be definitely identified as consumers, the majority of them buying in the period 1692 to 1700 and probably from the more affluent section of the population. The butchers, farmers, chandlers, grocers and women may also have been buying wheat to make bread for their own consumption. However, it is equally possible that the butchers and farmers were purchasing wheat to feed to hogs and poultry;⁽²⁹⁾ that, and there is evidence to suggest that this was the case, the women were the widows of, for example, bakers and were carrying on their husbands' businesses; and that the chandlers and grocers were buying wheat to re-sell in their shops either as wheat, meal, flour or bread.⁽³⁰⁾

What is not possible, however, is to go on from this to suggest that consumers were actually unable to buy wheat in Oxford and other market towns. Thus, we have already suggested

(29) Wheat was certainly used for this purpose.
Ed. R. Bradley Op.cit. Vol.I P.236.

(30) Several writers discuss the way in which chandlers, grocers and petty shopkeepers retailed corn, flour and meal or baked bread for sale.
See, for example, R.B. Westerfield Middlemen in English Business. Particularly between 1660 and 1760 (1915) P.167.
D. Alexander Op.cit. P.125.
E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. P.101.
J.L. and B. Hammond The Village Labourer 1760-1832 (1911) P.110.
Oxfordshire grocers and chandlers certainly sold bread, although it is not clear whether they baked it themselves.
See Chapter VI Pp.421; 439-441.

that small-scale transactions, to which consumers would have been most likely to have been parties, may have passed unrecorded, at least before 1795. Here, therefore, we shall examine the small amount of evidence on this subject to be drawn from other sources and attempt to ascertain whether conclusions are possible.

We shall look initially at the evidence which suggests that the urban consumer was able to purchase corn in the market. Firstly, according to the record of prices in The Assize of Bread 1692-1700 the highest price paid for a bushel of wheat in Oxford market on April 29 1693 was 8/-. However, Anthony Wood, reporting on a riot which took place that day declared that by their action the crowd had caused the price of corn to be reduced from 9/- to 6/2.⁽³¹⁾ If Wood's report is accurate then this would seem to suggest that in the late seventeenth century the small purchaser was probably able to buy wheat, as long as he was prepared to pay for it at a higher rate. Secondly, again in the late seventeenth century, along with bakers and mealmen, Oxford freemen and the tenants of City properties were required to have their corn ground at the Castle Mills⁽³²⁾ and tenants of Merton College properties were required to have their corn ground at the College-owned Holywell Mill.⁽³³⁾

(31) Ed. A. Clark, "The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695..." Vol.III 1682-1695 in O.H.S. Vol.XXVI (1894) P.421.

(32) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701," ... Pp.17; 108.

(33) Ed. A. Clark, "Survey of the Antiquities...." Vol.I P.401.

Clearly unless such persons were purchasing wheat they would not have required the services of a miller.

Thirdly, as Table III illustrates, in all the years of food riots between 1693 and 1766 crowds in Oxford and the County's other towns appropriated wheat or fixed the price at which it was to be sold to the poor, suggesting that they may have been used to obtaining corn in the unground state in years of normal or good harvests. Fourthly, and suggesting the same point, during the years of harvest failures and high prices up to and including 1766-67 charitable schemes run for the benefit of the urban poor not infrequently involved the provision of free or subsidized corn. For example, when the death of Thomas Rowney, a Member of Parliament for Oxford, was recorded in 1727 it was stated that he had

"some years agoe (done) some service to the Poor, when Corn being at ten shillings or more a Bushell, he sold great Quantities to them for 4 or 5 shillings a Bushell." (34)

Again, in January 1767, Jackson's Oxford Journal reported,

"We hear from Charlbury... that in order to alleviate the Distresses so severely felt by the industrious Poor, the Honourable Mr. Lee of Lee-Place, one of the Members for this City... supplied the Poor of that Town with Wheat at Five Shillings a Bushel..." (35)

(34) Ed. Rev. H.E. Salter, "Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne" Vol.IX (Aug. 10 1725 - Mar. 26 1728) in O.H.S. Vol.LXV (1914) P.344.

(35) J.O.J. Jan. 17 1767 No.716. The report did, however, continue that Lee had also given, "a Quantity of Bread Weekly to be distributed among the most necessitous Families."

We shall now turn to the evidence which suggests that consumers did not or could not purchase wheat. Firstly, as Table III indicates, in all food riot years from 1766 onwards, rioting crowds fixed the prices at which bread, flour and meal were to be sold or seized these products, in addition to or instead of corn. Secondly, several disturbance periods from 1710 onwards witnessed attempts to ensure that bakers, as well as or instead of consumers, were provided with corn. Thus, as early as 1710 we find a revealing report on the activities of a badger at Bicester market:

"Joseph Ffletcher hath since her Maties Proclamacon agt Badgers instantly bought upp considerable Quantities of Corne himselfe att Bister Markett till about three weeks since that the poore began to cry out on him & then he imployed one Ffreeman a Taylor of Launton to buy for him as this Informt. hath heard And that it has been a Complt of the Bakers that by reason of the sd Ffletchers such dealings they cannot gett corne for their mony, to furnish the poore with bread." (36)

Furthermore, in both 1766 and 1800 rioters in Oxford intervened in the market on behalf of their bakers. (37) Thirdly, from 1767 onwards shortage years witnessed attempts by the poor to influence the setting of the assize of bread, which, as we shall see, was fixed with regularity in Oxfordshire's major towns. Two illustrations from 1800 reveal the importance

(36) The Information of Joseph Heritage of Bister... Labourer taken upon Oath. G.S. Bundles Easter 1710.

(37) See Chapter IV P.349 and Chapter VII Pp.478; 498-499.

of the assize of bread to the late eighteenth century crowd. In that year threats were made against the Mayor of Banbury should he raise the price of bread⁽³⁸⁾, and, in October an attack on Dr. Cooke in Oxford was almost certainly because of his role as Pro Vice-Chancellor, in supervising the setting of the assize. Dunn, a leader of the Oxford rioters,

"expressed great dissatisfaction at the conduct of those who set the assize of bread and contended that according to the price of corn Bread ought to fall in price."⁽³⁹⁾

Fourthly, in all years of high prices and food shortages from at latest 1756-57 charitable schemes in urban centres involved principally the provision of bread. Thus, in the Winter of 1756, Lord Wenman,

"ordered a great Quantity of Bread to be delivered to the Poor (of Thame) Weekly in Half Peck and Quartern Loaves."⁽⁴⁰⁾

Again, in the 1790's, several very large-scale relief schemes were operated - in Henley, where, during the Winter of 1793-94 725 persons were supplied with subsidized bread for 13 weeks;⁽⁴¹⁾ in Oxford, where, during the following Winter more than 4000 persons were regularly supplied with bread at little more

(38) H.O. 42:49 Richard Williams to Portland 28 Apr. 1800. In fact, however, when the Mayor did raise the price of the peck loaf from 4/10 to 5/4 no disturbance ensued.

(39) H.O. 42:52 Document 84-5 The Examination of Thomas Robinson. Inclosure in Dr. Marlow to Portland. 17 Oct. 1800.

(40) J.O.J. Dec. 4 1756 No.188.

(41) J.O.J. Jan. 10 1795 No.2176.

Table III

Table to show the Commodities which drew the Attention of the Crowd during Food Riots

If a town is named in one of the date columns this indicates that the commodity named in the left-hand column directly opposite was either seized; regulated in price or the subject of an anonymous letter in that town in the particular riot year. A price underneath the name of a town means that price-regulation took place. The bracketed price indicates the market price; the second or a price on its own means the price fixed by the crowd.

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>1693</u>	<u>1713</u>	<u>1757</u>	<u>Date</u> <u>1766</u>	<u>1795</u>	<u>1800</u>
<u>Corn</u> (unspeci- fied)	Oxford (9/-) -6/2 Banbury Charlbury Chipping Norton				Banbury	
<u>Wheat</u>		Burford	Bicester Oxford Thame 4/- per bushel	Oxford 5/- per bushel	Bloxham Long Hanbo- rough 20/- per sack	Oxford £20 per load Witney
<u>Meal</u>						Oxford 12/6 per bushel Witney
<u>Flour</u>				Oxford 5/- per bushel	Oxford Burford 8/- per bushel. Long Hanbo- rough 40/- per sack (Witney) Deddington	(Oxford) Witney
<u>Bread</u>				Oxford 12 lbs of house- hold bread for 1/- Thame Witney (1767)		Bicester Henley Banbury Oxford
<u>Barley</u>						

than half price, twice weekly, for 11 weeks at a total cost of £635/14/5⁽⁴²⁾ and in Thame, where, over the Summer of 1795 more than 1000 persons were supplied with bread below the market price.⁽⁴³⁾

All these points can be used as indicators that a substantial part of the urban community was probably accustomed to purchasing wheat derivatives rather than wheat in non-crisis periods also; a suggestion which is given additional support by a report on the Henley bread scheme:

"The Inhabitants of Henley upon Thames have again set on Foot a subscription for supplying the Poor with Bread during the Winter at 10d per Gallon. Last Winter upwards of 100 Persons were relieved from Christmas to the latter end of April, every poor Person in each Family being allowed three Quarts of Bread per week at the above Price, which they purchased at the Shop they usually dealt at."⁽⁴⁴⁾

The last phrase would certainly indicate that the consumer was a regular bread-purchaser.

This brings us to the final point which would seem to suggest that wheat-purchasing may not have been very usual among urban consumers, that is that the baker appears to have had a very significant role to play in Oxfordshire's towns. Evidence from Oxford reveals much on the influence, wealth and extensive trade of the bakers. Thus, their

(42) J.O.J. Mar. 28 1795 No.2187.

(43) J.O.J. Sept. 5 1795 No.2210.
Cheap bread was also supplied to the poor of Oxford over the Summer of 1795 J.O.J. Sept. 12 1795 No.2211.

(44) J.O.J. Jan. 25 1794 No.2126.

influence is indicated by the case of James Appletree, who was a freeman of the City; a member of the Common Council and, in 1795, on the Committee appointed by the Council to investigate the causes of the high price of corn⁽⁴⁵⁾ and their possible wealth is suggested by that of John Blackford, whose bakery business was reported to have been very extensive and whose fortune, at the time of his death in 1768 was £15,000.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Further, the following advertisement of a baker's shop illustrates well the sizeable trade a late eighteenth century baker could expect:

"To be SOLD by AUCTION... All that MESSUAGE OR TENEMENT, with a Bakehouse,... situate near the Bottom of George Lane, held by Lease under the City of Oxford... and now in the Occupation of Mr. Bayliss, Baker as Tenant at Will. The above Premises are very roomy and convenient for a great Extent of Trade, the Neighbourhood being very populous from its Nearness to the Canal, and no other Bakehouse in the same street."⁽⁴⁷⁾

(45) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801"... P.238.

(46) J.O.J. Nov. 5 1768 No.810.
By the late eighteenth century, however, bakers certainly felt that their profits were not considerable. For example, in 1795-96 William Morris, an Oxford baker and purchaser of wheat in Oxford market issued 2 denials of accusations that bakers could make great profits.

J.O.J. Nov. 7 1795 No.2219.

J.O.J. Feb. 27 1796 No.2235.

This point is elaborated by C.R. Fay, "The Miller and the Baker. A Note on Commercial Transition," in The Cambridge Historical Journal Vol.I No.1 (1923).

An analysis of wills and probate inventories would give a clearer picture of the profits a baker might normally have expected to make. Such an analysis has, in fact, been made for Bicester by G.H. Dannatt. For references to bakers see G.H. Dannatt Loc.cit. Pp.259-260; 266; 274-77.

(47) J.O.J. May 24 1794 No.2143.

We know, moreover, that supplies baked by City bakers were supplemented by bread produced in the countryside; - in the late seventeenth century, bread produced by country bakers being sold regularly in Oxford market⁽⁴⁸⁾ and in the early nineteenth century village bakers sending bread to be sold in Oxford shops.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This practice must in fact have been quite general for in 1796 the Mayor of Brackley in adjacent Northamptonshire reported that many of the common people in that town received their bread supplies from bakers in the surrounding villages.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Finally, it is clear from lists of the freemen and tradesmen in other Oxfordshire towns that bakers were a sizeable group in these centres also.

Although such evidence is clearly circumstantial tentative conclusions on the pattern in wheat-purchasing would appear to be possible. Thus, it would seem firstly that from the mid eighteenth century at latest there was probably a decline in the ability or desire of consumers in general to purchase corn and secondly, that the poorer sections of the community were probably predominantly purchasers of bread throughout the period at which we are looking.

The first conclusion can be supported by statements made by contemporaries. Thus, in 1765, Sir John Fielding made the general point that the engrossing of corn was preventing labourers from following traditional practices and purchasing small quantities of wheat from the farmer,

(48) Ed. A. Clark, "Survey of the Antiquities..." Vol.I P.479.

(49) Papers Relating to the Clerks of the Market and their Work 1821-51... P.3.

(50) P.C. 1:33:A88 Part II Mayor of Brackley to Portland 11 Apr. 1796.

having it ground and making their own bread and was forcing them to purchase bread from the baker.⁽⁵¹⁾ Moreover, several writers made the suggestion that alterations in marketing practices, most notably the growth of sample-selling accounted for the situation. For example, a letter written from Wells in 1765 declared that the farmers were taking samples of wheat to market and on the strength of them agreeing to supply the bakers with as much as 100 bushels of wheat, thereby preventing the poor from purchasing any⁽⁵²⁾ and S. Rudder, writing of Cirencester at the close of the century, complained that the farmer no longer brought all his corn to be pitched in the market but attended with nothing more than a purse-full of wheat as a sample and having sold perhaps a load on the strength of the sample, deprived private families of the opportunity of buying a small quantity at first hand.⁽⁵³⁾ The Common Council of Oxford would certainly have agreed that it was the loss of the pitched market which was responsible for the decline of wheat-purchasing by the consumer. In 1795,

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- (51) ... Committee of the House of Lords...Scarcity of Provisions 1765...
A similar point was made by the Earl of Warrington in 1757. G.M. Vol.XXVII (1757) P.574.
- (52) ... Committee of the House of Lords...Scarcity of Provisions 1765...
- (53) S. Rudder The History of the Antient Town of Cirencester... (2nd Ed. 1800) Pp.151-152.
Among later writers to have taken up this point are W.J. Shelton Op.cit. P.72.
W.M. Stern, "The Bread Crisis in Britain 1795-96," in Economica Vol.XXXI (1964) P.175.

after a lengthy condemnation of sample sales the Council declared,

"The good effect of bringing the corn to market was that a poor man might buy a sack, or a small quantity fitted to his wants and his purse, at the first and cheapest hand." (54)

It should be emphasized, however, that by the close of the eighteenth century the mere fact that pitched sales continued in a particular market would not have guaranteed that the consumer would have been permitted to purchase in that market. (55)

Support for the second point can also be found in the statements of other contemporaries who frequently stressed that wheat-buying was not of importance to the poor both because it was more convenient for them to purchase bread and also because it was often impractical for them to bake at home. Thus, as early as 1748 P. Kalm suggested that English women found it easier to purchase from the baker than bake their own supplies (56) and it is certainly true

(54) J.O.J. Nov. 7 1795 No.2219.

(55) This point is made by W. Mavor in a discussion of Newbury market: "Though a pitched market, small quantities of corn are not easily procured."
W. Mavor Op.cit. P.459.
We have found no evidence on whether the poor consumer could purchase in the pitched market at Henley.

(56) Kalm's Account of His Visit to England on his Way to America in 1748 (Translated Joseph Lucas 1892) P.327.

that in Oxfordshire the opportunities for the poor to bake their own bread must always have been limited by the very severe fuel shortage which existed in the County from the mid seventeenth century⁽⁵⁷⁾ until the construction of the Oxford Canal. Thus, an Oxfordshire farmer writing in 1795 pointed out the difficulties faced by those contemplating baking at home:

"The miller's toll dish and the trouble of procuring fuel and yeast are frequently enemies to the practice and make numbers rather choose to buy bread of the baker; indeed it frequently happened when the cottage was built, the oven was omitted."⁽⁵⁸⁾

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- (57) This is mentioned by a number of writers, among them:-
 R. Plot The Natural History of Oxfordshire, Being an Essay towards the Natural History of England. (2nd Ed. 1705. Published in facsimile 1972) P.52.
 T. Salmon Op.cit. P.32 referred to fuel as "excessively dear" in Oxford.
- (58) An Oxfordshire Farmer A Reply to the Instructions given by the Common Council of Oxford to F. Burton and A. Annesley, Esqrs their Representatives in Parliament, on the Present Scarcity of Provisions (1795) P.16.
 F.M. Eden took up the same theme when he suggested that because of the extreme dearness of fuel in Oxfordshire the labourer bought not just his bread but his entire dinner ready prepared from the baker.
 F.M. Eden The State of the Poor: or An History of the Labouring Classes in England. Vol.II Parochial Reports - England (1797) P.587.
 A discussion of the effects upon the nation's diet of the amount of fuel available for cooking is included by T.S. Ashton in "Changes in Standards of Comfort in Eighteenth Century England," in Proceedings of the British Academy Vol.41 (1955) Pp.177-178.

In conclusion, we should point out that generalizations on the question of the relationship between wheat-buying and home-baking are not yet possible and that an examination of the subject reveals a situation of very great complexity. Thus, although the existence of large numbers of bakers would appear to testify to a decline in home-baking and hence presumably in wheat-purchasing, we know that in rural areas at least bakers might be prepared to bake on commission for persons who brought wheat or flour to them.⁽⁵⁹⁾ For example, a farmer from Sibford Ferris recorded in his diary a payment to the baker for baking his bread.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Further, evidence for the existence of home-baking, if such could be found⁽⁶¹⁾, could not be taken to indicate that consumers were purchasing wheat in the market because firstly they might have been using purchased meal or flour or secondly they might have been obtaining wheat from other sources than the open market.

(59) This point is made by T.S. Ashton Loc.cit. P.177.

(60) Farm Diary...of John Lamb of Sibford Ferris... P.7.

(61) One type of material which might be used when attempting to assess the extent of home-baking is the inventory. For example, G.H. Dannatt by looking at Bicester inventories of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was enabled to make the revealing point that, "boulting-mills kept in the kitchen or another room were often part of the household gear." G.H. Dannatt Loc.cit. Pp.280-281. Inventories, however, can only be of value in relation to wealthier householders.

Having suggested that the consumers were probably not very significant as purchasers of wheat in the open market it should perhaps not surprise us to find that the buyers who dominated Oxford market from 1692 until 1800 and probably the markets of other towns, except Henley⁽⁶²⁾ until at latest the mid eighteenth century appear to have been the bakers. Millers and mealmen, although the second largest group of wheat buyers, seem never to have been as significant a force as the bakers.

We shall now assess the extent to which these findings fit in with the picture derived from other sources.

The first point is that it would appear initially to seem reasonable that the miller should have been playing a lesser role than the baker in the corn trade. Thus, the traditional and, until 1772, legally defined role of the miller was as the processor of corn purchased by consumer and baker. As R. Burn recorded,

"Millers are not to be common buyers of any corn, to sell the same again, either in corn or meal; but ought only to serve for the grinding of corn that shall be brought to their mills."⁽⁶³⁾

(62) In Henley the market was probably dominated by mealmen and corn dealers. Thus, C. Burlington Op.cit. P.240 suggested that the wheat and flour sold in Henley were bought by dealers. Again, a meeting to discuss the use of the Winchester bushel in Henley market was held by farmers, maltsters, mealmen and dealers in corn. J.O.J. Jan. 5 1793 No.2071. Finally, a report on the setting of the assize of bread in Henley stressed that the mealmen supplied the bakers with flour, rather than the bakers being purchasers of wheat. Mr. Coles Junrs proposals to regulate the Price of Bread Aug. 1800 Ms D.D. Henley C IV 7/10.

(63) R. Burn Op.cit. Vol.III P.208. The legal position of millers is also discussed by R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. Pp.167-169.

Moreover, as late as 1795 it was still being claimed that millers should be permitted only to grind the corn brought to them by others and should not buy grain in their own right.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Furthermore, legislation passed in 1796 suggests that for many millers the grinding of corn which belonged to others must still have been an important part of their business in the late eighteenth century; an Act for the regulation of millers passed in that year establishing rules for the weighing of corn taken to be ground and for the payment of fees for grinding. In January 1797 the Oxfordshire Quarter Sessions ordered the enforcement of this legislation in the County⁽⁶⁵⁾ and in April 1797 it was reported that several millers in the Hundreds of Bullington, Dorchester, Thame and Wootton had been convicted and fined for possessing defective weights and failing to display tables of fees for grinding.⁽⁶⁶⁾

(64) H.O. 48:5 Papers on Millers and the Corn Riots at Newton Abbot Apr. 1795.

(65) J.O.J. Jan. 21 1797 No.2282.

(66) J.O.J. Apr. 22 1797 No.2295.

J.O.J. May 6 1797 No.2297.

The disputes which could arise when corn was left at a mill to be ground are well illustrated by 2 cases. See J.O.J. Sept. 3 1757 No.227 for details of a dispute over wheat, barley and oats taken by the owner to be ground at a Woodstock mill.

Assi 5:120 Oxfordshire Lent Assizes 1800 for a case of fraud over the grinding of barley.

However, from the mid eighteenth century at latest it was being suggested that the millers had often forsaken their traditional role and had become instead the principal purchasers of the farmers' wheat; dealers in corn and meal and the suppliers of flour to the bakers, who had themselves ceased to be purchasers of corn. For example, in 1765 the Town Clerk of Warwick reported that the millers were the most important purchasers of wheat in the town and that the bakers mostly bought flour from the millers⁽⁶⁷⁾ and the Earl of Warwick, writing of the same town in 1800, declared,

"The millers in general in this part of the country are very opulent men and great dealers in corn the price of which depends in our markets much on their pleasure..."⁽⁶⁸⁾

A work written in 1795 suggests that the situation found in Warwick was very general by that date:

"It is in vain to think of tying the bakers to sell bread according to the assize from the market price of wheat, and at the same time to leave the millers at liberty to buy up the

(67) ... Committee of the House of Lords...Scarcity of Provisions 1765...

(68) H.O. 42:49 Earl of Warwick to Portland 1 Jan. 1800.

wheat and make the bakers pay
 what price they please for the
 flour." (69)

Initially the Oxford evidence would appear impossible to reconcile with this viewpoint; the lists of those attending Oxford market showing that in terms of numbers the bakers were definitely the dominant purchasers. A closer inspection of the data, however, suggests that the figures are somewhat misleading.

The first, and a very simple, point is that there were far fewer millers than bakers in Oxford, making it almost inevitable that a smaller number of millers would have been recorded using the market. In fact, what does emerge is that millers from all the major mills in and around Oxford were active buyers of wheat; selling flour locally and/or taking part in the long-distance trade. For example,

(69) Considerations on the Scarcity and High Prices of Bread-Corn and Bread at the Market; suggesting the Remedies in a Series of Letters; First printed in the Cambridge Chronicle, and supposed to be written by Governor Pownall (1795) P.27.

The importance of the miller as corn buyer from the seventeenth century onwards has been stressed by several later writers.

For example, S. and B. Webb, "The Assize of Bread," in The Economic Journal Vol.XIV (Jun. 1904) P.201.

C.R. Fay also suggested that by 1774 millers were no longer simply grinders of wheat but purchasers of it, and that by 1813 few bakers bought wheat at all, as the miller was buying from the farmer, and the baker from the miller.

C.R. Fay Loc.cit. Pp.86; 90.

in the 1790's we find John Martin of the Weirs Mill, Sandford-on-Thames both purchasing wheat in Oxford market and supplying flour to the City workhouse⁽⁷⁰⁾ and in Part III we shall discuss several cases of Oxford millers who purchased wheat in the open market and supplied distant consumption centres with corn and flour. Furthermore, even the tenants of the Castle Mills, who until 1763 appear to have been expected to derive their principal income from grinding the corn belonging to others, can be found amongst the purchasers of corn; their activities in fact providing evidence for a point made by Charles Smith viz that those hiring mills might be forced by economic necessity to try to enter the meal and flour trades⁽⁷¹⁾ - the financial difficulties faced by the tenants of these mills in the first half of the eighteenth century being notorious.⁽⁷²⁾

(70) J.O.J. Jul. 27 1793 No.2100.

(71) C. Smith Op.cit. P.17.

(72) There is much evidence that the tenants of the Castle Mills did experience financial hardship. For example, in December 1735 it was reported that the tenant had complained that unless the mills were repaired it would prove impossible to go on grinding corn; in June 1742 William Finch, miller, and an identified corn-buyer, had £30 deducted from his rent of the previous year because of a shortage of water to his mills and in July of the same year he declared that the seasons of late had been so bad and business "so low" that he was unable to pay his rent at all. Moreover, the rent, which in 1715 had been £80 per annum, had, by 1753, been reduced to £63.
 Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts, 1701-1752,"... Pp.204; 236.
 Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts, 1752-1801,"... P.6.
 Rev. H.E. Salter, "Oxford City Properties,"... P.40.

The second point is that, on the whole, we cannot assess the actual quantities of corn purchased respectively by miller and baker and therefore cannot be certain that the miller was not responsible for handling a larger proportion of the supplies coming onto the open market. A fact which is suggestive, however, is that in 1796 William Brookes, miller, was recorded to have purchased 320 quarters of wheat, that is almost $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the quantity purchased by our representative baker, James Appletree.

Moreover, evidence from other sources tends to suggest that millers probably had a greater influence within Oxford market than is indicated by their numbers. Thus, as early as the crisis of 1693 Anthony Wood recorded that millers and mealmen were culpable over the enhanced price of corn and his report that women in Oxford market place, angered at high prices, attacked millers and mealmen, in addition to bakers⁽⁷³⁾, suggests that the crowd held similar beliefs. Again, when, in 1773, the mill at Sandford was advertised as to let, it was reported that the miller would be allowed a boat capable of carrying as much as 20 tons for the purpose of fetching corn from Oxford and Abingdon markets⁽⁷⁴⁾, indicating that he was expected to make very extensive corn purchases. Finally, and also suggestive of the miller as notable dealer, when, in 1792, the owner of Osney Mill was attacked, it was recorded that he had had only one guinea to give the thieves and that he had considered that a large sum for a Saturday night after he had paid the farmers.⁽⁷⁵⁾

(73) Ed. A. Clark, "The Life and Times of Anthony Wood"... Vol.III P.422.

(74) J.O.J. Aug. 28 1773 No.1061.

(75) J.O.J. Nov. 3 1792 No.2062.

Having suggested that the miller was probably a more influential figure than would at first appear, we shall now turn to examine the role of the bakers and suggest that they were perhaps a less significant group in the corn trade than their numerical strength would seem to indicate. Thus, from 1692 onwards we have evidence of Oxford bakers who apparently never purchased wheat in the City's market and who were presumably buyers of flour from miller or mealman. Moreover, although there is no evidence for the suggestion, it would seem possible that, certainly by the last decade of the eighteenth century, it was only the wealthier and more influential bakers who were purchasing corn.

Two other points are more suggestive. Firstly it would seem that, at least after 1700 Oxford bakers were very seldom engaged in dealing in corn, and we may assume therefore that their purchases of wheat would have been limited to the quantities which would have satisfied their own requirements. Secondly, it is clear that the urban baker was an influential figure only within the confines of the open market and while supplies to that market remained steady. The first point is suggested by the fact that very few bakers were recorded in occupational lists as dealers, as well as bakers; and both this and the second point can be illustrated by events during the food riots of the second half of the eighteenth century. Thus, in 1795 and 1800 when supplies in the local open markets were inadequate the bakers appear to have been completely unable to obtain corn for themselves from other sources and seem to have become reliant for supplies, on local crowds who pressured farmers and millers into bringing wheat, meal and

flour to market; on farmers who made commitments to sell specifically to local bakers and mealmen rather than to dealers and most particularly on local millers who provided them with flour from wheat purchased largely in London. Many examples exist to show this. Here we shall note three. Firstly, in 1800 it was stated that a crowd had visited Fawler Mill and tried to persuade the miller, who was in possession of foreign corn, to supply their bakers: They said,

"that their bakers had no meal to bake for the food of the Inhabitants to which he made answer that their Bakers knew him well enough and he should be glad of their custom..."⁽⁷⁶⁾

Secondly, in 1795 it was reported that farmers around Burford had declared that they would sell corn only to mealmen and bakers, who were engaged in supplying the local community and would not trade with jobbers.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Finally - and a very clear revelation of the extent to which Oxford bakers had become flour-purchasers during the crisis of 1800 - twice, in early 1801, the assize of bread was recorded to have been set on the price, not of wheat, but of flour.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Having stressed the dominance of the baker and the crucial, if less conspicuous, role of the miller as buyer

(76) H.O. 42:51 Document 469 Information of Jonathan Paine of Fawler Mill. Inclosure in John Cobb to Portland 26 Sept. 1800.

(77) J.O.J. Jul. 4 1795 No.2201.

(78) Corn Book of the Clerk of the Market 1779-1805.

of corn, we must now look at the problem of why in certain years, most notably 1757, 1766-67, 1795 and 1800, a picture of the market was painted quite at variance with the one presented above. The best exposition of the alternative view can be found in a letter written by Oxford's Common Council in 1795,

"...all over this part of the Country, the Miller and the Baker find it extremely difficult to buy at the first hand, and are absolutely compelled to receive their supplies through the intervention of a third person...for these Jobbers having purchased among themselves the whole, or the greatest part of the corn brought to market, deal ^{it} out again upon their own terms." ⁽⁷⁹⁾

Moreover, while this is the most unequivocal reference to the market being dominated by the jobber, badger or dealer many similar reports could be given. One example will suffice. In December 1767 it was stated that a fall in prices in London had prevented the dealers ⁽⁸⁰⁾ in Oxford market from doing business with their usual alacrity. ⁽⁸¹⁾

We shall now consider the extent to which the view that the dealer dominated the market is tenable. Firstly,

(79) J.O.J. Nov. 7 1795 No.2219.

(80) Here the word dealer clearly carries the implication speculator. Other references, for example one in 1755 to the several dealers in corn not intending to buy by sample in Oxford market, are more equivocal because the word dealer might be being used as a blanket-term covering all corn purchasers.
J.O.J. Oct. 18 1755 No.129.

(81) J.O.J. Dec. 19 1767 No.764.

however, it is necessary to define the way in which the term is being used. By dealer, we are assuming that the authorities were signifying someone who bought corn to resell in a raw state. Obviously many persons were buying corn in the market to resell later in a processed form; for example Thomas Jones, an Abingdon mealman, who, in the 1790's, bought wheat in Oxford market and returned to the same market to sell meal. As R. Burn suggests, however, such persons could not be regarded as badgers or dealers:

"...the statute of Ed. 6 only requires persons to be licensed, who buy corn and sell the same again, that is, sell the corn (as it seemeth) and not the corn manufactured." (82)

If we look firstly at the data presented on the tables of buyers' occupations we find little evidence to suggest the view of a dealer-dominated market. Few dealers appear among the identified corn buyers, especially after 1733, and those dealers, whose presence in Oxford market was recorded, appear seldom to have bought wheat. Furthermore, of the dealers who were present in the market many appear to have possessed a second occupation, the exercise of which would have required them to purchase corn anyway.

It is, however, possible to reconcile, at least in part, the apparently contradictory evidence.

Firstly, it is probable that more persons were acting as dealers than were defined as such. Thus we know that

(82) R. Burn Op.cit. Vol.I Pp.137-138.

the group of bakers and mealmen, the maltster and brewer licensed as dealers in the 1690's were almost certainly buying corn for speculative purposes - 4 of them being presented for engrossing, presumably corn, in 1699. At the same time a mealman, who was apparently not a licensed badger, was also prosecuted as an engrosser, suggesting that part of the explanation for the apparent absence of dealers from the market may be that such persons might have become purchasers of corn for resale without seeking official recognition for this part of their activities. Other cases exist to show that persons were acting as dealers without declaring this as their occupation throughout the eighteenth century also. ⁽⁸³⁾

Secondly, while those buying as dealers may have been few in number the proportion of supplies which passed through their hands was possibly very large. Thus, we have already seen how at Bicester in 1710 large-scale purchasing by a badger endangered local supplies, and, at Burford in 1713, rioting actually occurred after a maltster, thought to be an unlicensed badger, bought up a vast quantity; viz 5 loads; of wheat. ⁽⁸⁴⁾

Thirdly, it is possible that, as the claims that the dealers were predominant were made in 1757, 1766, 1795 and 1800; that is years of high prices and food shortages; the

(83) See Chapter VI Pp.433-434.

(84) See Chapter VII Pp.469-471.

authorities were not generalizing but were making reference to the situation in the specific crisis periods. There is certainly evidence to suggest that Oxfordshire witnessed an influx of dealers from other areas and involved in the supply of distant markets, during years of nationwide shortages.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Furthermore, the number of local bakers, mealmen and millers applying for licences as badgers also increased in years of high prices, for example 1694. It is not possible, however, to conclude from this that there were more persons operating as dealers in high price periods because, as we shall go on to suggest⁽⁸⁶⁾, the likelihood of prosecution for unlicensed dealing seems to have increased in these years, which may have led persons, who did actually engage in dealing at other times, to attempt suddenly to legitimize their activities.

Fourthly, although we have produced 2 examples which suggest that the dealers were actually dominant within the open market it is, in fact, much more usual to find that the authorities either did not specify the market place as the centre for the dealers' operations or implied clearly that their purchasing took place in private. Illustrative of the first point is a notice placed in Jackson's Oxford Journal in 1757 that many persons were buying corn "in Oxford" to resell⁽⁸⁷⁾ and of the second is a report on a Worcester

(85) See Chapter IV Pp.274-5; 281.

(86) See Chapter VI Pp.391-394.

(87) J.O.J. Jun. 18 1757 No.216.

food riot in the same year, wherein it was stated that the crowd was to be condemned because it had seized wheat belonging to persons who constantly supplied the public markets instead of selling by sample or at their own houses to badgers and millers.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Moreover, we have evidence which would seem to suggest that dealers operating in Oxford frequently did not make their purchases in the open market. Thus, in 1757, wheat belonging to Thomas Willats and 2 other "mealmen" was seized during rioting at a City wharf. There is no evidence that any of the 3 had bought wheat in Oxford market. Furthermore, it is clear that Willats, at least, did purchase privately - he was indicted at the County Quarter Sessions for being an unlicensed badger, and buying corn outside Witney market, with the intention of reselling it.⁽⁸⁹⁾

In conclusion, therefore, it would seem that the dealer was probably a not unimportant figure in the corn trade in Oxford, especially in crisis periods, but that in the eighteenth century⁽⁹⁰⁾, while his activities undoubtedly influenced prices and supplies, he, in fact, conducted the great bulk of his business in private.

(88) J.O.J. May 14 1757 No.211.

(89) The indictment described Willats as a labourer but he referred to himself as a mealman.

(90) It would seem likely that in the 1690's the dealers may have made more of their purchases within the open market.

Finally, in this analysis of wheat buyers, we should note that there is no evidence to suggest that those using wheat for industrial purposes - distillers, starch-makers and paste-makers⁽⁹¹⁾ - were purchasing in the market. Two factors may, however, account for their absence from lists of wheat buyers. Firstly, until 1795, we have records of the purchasers of the most expensive wheat only and distillers and starch-makers tended to use poorer quality corn. Thus, we find a starch-maker in the late eighteenth century attempting to obtain smutty or stale wheat for use in his business.⁽⁹²⁾ Secondly, during periods of high prices and food shortages it was not unusual for the use of wheat for industrial purposes to be prohibited and this factor may account, in part, for the absence of industrial users from the purchasers of wheat during the late 1790's. Under these circumstances it is difficult to be certain that wheat for use in industry was not sold within the open market.

When we turn to barley we find that a similar picture emerges to that which we have described for wheat, with

(91) The industrial uses of wheat are mentioned in the following works:-
Considerations on the Scarcity and High Prices... Pp.22-24.
Sir W. Ashley The Bread of our Forefathers. An Inquiry in Economic History (1928) P.24.

(92) J.O.J. Aug. 30 1788 No.1844.
 In order to obtain the wheat he did not, in fact, attend the market but placed an advertisement in the newspaper. Moreover, in the late seventeenth century R. Plot recorded that starch might be made not from wheat but from the worst bran produced by the meal-shops, both of which statements would perhaps indicate that starch-makers, at least, did not use the market.
R. Plot Op.cit. P.285.

food-processors, in this case brewers and maltsters, dominant among the purchasers and very little evidence of purchasing by private individuals.

The apparent dominance of maltsters and brewers in the barley market raises, however, similar questions to the apparent dominance of the bakers in the wheat market; the first being whether the absence of private individuals from the list of barley buyers is indicative of their being unable to buy barley and hence of a decline or cessation in home-brewing. The same problems apply to this, however, as to an examination of home-baking. Firstly, without knowing whether small quantities of barley were being sold and the sales were simply not being recorded one cannot be certain that householders were not buying barley for brewing. Secondly, without knowing whether householders were buying malt one cannot state that, because they were apparently not buying barley, they were not brewing at home. All one can say is that, as yet, there is little evidence that private individuals were buying either barley or malt in Oxford market, or that Oxford householders were brewing their own beer.⁽⁹³⁾

(93) No investigation of home-brewing in other towns or in rural areas has been attempted. G.H. Dannatt has used data from inventories to show that individual householders in Bicester were still sometimes brewing beer for their own consumption in the seventeenth century and there is certainly evidence that brewing took place in the households of the nobility, gentry and professional persons living in the countryside in the eighteenth century but more research would be required before deductions could be drawn on the extent to which home-brewing took place in urban areas and lesser households in the eighteenth century. G.H. Dannatt Loc.cit. P.257.
Letters from Stewards of Estates 2 1765-1800 Ms North d 3 P.39
Diary of Rev. James Newton... Pp.34; 52; 88.

Turning to the identified barley buyers we find much evidence for P. Mathias's statement that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

"local brewers and local maltsters
flourished upon their local barleys." (94)

Between 1795 and 1800 all the notable brewers in Oxford appear to have purchased barley in the market either personally or through the agency of maltmen, whom they employed directly. Thus John Hiscock, who was maltman to Edward Tawney was a very regular and large-scale purchaser, as also were the brewers John Archer, John Evetts and William Drought. The remaining important brewers; William Hall, who bought the Swan's Nest Brewery from John Treacher in 1795⁽⁹⁵⁾, and the Morrell brothers, appear to have bought less regularly. These persons could, however, have been using their partners or employees to purchase for them. For example, the fact that the Morrells were partners of Edward Tawney until December 1798 might mean that Hiscock would have been buying for them. Moreover, there appears to have been a connection between John Evetts and the Swan's Nest Brewery. Thus, John Evetts had been an apprentice of Treacher and in 1825 we find a John Evetts described by Hall as his confidential clerk and kinsman⁽⁹⁶⁾, suggesting that it is certainly a possibility that Evetts may have purchased on behalf of Hall.

Independent maltsters were also of major importance as buyers of barley and may have been, in the late seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries, the largest barley purchasers. We have little evidence on the persons to whom they then sold their malt but from the fact that a number of the

(94) P. Mathias Op.cit. P.392.

(95) Ed. W. Page V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.II P.263.

(96) I am indebted to Dr. M. Prior for this reference.

maltsters were from Shillingford, Abingdon or the wharf area of Oxford, from whence malt was dispatched to London one may suppose that they may have been involved in the London trade. They would also appear to have been supplying malt to the local brewers, most of whom probably did purchase malt in addition to barley.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Thus, we know that Hall, certainly bought malt as well as barley; an account book of the brewery containing many payments for malt including ones to Shillingford maltsters, whom we know to have purchased barley in Oxford market⁽⁹⁸⁾ and in April 1801 it was recorded that William Drought had bought 40 quarters⁽⁹⁹⁾ of malt in the City market from one of these same Shillingford maltsters. There is also little doubt that Oxford Colleges were purchasers of malt⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ but it is impossible to assess the extent to which either they or the brewers bought in the open market or privately.

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- (97) The behaviour of the brewer, Robert Brakspear of Henley is perhaps not unusual. He apparently normally made all his own malt but became a malt-purchaser when he was short of space. F. Sheppard Brakspear's Brewery Henley on Thames 1779-1979 (1979) P.15.
- (98) Notebook containing the Brewery's Account with Sir John Treacher, 1789-1807 and Mrs. G. Treacher 1807-1825 Ms D.D. Halls Brewery E 1 P.56.
- (99) Little data has survived on the scale of transactions in malt. 40 quarters appears, however, to have been an unusually large amount to have been sold and it was, in fact, noted both that the sale was by sample and that the seller had brought in the malt without having been warned to do so. In the few other cases where the volume of malt sold is mentioned, we find that, except on 3 occasions the amount sold was always 2 bushels or less.
- (100) All Colleges had their own brew-houses and some definitely bought malt. Ed. W.N. Hargraves-Mawdsley, "Woodford at Oxford 1759-1776," in O.H.S. Vol.XXI (1969) P.93. However, there is evidence that they were also purchasers of beer. Sir W. Blackstone Dissertation on the Accounts of All Souls College, Oxford (1753, Reprinted 1898), Pp.5; 8-9. J.O.J. Nov. 16 1793 No.2116. This shows a group of College bursars requesting that country brewers send in proposals for supplying the Colleges in view of an increase in the prices charged for beer by the brewers from the City.

Finally in this examination of the use of barley as a drink-corn we should note that there is a little evidence that malt was being sold to City innkeepers in the market. The number of inn and alehousekeepers and victuallers recorded buying either malt or barley is, however, very small and it would appear likely that, in Oxford at least, it was usual for such persons not to do their own brewing but to be supplied with beer by the brewers. For example, as early as 1639 of 300 alehouses in Oxford, more than 100 were licensed by one alderman who bound the keepers to take their beer of him.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Again, between 1682 and 1711 we find several references to brewers being warned not to supply beer to unlicensed or suppressed alehouses in the City.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Moreover, by the late eighteenth century, it is clear that many innkeepers were actually becoming the tenants or employees of the big breweries bound to take their beer.⁽¹⁰³⁾

(101) O. Ogle Loc.cit. P.82.

(102) Oxford City. Sessions Rolls 1679-1712 O.5.12 Pp.40; 101; 154; 162; 172.
D. Davis, in fact, suggests that beer was the first consumer commodity to be mass-produced under factory conditions and sold to the public for cash at fixed prices by "pure" retailers.
D. Davis A History of Shopping (1966) P.213.

(103) The growth in the system of tied houses has been commented upon by several writers. For example, R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. P.179.
P. Mathias "Agriculture and the Brewing and Distilling Industries in the Eighteenth Century," in Ed. E.L. Jones Op.cit. P.93.
S. and B. Webb The History of Liquor Licensing in England Principally from 1700 to 1830 (1903) P.43.

Thus, when Hall took over the Swan's Nest Brewery in 1795 he also gained control of many public houses tied to the brewery.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Nevertheless, even in the late eighteenth century one could probably still find a small number of persons buying barley in Oxford who conformed to Peter Mathias's idea of the 'handicraft' producer;

"corn buyer, maltster, brewer and
innkeeper personified in the
single entrepreneur."⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Thus, the publican, farmer and baker from Marston who bought barley would presumably have been malting the barley and brewing ale to sell in his public house, and it would seem likely that if we had data from earlier periods and more rural market towns we should find more of this type of person.

(104) Ed. W. Page Op.cit. P.263.
Tied pubs existed in other parts of the country. Thus, in Watlington at the close of the eighteenth century, 6 inns came into the hands of the town's principal brewers. Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VIII... P.233.
Again, many newspaper advertisements of inns and alehouses to let in the second half of the eighteenth century indicate that enquiries should be addressed to brewers. J.O.J. Jan. 15 1785 No.1655.
The growth of the system in Southern Oxfordshire is discussed at length by F. Sheppard.
F. Sheppard Op.cit. Pp.22-26.

(105) P. Mathias Op.cit. P.465.

The remaining purchasers of barley fall into 2 categories. Firstly, we find a poulterer and a number of farmers and yeomen, who may have been buying barley to feed to hogs and poultry⁽¹⁰⁶⁾, although the farmers might equally have been purchasing barley because they were pursuing malting as a second occupation or were still brewing their own beer. Secondly, we have a group of corn-dealers and persons in the carrying trade.

Barley appears, in fact, to have been purchased by dealers in the open market to a greater extent than wheat. Not only were corn-dealers recorded buying it more often than wheat but it is possible that those in the carrying trade were also purchasing barley as dealers.

Several writers have, in fact, made a connection not only between carrying and corn dealing but also between these and brewing and malting. M. Prior, for example, has suggested that,

"A trade in malt and corn which could be lucrative, often arose out of the barging business, or was run in conjunction with it,"⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

and P. Mathias has shown that, in Hertfordshire there were many who combined the occupation of barge-owner with that of maltster or malt-factor.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ It is difficult to establish, with certainty, whether any of the persons buying

(106) The use of barley for feeding hogs and poultry is suggested in J.O.J. Jan. 10 1795 No.2176.

(107) M.L. Prior Op.cit. P.174. See also P.10.

(108) P. Mathias Op.cit. P.457.

barley in Oxford did exercise any of these combinations of occupations. However, it is possible that one of the two Oxford boat-owners may have been a maltster; that the two together may have been malt-factors or dealers; that 1 of the Shillingford maltsters may have been a bargemaster and that another barley buyer may have combined the occupations of maltster and wharfinger.

Finally, it is necessary to examine the question of whether there is any evidence that barley was purchased in Oxford for use as a bread-corn. The most serious problem in attempting to assess this is that we have data on barley-purchasers only for the period 1795-1800. In this period, however, there is very little evidence that bakers ever bought barley in the market and in the few cases where they were reported to have done so it is highly possible that they were buying it as a drink not a bread-corn. Thus, the only baker to have bought barley on a regular basis appears, in fact, to have exercised the occupation of maltster in addition to that of baker. (109)

Evidence from other sources is scarce. Certainly in 1623 the University published a decree to lessen the number of maltsters in Oxford so that the barley could be used by the poor for bread during a shortage of wheat. (110) However, when we turn to the 1690's, another period when high wheat prices might lead one to expect that there would have been a return to the baking of barley bread, it is clearly suggestive that in no year were barley prices recorded over the summer

(109) The only other important baker to have bought barley also purchased malt, which may suggest he was actually doing his own brewing.

(110) W.F. Lloyd Op.cit. P.22.

months, when brewing and malting were not taking place⁽¹¹¹⁾, and it is not, in fact, until the crisis of 1795-96 that we find an unequivocal⁽¹¹²⁾ statement that barley was being used for bread in the City. In March 1796 it was stated,

"Mixed bread in the proportion of 2/3 wheat and 1/3 barley has till lately been used in this city by the inhabitants in general, saving the poor, who have from the beginning almost universally refused to consume in their families any but the wheaten."⁽¹¹³⁾

(111) P. Mathias records that brewing usually stopped in June, got under way again in September and often reached full activity only by the best brewing month of the year, October. P. Mathias Op.cit. P.497.

Again, we find Thomas Baskerville reporting that when he visited Norwich market in the summer of 1681 there was little barley in the market because the malting season was over.

"Thomas Baskerville's Journeys in England, Temp.Car.II" in 13th Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Appendix 1-2 (1891-93) P.269.

(112) There is one other piece of evidence which may suggest that barley was used in bread in the late eighteenth century. We find that in 1785 and 1792 John Byng recorded that in Oxford he was given to eat, "brown Georges, a bad doughy cake." The editor of Byng's diaries suggests that brown Georges were loaves made with mixed flour to conserve wheat in times of shortage. Nevertheless, 1785 and 1792 were not, in fact, years of excessively high wheat prices and it is therefore possible that the Editor's interpretation is incorrect, making the reference of uncertain value. Ed. C. Bruyn Andrews Op.cit. Vol.I P.234; Vol.III Pp.172; 183.

(113) P.C. 1:33 A 87 Part 1 W.E. Taunton to Portland 30 Mar. 1796.

The important point to note here is that with little or no evidence that the bakers were buying in the market we must suggest that they were either purchasing privately or that the early Corn Returns are even more inaccurate than we have suggested.

In conclusion it would seem that barley bread was probably consumed in Oxford only in periods of very severe wheat shortages. ⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Oats, beans and pease were grown primarily as fodder crops. Oats were used to feed horses ⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and, to a lesser extent, geese and poultry ⁽¹¹⁶⁾; beans were fed to horses, hogs, sheep and deer and grey pease were used to feed hogs. ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ The use of these grains for fodder would appear to account for the pattern of purchasing found in Oxford market; the dominant purchasers being persons feeding stock, particularly horses; that is those in the carrying trade, innkeepers and the keepers of livery stables, and members of the farming community.

(114) For a discussion of the use of barley bread in other parts of the County see Chapter IV Pp321-339.

(115) Estimates on the quantity of oats consumed by a plough horse in one year vary between 25 and 52 bushels. Coach or saddle horses were estimated to have required greater quantities, that is approximately 90 bushels per annum. W. Pearce General View of the Agriculture in Berkshire, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement (1794) P.47. A. Young Op.cit. P.104. G.M. Vol.70 Part 2 (1800) P.1261.

(116) Ed. R. Bradley Op.cit. Vol.II P.293.

(117) A. Murray Op.cit. Pp.102; 105.

Oats and beans also appear to have been purchased by corn dealers more frequently than were either barley or wheat; partly perhaps because fodder crops were easily resold on the great estates. Moreover it is possible that the innkeepers and carriers may have been buying oats and beans to resell in addition to purchasing them to feed to their stock.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ It is likely, in fact, that the situation was similar to that which existed in North East Kent, where, when fodder crops were taken to the open market, the buying and selling of them was apparently characterized by numerous local, small-scale transactions, with innkeepers handling much of the business.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

(118) We certainly have evidence of both carriers and innkeepers dealing in oats. For example, William Judd, who ran an extensive carrying business, conveying goods by both road and canal to and from Banbury, can be found, in the 1780's selling oats and seed wheat to the Wroxton estate steward.
Accounts etc 1776-1800 Mss North b. 16 Pp.212; 219; 255; 238.
Rusher's Banbury List 1812 Pp.9-10.
 Again, Richard Williams, an Oxford corn-dealer, seedsman and innkeeper sold oats privately to the Earl of Abingdon.
Thomas Collier's Bailiffs Accounts From Dec 28 1770 to Dec 28 1785 Ms Top Oxon d 379 P.36.

(119) D. Baker, "The Marketing of Corn in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century: North East Kent," in A.H.R. Vol.18 (1970) Pp.148-149.

Finally we may note that there is little evidence to suggest that oats were bought for conversion into oatmeal for human consumption.

Tables IV - VI illustrate the distances travelled to Oxford market by the buyers of corn.

Table IV

Table to illustrate the Distances which Persons Travelled to Oxford Market to Purchase Wheat 1692-1700

<u>Distance</u>	<u>Percentage of Buyers Travelling each Distance</u>
0-5 miles	90.6%
6-10 miles	6.25%
11-15 miles	1.5%
16-20 miles	0
21-25 miles	1.5%

Table V

Table to illustrate the Distances which Persons Travelled to Oxford Market to Purchase Wheat 1733-1778

<u>Distance</u>	<u>Percentage of Buyers Travelling each Distance</u>
0-5 miles	92.7%
6-10 miles	5.4%
11-15 miles	1.8%

Table VI

Table to illustrate the Distances which Persons Travelled to Oxford Market to Purchase Wheat, Barley, Oats, Beans, Pease, Malt and Seed Wheat 1789-1822

<u>Distance</u>	<u>Percentage of Buyers Travelling each Distance</u>
0-5 miles	79.2%
6-10 miles	16%
11-15 miles	3.2%
16-20 miles	0.8%
c60 miles	0.8%

The main observation is clearly that the great majority of buyers travelled less than 10 miles, reinforcing the view that the open market was designed primarily to satisfy the needs of the local community. Only one other important point emerges and that is that the number of persons travelling more than 5 miles in the period 1692-1700 is slightly larger than in the period 1733-1778. However, it would seem from the application of the description "stranger" or "countryman" to a small number of buyers in the 1690's that it was regarded as more unusual for non-local persons to attend the market in the late seventeenth century. Under these circumstances one may suggest that it is possible that the large proportion of crop failures in the 1690's may have forced persons to travel farther in search of wheat than they would normally have done in this period.⁽¹²⁰⁾

In conclusion, therefore, it would seem that in the eighteenth century the corn market in Oxford was primarily a wholesale market, providing principally for the needs of local farmers and local food processors.

(120) For a fuller discussion of this see Chapter IV Pp.274-8; 281.

Appendix I A Note on Sale by Sample

The term sample-selling is used to describe a practice adopted by many farmers, whereby they took only a small part of their corn to market; sold all their produce on the strength of the sample and then delivered the bulk of their corn not to the market place but directly to the purchaser.

Although, as A.B. Robertson has suggested,

"Mediaeval practice and custom decreed
that a seller should expose his wares
for sale keeping none back,"⁽¹⁾

it is generally agreed that corn was being sold by sample from at latest the early eighteenth century. R.B. Westerfield, for example, records that by 1718 the practice had begun around London and in the Thames Valley and by 1750 was to be found even in the smaller market towns⁽²⁾ and, although E.P. Thompson believes that the adoption of sample-selling was a more gradual process, he paints a not dissimilar picture. Thompson suggests, in fact, that while it is often ~~supposed~~ that the sale of corn by sample was general by the mid seventeenth century and certainly by 1725, pitching markets were still common in the first half of the eighteenth century; attempts were being made to oppose sample-selling up to mid century and, if pitching markets performed very little role in the South and Midlands by the 1760's⁽³⁾, they may still have had some importance in the

(1) A.B. Robertson Loc.cit. P.21.

(2) R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. Pp.144-145.

(3) Evidence on the very extensive adoption of sale by sample by the mid eighteenth century can be found in ... Committee of the House of Lords...Scarcity of Provisions 1765. This contains reports on the growth of sample-selling from Brentford, Chester, Derby, Hertford, Salisbury, Southampton, Warwick and Wells.

North in the late eighteenth century.⁽⁴⁾

The development of sample-selling in Oxfordshire in the first seven decades of the eighteenth century appears largely to have followed the pattern described by Thompson.

Thus, there are clear indications of the gradual, but not unopposed erosion of the pitched market up to the 1760's. For example, as early as 1717, complaints were being voiced that Charlbury's maltsters were attending Chipping Norton market and buying

"barley there for mauling of the
farmers by sample."

This report continued that similar "tricks" had been played by maltsters at Wallingford in Berkshire⁽⁵⁾ and at Woodstock⁽⁶⁾ and evidence that the authorities in Woodstock were indeed facing the same problems can be found in an order issued by the Borough Council in January 1735, to the effect that maltsters and others dealing in corn who bought or sold by sample would be prosecuted.⁽⁷⁾ By the 1750's Oxford, which had certainly been a pitched market in the forties⁽⁸⁾ must

(4) E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. Pp.84-87.

(5) A good account of the adoption of sale by sample in Wallingford occurs in J.K. Hedges The History of Wallingford, in the County of Berks (1881) P.176. Hedges shows that the practice was introduced in 1684, and in spite of opposition from the town's authorities had become standard by 1758.

(6) Notes on Refusal of Tenants of Charlbury to Pay Market Tolls and Dues. c 1717.

(7) Acts of the Council 1717-1746 Box 87/1.
In February this order was backed up by an offer of rewards to informers.

(8) T. Salmon Op.cit. P.28.

also have been witnessing the introduction of sample sales; the dealers in corn using the City's market declaring, in October 1755, that they were unprepared to purchase by sample⁽⁹⁾; and an announcement made in the 1760's would appear to suggest that, by this decade, bulk sales had almost ceased throughout the area. The statement declared that persons interested in the corn trade were determined

"not to suffer Wheat or other Grain to be sold as formerly, by Sample, in the several Markets of this and the adjacent Counties; nor to permit Badgers, or others, to buy up the Corn in the Manner too often practised, and contrary to Law."⁽¹⁰⁾

Turning to the close of the century we can find many pieces of evidence which tend to suggest that, by then, sample-selling had become so common as no longer to arouse critical comment. For example, one can find simple statements of the type that Oxfordshire farmers were

"pressing to market... with their samples,"⁽¹¹⁾ or that the fall in prices at Chipping Norton market was to be attributed to there being more samples offered than were sold.⁽¹²⁾ Again, we may note the comments made on Bicester

(9) J.O.J. Oct. 18 1755 No.129.

(10) J.O.J. Oct. 18 1766, No.703.

(11) H.O. 42:52 Replies to the Queries sent to the Bishop of Oxford.

(12) J.O.J. Aug. 15 1795 No.2207.

In 1813 J.N. Brewer wrote of Chipping Norton, "corn is sold by sample in this market."

J.N. Brewer The Beauties of England... Vol.XII Part I P.449.

Market by John Dunkin in 1816. Dunkin wrote,

"the practice of selling corn by sample has tended to lessen the appearance of business,"

and,

"I have heard many of the aged inhabitants say that they have formerly seen the whole market-hill covered with sacks of corn....," (13)

remarks which may suggest that by the early nineteenth century the pitched market was becoming the subject of nostalgia rather than that sample-selling was still arousing criticism. Finally an entry recorded in his diary by a farmer of Sibford Ferris suggests not only that sample-selling was standard by the 1790's but also illustrates the logic behind the development. In March 1798 John Lamb wrote that he had attended Banbury market and sold to a Milcombe man there 4 quarters of oats, which he delivered to Milcombe 6 days later (14) -

(13) J. Dunkin Op.cit. P.128.

(14) Farm Diary...of John Lamb of Sibford Ferris.. Pp.17-19. There is also evidence to suggest that Watlington, Witney and Thame were sample markets by at latest the early nineteenth century.
See Chapter P.
R. Gardner Op.cit. Pp.553; 575.

Sibford and Milcombe being closer to each other than either is to Banbury it was obviously more convenient that 1 journey of 4 miles with the oats should have replaced 2 journeys of approximately 5 miles each.

Nevertheless, there is evidence to indicate that the extinction of the pitched market was probably a lengthier process than even Thompson suggests.

Thus, while we have seen that sale by sample was being adopted in Oxford by the middle of the eighteenth century it is apparent that some vendors were continuing to engage in bulk selling certainly into the 1780's. For example, a newspaper report written in 1767 shows that pitched sales and sample sales were occurring together in the sixties:

"We had only one Load of Barley pitched in our Market last Saturday, which sold at 24s a Quarter; but we are told, that a few odd sacks were agreed for, by sample, at a somewhat higher Rate." (15)

Further, a declaration made in 1795 indicates that pitched sales must have been continuing until 1780:

"Within the last ten years this practice of buying by sample has become almost universal, and a load of Corn is now rarely seen at Oxford market; whereas fifteen years ago, it was difficult to find convenient room in the City, on market days for the corn waggon to be lodged upon." (16)

(15) J.O.J. Oct. 3 1767 No.753.

(16) J.O.J. Nov. 7 1795 No.2219.

This statement suggests that it was definitely the 1780's which witnessed the extinction of pitched sales and other evidence can be produced to show that sample selling had become the normal method of conducting business by the late eighteenth century. For example, during the 1800 riots a comment was made that,

"Our Farmers were afraid of producing their samples yesterday," (17)

and in 1813 we find the following unequivocal statement:

"...it seems surprising that the farmers, who repair to so noble a city, should assemble on market-days in the open highway. Although the portico beneath the town-hall appears well-calculated to receive them, they congregate in the neighbourhood of Pennyless Bench, at Quatrevois, in derision of all inclemency of weather. After making this observation, it is almost superfluous to add that corn is sold by sample in Oxford Market." (18)

Even so 2 nineteenth century writers (19) suggest that bulk sales could still be found in Oxford after 1800, making it difficult to date exactly the extinction of the pitched market.

(17) H.O. 42:51 Document 141 Hughes to Portland 14 Sept. 1800.

(18) J.N. Brewer The Beauties of England... Vol.XII Part II P.255.

(19) W.F. Lloyd, wrote in 1830, "It is said that till the practice of selling by sample was begun about 25 years ago, there was generally some corn pitched on a Wednesday..."
W.F. Lloyd Op.cit. P.12.
Again, A. Clark wrote in 1889, "In the present century the carts and corn-sacks were no longer brought to the market, and bargains began to be made by samples."
Ed. A. Clark, "Survey of the Antiquities..." Vol.I P.486.

In Henley the triumph of sample-selling was delayed even longer than in Oxford. Thus, although there is evidence to suggest that the authorities were worried by the development as early as the 1760's, the fear being expressed in 1768, for example, that,

"if persons are allowed to buy at
Barn-Doors and by sample, Henley
will only have the name of a market
Town without the Use or Profit of
it..." (20)

as we have seen⁽²¹⁾ there is equally clear evidence that the town continued to possess a large pitched corn market at least into the early nineteenth century. Moreover, we should note that bulk selling was held up as an ideal by the County authorities as late as 1800⁽²²⁾ and that pitched corn markets were actually established at Deddington and Lower Heyford in the course of the nineteenth century.

(20) Mr. Hayes Opinion about Forestalling...

There is no doubt that the loss of revenue which could result from the growth of sample-selling was as much a consideration with market authorities, not only in Henley but in Woodstock, Charlbury and Oxford also, as the wider problem of the erosion of the open market principle which the loss of the pitched market implied. This is clearly suggested by an Oxfordshire farmer who declared that the loss of tolls had helped to determine the opposition of Oxford City Council to sample-selling.

An Oxfordshire Farmer Op.cit. P.18.

(21) See Chapter II Pp.40-41.

(22) J.O.J. Oct. 18 1800 No.2477.

Several points emerge from this study of sample-selling.

Firstly the fact that in the early eighteenth century it was the urban authorities who opposed sample-selling, while in the fifties and sixties it was largely the vendors of corn provides support for the view of J. Chartres that informal groups including those involved in the marketing process were coming to regulate marketing.⁽²³⁾ Secondly, that it was the purchasers rather than the sellers would seem to suggest firstly that sample-selling was introduced largely to suit the convenience of the farming community or, and probably more likely, that in mid century, when the activities of corn dealers were arousing considerable antagonism those involved in the corn trade may have been attempting to ingratiate themselves with the public. The latter viewpoint is suggested clearly by the fact that it was in the riot year 1766 that corn dealers in Oxfordshire declared their support for the pitched market. They would have been aware that in a previous disturbance year, 1757, the crowd in Oxford had displayed violent antagonism towards sample-selling.⁽²⁴⁾

(23) See Chapter III Pp.100-102.

A fact which may account for the decline in opposition to sample-selling by the market authorities is that it was not clear that the practice was actually illegal. Thus, Charles Smith, writing in the fifties declared that, although there was confusion over this, as sample-selling was not forestalling it was not, in fact, illegal. C. Smith Op.cit. P.38.

(24) See Chapter VII P.474.

Thirdly, it is possible that in Oxford the decline in bulk selling may actually have been delayed by the opposition of the City's authorities and by the crowd's activities. However, if this were the case it was probably very exceptional in that, on the whole, and a point to which we shall return, once a change in marketing practice had proved to be of convenience to both buyers and sellers the authorities had very little hope of preventing it. Thus, in the one case where the pitched market continued to be held without interruption there were sound practical reasons for it to do so⁽²⁵⁾ - in Henley not only did facilities exist for the pitching of corn⁽²⁶⁾ but, and most important, the greater part of the corn sold there was being purchased by grain processors resident in the town or by corn-dealers intending to dispatch it from the town's wharves to London. Under these circumstances if a farmer had sold by sample he would have had to make a second journey to the town to deliver the corn.⁽²⁷⁾

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- (25) Charles Smith made the point that it was practical issues which determined whether the pitching markets survived. C. Smith Op.cit. Pp.38-39. Further, an Oxfordshire farmer, writing in 1795 described how if it was convenient for them to do so, pitched markets had survived and gave the example of Warminster Market, Wiltshire which was still a pitched market as late as 1830. An Oxfordshire Farmer Op.cit. Pp.18-19. W. Cobbett Rural Rides (Penguin Ed. 1967) P.342.
- (26) This contrasts with Oxford where there were no facilities for keeping corn dry.
- (27) Similar factors no doubt account for the survival of pitched markets at Newbury and Reading. W. Mavor Op.cit. Pp.458-459; 464.

Part III The Long Distance Grain Trade

If the primary function of the open corn market appears to have been largely that of supplying local needs it is nevertheless true that much corn produced in Oxfordshire was destined for non-local consumption. Here we shall show the routes along which Oxfordshire corn was sent and examine the extent to which corn for exportation to other areas passed through the open market.

We shall commence with an examination of the trade with London.

Oxfordshire had become orientated towards the London market by at latest the late sixteenth century; the principal area producing corn for the Capital being a belt of land, south of Oxford, stretching from the Vale of the White Horse in the West, through the clay plains of the Middle Thames to the edge of the Chilterns in the East.⁽¹⁾ From this region corn destined for London was sent largely to the Thames Valley

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- (1) The importance of this area in producing corn for the London market is stressed by several writers. For example, B.A. Holderness shows how, as early as 1600, wheat and barley for London were being produced on the clay plains of the Middle Thames. B.A. Holderness Pre-Industrial England. Economy and Society. 1500-1700 (1976) P.69. Again, G.E. Fussell shows how in the seventeenth century the Thames Valley towns, trading with London drew grain supplies from the Vale of the White Horse and adjacent parts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. G.E. Fussell, "The Traffic in Farm Produce in Seventeenth-Century England," in Agricultural History Vol.20 No.2 (Apr. 1946) P.80. M.E. Havinden and J. Thirsk both show the villages in the fertile region between the Thames and Chilterns producing corn for London. M.E. Havinden, "Review of Ed. M.D. Lobel V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.VIII..." in A.H.R. Vol.XII (1964) P.62. J. Thirsk, "Seventeenth Century Agriculture and Social Change," in A.H.R. Vol.18 (1970) P.154.

towns to be processed and then dispatched by river to the Metropolis. The Berkshire towns of Abingdon, Wallingford, Reading and Newbury⁽²⁾ and the Buckinghamshire town of High Wycombe⁽³⁾ were all involved in the preparation and embarkation of Oxfordshire corn but the bulk of the County's produce was probably dispatched from Henley and Oxford.

As early as the sixteenth century Henley had become an important collecting and processing centre for much of South Oxfordshire's wheat and barley and the point of embarkation for large quantities of malt, meal, flour and grain destined for London. Thus, between October 1573 and March 1574 London received almost twice as much corn from Henley as from the whole of Norfolk and Kent together.⁽⁴⁾ Moreover, it would

- (2) W. Pearce records that Newbury and Reading dispatched great quantities of flour to London, and Abingdon, Wallingford and Windsor, barley and malt.
 W. Pearce Op.cit. P.38.
 A part of the wheat and barley processed in these towns would undoubtedly have come from Oxfordshire. Thus, J. Higgs, discussing Oxfordshire stresses that Reading and Newbury dispatched grain from the counties around them.
 J. Higgs, "Farming in the Oxfordshire Region from the Napoleonic Wars to the World Wars," in Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society Vol.CXIX (1958) P.8.
- (3) Annals of Agriculture and other Useful Arts Collected and Published by Arthur Young Vol.XIII (1790) P.445.
 W. Combe Op.cit. Pp.272-273 refers to the very large numbers of mills around High Wycombe.
- (4) N.S.B. Gras Op.cit. P.106.

appear that Henley largely⁽⁵⁾ retained its importance as a supplier of London until the nineteenth century. Thus, a typical eighteenth century reference to the town runs as follows:

"The river Thames being navigable to it (Henley); trade flourishes, it being the principal town in the County, where a correspondence in a mercantile way is kept up with London. Vast quantities of malt, are sent from this town every week to London, almost all the inhabitants being either dealers in corn, malt or such as carry on trade upon the Thames,"⁽⁶⁾

and even at the close of the century we can find it declared:

"A considerable trade is carried on from (Henley) to London by means of the Thames, in malt, grain, flour, and beech-wood; almost thirty thousand quarters of the former being annually made here."⁽⁷⁾

(5) One piece of evidence which may suggest that Henley's trade did have a less successful period - in the mid eighteenth century - is that when, in December 1770, it was decided to improve the navigation, the reason given was that the river, west of London was silting up and becoming impassable and that the costs involved in moving a barge down the river were becoming prohibitive.
J.O.J. Dec. 29 1770 No.992.

(6) N. Spencer Op.cit. P.337.

(7) The U.B.D. Vol.III P.366.

Finally we may note that J.S. Burn, the town's historian, suggests that it was only in the nineteenth century that the trade entered into decline; by degrees shifting,

"to Ware in Hertfordshire, to Essex
and other counties, leaving but little
at Henley, which was further lessened
by the facilities of transport
introduced by railways." (8)

Oxford was never as important in the London trade as Henley but, as we have seen⁽⁹⁾, as early as the 1580's the City's Common Council could be found trying to assert the right of Oxford's freemen to trade in London toll-free, which may suggest that the Council was already considering schemes to make the Thames navigable from Oxford to London and commence a trade, probably in malt, between the 2 cities. At the close of the sixteenth century, however, the Thames was, in fact, navigable only as far as Burcot between Wallingford and Abingdon, and, according to Dr. Prior, it was not until 1635 that the river became navigable into Oxford.⁽¹⁰⁾ From that time the history of the City's river trade is somewhat chequered. Thus, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth

(8) J.S. Burn Op.cit. P.84.

It is also probable that it was not until the nineteenth century that Abingdon's trade with the Capital declined; it being suggested that there was a big expansion in the town's malt trade in the first half of the eighteenth century and that it was still thriving between 1750 and 1800.

L.G.R. Naylor The Malthouse of Joseph Tomkins (1965) Pp.11; 14.

(9) See Chapter III P.137.

(10) M.L. Prior Op.cit. P.154.

centuries it would appear that river traffic was booming, with several writers remarking on the trade in barley and malt from Oxford; D. Jones, for example, who declared in 1724 that,

"(Oxford) since the making of the Isis navigable for Barges to London, by the help of Turnpikes, Locks etc became a Place of considerable trade for Malt and other things." (11)

However, according to Dr. Prior from approximately 1720 the navigation was in decline, and although changes in the methods of financing river improvements - in particular those embodied in an Act of 1771 - helped to bring about another boom, it came too late to prevent the growth of alternative and superior transport facilities, which brought about the final collapse of the City's river-borne trade. (12)

(11) (D. Jones) Op.cit. P.98.
See also Ed. R. Bradley Op.cit. Vol.II Pp.284-285.

(12) M. Prior Op.cit. Pp.v; 102; 147; 156-158; 168.
T.S. Willan also discusses the navigational problems of the first half of the eighteenth century and W. Mavor gives a useful account of the increase in trade and improvements in the seventies.
T.S. Willan River Navigation in England 1600-1750 (1936) Pp.118-119.
W. Mavor Op.cit. Pp.429-433.
We certainly have evidence that corn went from the Oxford area to London in the late eighteenth century. For example, in July 1789, it was reported that barges had been detained above Reading, Wallingford and Oxford after the river had become dangerous through continuous rain; the report continuing that this was one cause of the markets at Bear Key and Mark Lane being thinly supplied.
A Volume of Newspaper Cuttings on Oxford and Oxfordshire c 1750-1820 G.A. Oxon 4^o 49.

By the mid nineteenth century it could be declared,

"whatever importance (Oxford) derived from its position on the Thames has been done away with by the almost total cessation of river navigation." (13)

Finally, we should note that while Oxford and Henley appear to have been the only 2 Oxfordshire towns extensively engaged in the grain trade with London in the eighteenth century, in the seventeenth, Burford also supplied the capital with malt via the Thames. (14)

While London was almost certainly the major recipient of Oxfordshire grain for the greater part of the eighteenth century, demand for the County's produce did exist and begin to increase in other areas also.

As F.J. Fisher has shown, as early as the seventeenth century, the embryonic Black Country, the Tyneside mining area and the textile districts of Yorkshire, East Anglia and the West were all beginning to require food supplies from other regions (15) and, as manufacturing populations in these areas expanded in the eighteenth century, local supplies of corn began to prove quite insufficient. (16)

(13) Ed. C.L. Stainer, "Studies in Oxford History Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century," in O.H.S. Vol.XLI (1901) P.3.

(14) J.N. Brewer The Beauties of England... Vol.XII Pt II P.472.

(15) F.J. Fisher, "The Development of the London Food Market 1540-1640," in E.H.R. Vol.V No.II (1935) P.46.

(16) D.J.V. Jones, "The Corn Riots in Wales, 1793-1801," in Welsh History Review Vol.2 (1964-5) P.327.

Two of these regions were well-placed to look to Oxfordshire for supplies - the West and the Black Country.

While T.S. Willan has suggested that the trade of the Thames was dominated by the London market⁽¹⁷⁾ and Peter Mathias that the capital dominated the barley and malt trades up the Thames to Oxford and Newbury⁽¹⁸⁾ it was not simply London which was in a position to receive Oxfordshire agricultural produce via the river. For the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Thames was, in fact, navigable for barges carrying between 40 and 70 tons⁽¹⁹⁾ up the river to Lechlade⁽²⁰⁾, and, after 1789 could even be

(17) T.S. Willan, "The Navigation of the Thames and Kennet, 1600-1750," in The Berkshire Archaeological Journal Vol.XL (1936) P.150.

(18) P. Mathias Op.cit. P.436.

(19) This point is discussed by W. Mavor, C. Cruttwell and M. Prior, who give estimates of between 40 and 70 tons for boats travelling up river from Oxford, as opposed to 100-150 tons for boats travelling down river.
W. Mavor Op.cit. P.431.
C. Cruttwell Op.cit. Vol.III P.114.
M. Prior Op.cit. P.159.

(20) T.S. Willan provides a list of dates when the Thames was reported to have been navigable as far West as Lechlade.
T.S. Willan Op.cit. Pp.147-149.

used as a route to Bristol; goods continuing via the Thames and Severn Canal to Stroud and from thence via the Stroud-water Canal to the Severn; and the existence of water transport enabled both Bristol itself and the textile districts of Gloucestershire to obtain corn from Oxfordshire.

We cannot date the commencement of this trade or ascertain the extent of it but G.E. Fussell has indicated that, in the eighteenth century, at least a part of the corn requirement of the manufacturing population of Gloucestershire was supplied from Oxfordshire⁽²¹⁾ and an advertisement in J.O.J. shows clearly that the route outlined above was being used for the transport of corn. The advertisement declared that Francis Grain had retaken the Thames Navigation Wharf in St. Aldates, Oxford, where there were large granaries for the purpose of storing corn and grain and that he would forward all goods consigned to his care to London, and to Lechlade, Brimscombe and the Severn.⁽²²⁾

It is also possible that other routes may have been used to send corn and corn products into Gloucestershire. Thus W.E. Minchinton has suggested that there was a considerable movement of produce to Bristol by road, including the Oxford road⁽²³⁾ and this produce may have included grain and in the early nineteenth century Oxfordshire corn could have passed

(21) G.E. Fussell and C. Goodman, "Traffic in Farm Produce in Eighteenth Century England. Except Livestock and Livestock Products," in A.H. Vol.12 No.4 (Oct. 1938) P.363.
G.E. Fussell, "Crop Husbandry in the 18th Century: Oxford, Bucks and Berks," in The Journal of the Ministry of Agriculture Vol.XLV No.6 (Sept. 1938) P.563.

(22) J.O.J. Dec. 20 1794 No.2173.

(23) W.E. Minchinton, "Bristol-Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century," in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th Ser. Vol.IV (1954) P.72.

down the Thames and along the Kennet and Avon or Wiltshire and Berkshire Canals. (24)

Much more evidence exists on the trade with Birmingham, Coventry and the manufacturing centres of Staffordshire and Worcestershire.

It is probable that the influence of the Black Country was being felt in Oxfordshire from approximately the mid eighteenth century. Thus, as early as 1754 it could be declared that Birmingham was receiving corn from as far as 30 miles away⁽²⁵⁾; by 1795 it was being stated that the Dudley and Birmingham regions were chiefly dependent upon Oxfordshire for their corn and flour supplies⁽²⁶⁾ and by the close of the century, R.A. Pelham suggests, that the supply zone of Birmingham encompassed Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and other neighbouring counties. (27)

(24) These canals and the Thames and Severn are discussed by W. Mavor Op.cit. Pp.440-448.
There is no evidence on whether these routes were used.

(25) J.O.J. Jan. 30 1768 No.778.

(26) RAIL 855:4 The Committee Book of the Oxford Canal Company 1787-1797 Pp.429-430.
Although this statement was made during the crisis of 1795 it is not thought that it relates specifically to the crisis period.

(27) R.A. Pelham, "Corn Milling and the Industrial Revolution in England in the Eighteenth Century," in University of Birmingham Historical Journal Vol.VI (1958) P.171.
See also J.M. Martin Op.cit. P.115.

On the whole it would appear to have been Northern and Western Oxfordshire, which were affected by demand from the Midlands. This is illustrated by the troop requirements suggested by a Birmingham magistrate who was trying to protect the town's corn supplies during the 1795 crisis. He wrote,

"I take the liberty of suggesting the peculiar propriety of stationing the Warwickshire Regimt of Fencible Cavalry at Abingdon & Woodstock etc....,"

and,

"there can be no doubt it will be necessary for strong Parties of light Horse to patrol occasionally as far as Burford West of Oxford and as far as Banbury & Towcester North of Oxford." (28)

Moreover, in the same year we find it claimed that while wheat and barley were sent north by the canal from Oxford the towns of Reading, Newbury, Aylesbury, Buckingham and Henley were unaffected by the existence of the waterway. (29) However, there is some evidence that in crisis periods at least Warwickshire was beginning to be supplied from the former London supply zone. Thus, in 1795 Mr. Curzon reported,

"That extensive tract of inland country between the Thames and the Chiltern Hills of Buckinghamshire... has not sufficient grain to supply the demand untill the ensuing harvest; should it prove a late one.

(28) P.C.1:27 A 56 Samuel Garbett to Heneage Legge 23 July 1795.

(29) "A Calm Address to the People of Oxford. Apr. 23 1795" in Oxford Miscellanies Ms Top Oxon b. 116 P.118.

And small as the quantity in hand is, the price being rather lower here than in most parts of the kingdom Dealers are buying up every load they can procure from the farmers and sending it out of the district, either to the mills on the Thames, for the London Market, or by means of the Oxford Canal to Birmingham." (30)

Moreover, we may note that, by the early nineteenth century, Southern Oxfordshire as far south as Henley, and Berkshire had become regular suppliers of malt to the Black Country. (31)

A part of the trade with the West Midlands would appear to have been carried on by road. For example, in 1800 an anonymous writer from Bicester declared,

"that Birmingham waggon has carried a
deal a Wheat away," (32)

and in the early nineteenth century Arthur Young wrote that, in spite of the existence of the canal at Banbury, barley was carried overland from Chipping Norton to Birmingham. (33)
However, the bulk of the grain destined for Warwickshire and Staffordshire was undoubtedly carried along the Oxford Canal,

(30) H.O. 42:35 Document 95 Curzon to Portland. 5 Jul.1795.

(31) J.S. Burn, for example, asserts that in the late eighteenth century malt was sent from Henley to Birmingham as well as to London.
J.S. Burn Op.cit. P.84.
In the early nineteenth century Abingdon also dispatched a part of its malt to the "northern counties".
W. Mavor Op.cit. Pp.450-451.

(32) Eds D. Hay, P. Linebaugh, E.P. Thompson Albion's Fatal Tree (1975) P.332.

(33) A. Young Op.cit. Pp.14-15.

which was opened to Banbury in 1778⁽³⁴⁾ and to Oxford in 1790.⁽³⁵⁾ Many references to this trade can be found; a typical example being the following declaration by an Oxfordshire farmer:

"Some corn has certainly been purchased within these few years for the use of Birmingham, and the various manufacturing places in Staffordshire and its neighbourhood, more particularly since a communication has been opened by a canal to those countries."⁽³⁶⁾

In addition to permitting an increase in trade with the Midlands, the construction of the Oxford Canal, which connected with the Grand Junction, the Coventry and through that with the Trent and Mersey Canal⁽³⁷⁾, also opened up the possibility of trade with the Industrial North and with the Port of Liverpool.

(34) J.O.J. Apr. 4 1778 No.1301.

(35) J.O.J. Jan. 2 1790 No.1914.

(36) An Oxfordshire Farmer Op.cit. P.12.
A comment by D.E.C. Eversley on grain price movements emphasizes the importance of the canal to Birmingham. He wrote, "A comparison of Windsor and Birmingham prices shows a wider range of oscillations in the provincial market, far from water transport, until the canal connexion was made."
D.E.C. Eversley, "The Home Market and Economic Growth in England, 1750-1780," in Eds E.L. Jones and G.E. Mingay Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution (1967) P.245.

(37) J. Priestley Priestley's Navigable Rivers and Canals (New Ed. 1969) P.509.

In fact, little evidence exists on whether Oxfordshire in non-crisis periods, did send corn to the North. However, P. Mathias does suggest that in the late eighteenth century the requirements of Lancashire brewers for "sprinkled" malt were satisfied from as far away as Oxfordshire and his comment that a Warrington innkeeper, brewer and maltster regularly received information on the Oxfordshire barley crop⁽³⁸⁾ might also indicate that barley and malt at least were sent north. Moreover, a statement made in 1795 might possibly suggest that some Oxfordshire corn was exported through Liverpool:

"It is a fact, beyond a possibility of contradiction that since the completion of the canal, scarcely a waggonload of corn has been brought into Oxford Market for sale in the course of any week throughout the year, and that immense quantities of the several species of grain are every week deposited in the granary at the canal wharf, which are purchased by a combination of opulent contractors, who export more than nine tenths."⁽³⁹⁾

However, it is possible that the word "export" was being used to indicate the sending of corn out of Oxfordshire not out of England, rendering the evidence of questionable

(38) P. Mathias Op.cit. Pp.436; 451.

(39) The Birch May 1 1795 No.1 P.4.

value. (40)

Before commencing an examination of the organization of this trade, 2 further points should be discussed; firstly that Oxfordshire, in addition to exporting corn also imported it and secondly that during periods of food shortages and high prices the County witnessed both an overall increase in the demand for its produce and a growth in the number of areas which it supplied.

On the first point there is evidence to suggest that, in the early eighteenth century, there was a regular trade in barley from London to Henley. Thus in 1715 and 1716 we find the Henley Borough Assembly debating the question of the toll to be paid on barley brought into the town from London. (41) As it would seem probable that this barley was used to make malt for London this reference may suggest that a part of the corn processed in Oxfordshire for distant markets was not actually the produce of the County. No conclusive evidence has, however, been found to show whether Oxfordshire continued to import corn in non-crisis periods,

(40) The word "exportation" appears, in fact, to have been used loosely in the eighteenth century, causing confusion for contemporaries as well as for historians. For example, the Duke of Richmond felt obliged to write to Portland to clarify a letter sent to him from Lewes during the 1795 grain crisis. Richmond explained, "The reason of my troubling your Grace with this letter is to observe to you that by the word Exportation is meant, as I conceive the carrying of Wheat out of the County for the supply of other parts of Great Britain, a very great Trade in that Article being carried on between the Port of Newhaven, and the different Ports along the western coast of this Kingdom."

P.C. 1:26 A 51 Richmond to Portland 22 Jun. 1795.

(41) Borough Assembly Minutes 1687-1722...
References under 20 Jun. 1715 and 14 Mar. 1716.

either for use within the County or for processing and re-export, although 2 references might possibly suggest that the practice did survive. Firstly in 1756, we find The Gentleman's Magazine reporting,

"That London is supplied with such plenty of corn that large quantities of wheat, barley, oats etc are often sent from thence to the countries up the Thames." (42)

Although this was written in a high price period the use of the term "often" is suggestive. Secondly, in the 1790's we find records of the consignment of wheat, rye and barley from London to various corn dealers and millers in Whitchurch, Sandford and Oxford. (43) Although the 1790's was a high-price decade, one of the months to which these records relate was July 1797 when prices were not at exceptional levels.

Turning to the food crisis years of the second half of the eighteenth century the evidence to show that Oxfordshire imported corn at these times is very much greater.

The corn used in the County after harvest failures would appear, however, not to have been the produce of other parts of England but to have been brought in from abroad. A proportion of it was probably imported through Bristol; a petition from the citizens of Bristol to Parliament in 1791 declaring that, among other areas, a part of Oxfordshire

(42) G.M. Vol. XXVI 1756 P.534.

(43) London Wharf Account. Josh. Sills Agent for Freight of Goods sent from London by the Cos. Boats to different places on the River Thames which do not come into the Thames and Severn Canal. Gloucs. R.O. T. and S. 102 Pp.127; 149. I am indebted to Dr. M. Prior for this reference.

was dependent upon the town for supplies of foreign corn in times of scarcity.⁽⁴⁴⁾ However, much the greatest part was imported through London; the crises of 1766-67, 1795⁽⁴⁵⁾ and 1800-01 all producing cases of foreign wheat being purchased on the London market by Oxfordshire millers, benevolent individuals and consortiums, and of large quantities of corn being sent up the Thames. For example, in May 1767 J.O.J. recorded that dealers who normally supplied London were purchasing foreign corn on the City's markets; that wheat was being sent up the Thames into

(44) J.O.J. Jun. 11 1791 No.1989.

(45) In 1795 the government, in fact, stressed to an Oxfordshire Justice that it was not easy to send supplies to inland counties. "It is difficult to know in what manner to convey any quantity of wheat for the use of the more interior parts of the kingdom - the expence of the carriage and the time which it will require to convey it to distant places by land, or by canals would render this relief both uncertain and difficult." H.O. 43:6 P.507 J. King to Willoughby 3 July 1795. Nevertheless, attempts were certainly made to obtain foreign wheat for Oxfordshire. In June, for example, an appeal for wheat had been sent from the County to the Privy Council. Moreover, it was reported that country millers were coming to London from up to 60 miles away for foreign wheat. W.M. Stern Loc.cit. P.171.

Oxfordshire and that John Newman Esquire was supplying Banbury with flour made from imported wheat⁽⁴⁶⁾, and between September 1800 and January 1801 we can find reports of Oxford magistrates purchasing 50 sacks of foreign wheat from Mr. Brookes, miller⁽⁴⁷⁾; of 300 quarters of imported corn being brought to Oxford Town Hall⁽⁴⁸⁾ and of the inhabitants of Banbury purchasing £1000 worth of foreign wheat.⁽⁴⁹⁾

However, while Oxfordshire might become an importer of corn in times of crisis, grain shortages, particularly in their early stages, seem to have witnessed an increase in demand for wheat and wheat derivatives and to a lesser extent barley produced in the County. We shall go on shortly to discuss this upsurge in demand. However, before doing so we should point out that it is possible that the growth in demand may to some extent have been more apparent than real in that as high prices and food shortages aroused fears of local hardship what we may be witnessing is an increase in the attention paid to the normal trade with London or the Black Country in addition to an actual expansion in that trade. Thus, it is possible that the crisis of 1795 brought about an awareness of the development of the canal-trade with the West Midlands, although the trade had, in fact, commenced prior to the crisis.

(46) J.O.J. May 9 1767 No.732.
J.O.J. May 23 1767 No.734.

(47) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801"... P.277.

(48) Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette Dec. 1 1800 Vol.XXXVIII No.2027.

(49) N.M. Jan. 17 1801 Vol.LXXX No.46.

Turning to the evidence of an expansion in trade it would appear that it was largely demand from London which accounted for the outflow of grain during the mid century crises. Certainly during the crisis of 1766-67, and particularly in the Autumn of 1766 when exportation abroad was permitted, there was a considerable movement of corn down river to London. Thus, D.E. Williams records that by 3 September 1766 all the old wheat in Oxford had been sent down to London⁽⁵⁰⁾ and in October it was reported from Queenhithe that 3 barges had arrived from Oxfordshire and Berkshire laden with barley said to have been bought up for export.⁽⁵¹⁾ Moreover, in December 1767, while wheat was still retailing at around 8/- per bushel in Oxford market, Oxfordshire was once more being drawn upon for grain; wheat and flour from the County being reported arriving at Queenhithe.⁽⁵²⁾

If London was the most important recipient of Oxfordshire corn in these early crises it was not the only centre to look to Oxfordshire for grain even in this period. Thus, E.C. Davey in a discussion of the contents of a Dorchester farm account book is probably illustrating the effects of the crises of 1756-57 and 1766-67, when he writes that between 1750 and 1770 most corn transactions were with local villages but that in,

(50) D.E. Williams English Hunger Riots in 1766 Ph.d. Thesis University of Wales (1978) P.231.

(51) N.M. Oct. 27 1766 Vol.XLVII No.32.

(52) J.O.J. Dec. 19 1767 No.764.

"certain years dealers were attracted from both neighbouring and quite distant towns, Wallingford, Abingdon, Oxford, Reading, Woodstock, Cirencester and Hereford." (53)

In 1795 we find little suggestion of a growth in the trade with London but there is evidence not only of a greatly increased demand for corn from Birmingham, Warwickshire and Staffordshire, with which, of course, trade took place at other times, but also of the acquisition of Oxfordshire corn for Derbyshire and Lancashire. Thus Joseph Bullock reported on the

"great trading towns of Coventry, Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester etc, wherever canals reach, sending their agents to contract for all the corn they could at all the Market towns;" (54)

and Christopher Willoughby referred to the

"vast export of grain from this County, by means of the Canal to Lancashire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire etc etc." (55)

- (53) E.C. Davey Memoirs of an Oxfordshire old Catholic Family and Its Connections from 1566 to 1897 (1897) P.33.
- (54) H.O. 42:36 Document 5 J. Bullock to Marlborough 4 Nov. 1795.
- (55) P.C. 1:26 A 51 Willoughby to Portland 29 Jun. 1795.
 See also P.C. 1:27 A 56 Garbett to Legge 23 Jul. 1795.
 P.C. 1:27 A 56 Garbett to Legge 28 Jul. 1795.
 P.C. 1:29 A 64 Letter from Samuel Garbett 4 Aug. 1795.
 P.C. 1:29 A 64 Garbett to Legge 29 Jul. 1795.
 All of these show how Warwickshire magistrates regarded Oxfordshire as the most likely source of additional grain supplies to combat the shortages produced by the 1795 crisis.

Moreover, it was widely rumoured that corn was being purchased for exportation from Liverpool. Thus, in July Willoughby wrote,

"A great deal of our wheat has lately been purchased for Liverpool and it is very much the cry of the inhabitants that a great deal is clandestinely sent out of the kingdom from that port..." (56)

and Dr. Durrell, Chairman of the Committee of the Oxford Canal Proprietors, wrote to John King that he had been applied to,

"to prevent the transportation of grain and flour from the wharf at Oxford to the counties of Warwick and Stafford because a prejudice has taken place among the lower class of people that the greater Part is exported from Liverpool." (57)

The rumours were contradicted in the strongest terms, it being declared in reply to Durrell's letter that,

"It is absurd to suppose that the Exportation should be from Liverpool where they are themselves in the greatest Want of Corn," (58)

(56) H.O. 42:35 Willoughby to Portland 5 Jul. 1795.

(57) RAIL 855:4 The Committee Book of the Oxford Canal Company 1787-1797 Pp.417-431.
F.M. Eden also recorded that, "The general opinion, (at Deddington), is, that canals are a great injury to the Poor, by enabling farmers to send their corn abroad..."
F.M. Eden Op.cit. Vol.II - Parochial Reports - England P.591.

(58) P.C. 1:27 A 55 Note in Reply to Letter of Dr. Durrell 17 July 1795.

but these rumours are certainly additional proof of the expansion of demand in the North. (59)

Finally, however, we should point out that while there is, therefore, much evidence of an increase in demand during dearth periods it was not always the case that Oxfordshire responded by permitting the outflow of supplies for other areas. Thus, although it may not have made a very significant impact on the flow of trade, attempts were made in crisis periods to combat the upsurge in demand by the placing of voluntary or compulsory restrictions on the movement or sale of grain. For example, in June 1795 millers around Burford refused to supply a Birmingham baker with flour on the grounds that,

"they feared there was not a sufficient quantity of wheat to supply this Neighbourhood until the new wheat was reaped." (60)

Moreover, outbreaks of rioting seem also to have had an impact upon the removal of wheat from Oxfordshire during high price periods. For example, W.M. Stern records that in 1795 Bristol

(59) In 1800 rumours of the movement of grain up the canal were much less prevalent. Indeed, upon the one occasion when the suggestion was made that exportation via the canal was taking place the idea was rapidly squashed... "The Mayor finding that the mob were chiefly instigated against Mr. Brooks by the belief that he had a great stock of flour at the Canal wharf, to be sent away by the canal, proceeded thither and personally convinced them that the report was false."
H.O. 48:9 P.264 W.E. Taunton to J. King 23 Sept. 1800.

(60) P.C. 1:29 A 56 Memorandum in Garbett to Legge 28 July 1795.

and Birmingham often complained of their inability to obtain delivery of wheat and flour they had purchased⁽⁶¹⁾ and David Durrell wrote, during the rioting of that year, that a disturbance in Oxford had had the effect of intimidating the dealers who normally supplied Birmingham and Dudley.⁽⁶²⁾

From the above it will be clear that the long-distance corn trade is a very complex subject. Moreover, in the absence of statistical data it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions on either the extent of, or the trends in, the traffic in corn from Oxfordshire. However, we can suggest certain very broad conclusions. Firstly, it is clear that there was a constant trade with London in processed corn, particularly malt, and that the Capital, especially in periods of dearth, also received quantities of unprocessed wheat and barley from the County. Secondly, by the 1790's, there is evidence of a growing trade with the West Midlands, probably most particularly in unprocessed corn. Thirdly, it is clear that there was also some exportation of corn, especially in dearth, to Gloucestershire and the Northern Counties. Finally, it would seem that

(61) W.M. Stern Loc.cit. P.171.
This is illustrated by a passage in a memorandum on the problems of obtaining supplies for Birmingham. "We have unquestionable information that large quantities of Corn & Flour are ready in different parts of Oxfordshire to be brought to Birmingham & which hath been delayed in consequence of Tumults at Abingdon Oxford & near Burford, and that the Farmers and Cornfactors dare not risk their property by attempting to bring Corn towards Birmingham." P.C. 1:29 A 56 Memorandum in Garbett to Legge 28 July 1795.

(62) RAIL 855:4 The Committee Book of the Oxford Canal Company 1787-1797 P.429.

Oxfordshire was affected in two ways by the increasing number of harvest failures in the second half of the eighteenth century and by the fact that England became, from the 1770's, a net importer of corn.⁽⁶³⁾ Firstly, while the County remained a net exporter it did begin, in times of dearth, to require supplies of foreign corn and secondly the altered national context, in conjunction with developments in transport, may have helped to bring about a shift in the County's trade away from the London market.

The question which we must now examine is the extent to which corn destined for distant consumption centres passed through the open market.

Looking firstly at the problem of whether Oxfordshire markets were being attended by purchasers from major towns or industrial areas, we find that, although several writers have suggested that dealers, victuallers and corn chandlers from London and large population centres were attending provincial corn markets in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁽⁶⁴⁾ there is little evidence of their purchasing wheat, barley or coarse grain in Oxfordshire.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there is no question but that Oxford and Henley markets

(63) W.J. Shelton Op.cit. P.86.

(64) P.V. McGrath, for example, records that some grain reached London by being bought in local markets by London dealers, victuallers and corn chandlers.
P.V. McGrath Op.cit. Pp.122; 129.
Again, D. Alexander records that, by the eighteenth century, tradesmen from London and the larger provincial towns were travelling extensively into the countryside to buy livestock, cheese, butter and corn at fairs and markets.
D. Alexander Op.cit. P.36.

witnessed very large sales of barley destined ultimately for the London market and it would seem possible that a proportion of this may have been purchased by dealers from the Capital. However, we have no evidence on individual purchasers of barley until 1795 and the hypothesis cannot therefore be tested.

By the period 1795-1800, for which data on barley purchasers in Oxford market is available, there is very little suggestion that persons from distant consumption centres were attending Oxfordshire's open markets. Thus, we have been able to identify only 1 purchaser from a large population centre, Thomas Taberner, a victualler from Steelhouse Lane, Birmingham. Taberner purchased barley on several occasions, largely between the Autumn of 1795 and the Spring of 1797 and may therefore have actually attended Oxford market as a normal part of his business. However, even he may have visited the City initially in response to the dearth conditions prevailing in the Summer of 1795, as we know that, in July, he was in contact with Warwickshire magistrates over the possibility of obtaining supplies of grain for Birmingham from Warwickshire. (65)

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- (65) Two revealing references to Taberner have been found. Firstly, "Messrs Cottrell, Twamley, Taberner & East give us good reason to believe that we might obtain a sufficient quantity of Wheat & Flour from the Counties of Oxford & Northampton - but that without military protection it is utterly impracticable...."
P.C. 1:27 A 56 Garbett to Legge 23 Jul. 1795.
Secondly, "Whilst I am writing Mr. Tabernor comes to me and says the Mayor of Oxford a few days since was applied to by Mr. Ward a Cornfactor for protection of some Corn he was desirous to move towards this Place - but the Mayor would not give him any assurance of aid - Mr. Tabernor has purchased large quantities which he will attempt to bring here if our Committee will engage to indemnify him."
P.C. 1:27 A 56 Garbett to Legge 28 Jul. 1795.
Having no data on the purchasers of corn in Oxford market in June and July 1795 we cannot be certain whether Taberner had purchased the corn mentioned here in the open market. We

Turning to wheat, there seems even less to suggest that this was being purchased by persons from the consumption centres. Thus, the analysis of persons buying wheat in Oxford market between 1692 and 1800 has revealed no one attending the market from London or any other industrial or population centre. Moreover, the only occasions upon which general statements on the clientele of the market would appear to indicate that non-local dealers were in attendance occur in dearth, and thus abnormal years. For example, the comment by Christopher Willoughby in June 1795 that,

"Wheat is 10/6 the bushel and Dealers from Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire etc etc now attend our Markets and will give the Farmers their own price,"⁽⁶⁶⁾

is suggestive of an exceptional situation.

If, however, the open market was largely not attended by purchasers from the major consumption centres, except in dearth years, it was nevertheless able to play an important role in the long-distance trade, by being a place where locally based dealers, carriers, factors⁽⁶⁷⁾ and food processors could purchase grain which they would later consign to distant markets.

(65) also do not know if "Mr. Ward" might be the same as either Thomas Ward, maltster; and/or Ward of Ward and Holland, boat-owners, or Ephraim Ward, a carrier, all of whom purchased in the open market in the 1790's.

(66) H.O. 42:35 Document 54 Willoughby to John King 28 Jun. 1795. A reference in 1757 to the "locusts" buying corn in Oxford market and preventing local bakers from purchasing may suggest that dealers from distant consumption centres were in the market in that year also.
J.O.J. Jun. 18 1757 No.216.

(67) The role of the factor in the markets of provincial towns is discussed by several writers. R.B. Westerfield, for

There is, in fact, little evidence of persons designated solely as dealers or factors purchasing corn in Oxford market, and it is, of course, possible that these may have been engaged in local not long-distance trading. (68) However, 2 out of the 3 dealers and the 1 factor purchasing in Oxford market between 1795 and 1800 were from Abingdon and would therefore have been likely to have been engaged in the London trade and it is possible that others, millers or mealmen for example, were buying unprocessed corn as dealers or for others on a commission basis and then dispatching it to distant centres.

However, as F.J. Fisher suggests, in discussing London, the organization of the overland trade in corn was dictated to a considerable degree by the fact that it was more convenient to process corn before dispatching it (69) and much the most important function of the open market in the long distance trade appears to have been that of a

- (67) example, refers to the employment by wholesale merchants of resident factors, who purchased grain, partly in the open market, and forwarded it to their principals in London.
 R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. P.151.
 A similar reference occurs in P.V. McGrath Op.cit. Pp.122-123.
- (68) For example, Joseph Fletcher, a miller of Stratton Audley, who claimed to have been licensed as a corn badger by Buckinghamshire Justices appears to have concentrated on buying and selling corn in the markets of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire.
Q.S. Bundles Easter 1710.
- (69) F.J. Fisher Loc.cit. P.60.
 Fisher adds that a number of country towns, including Henley, found their major occupation in the processing of London's corn.

centre where local food processors could purchase wheat and barley to convert into meal, flour and malt, which was then forwarded to London and the Midlands. Thus, it is probable that much of the barley sold in Oxford in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and at Henley throughout the eighteenth century was being purchased by local maltsters who were producing malt for the London market and a part of the wheat sold in Oxfordshire's markets was almost certainly being bought by millers and mealmen, who were producing meal and flour with distant markets in mind.

Several pieces of evidence can be adduced to support this suggestion. Firstly, general statements on the clientele of Henley market usually indicate that it was attended by local mealmen, maltsters and also dealers, engaged in the London trade.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Secondly, Oxford market has been shown to have been attended by millers and mealmen from such towns and villages as High Wycombe, Wallingford, Abingdon, Sandford-on-Thames and Shillingford, where much meal and flour for London were produced.⁽⁷¹⁾ Finally, we

(70) Thus F. Sheppard records that much of the corn sold in Henley was for malting or for grinding flour and meal and that nearly all of it was sent on to London, and he adds that in the late eighteenth century there were 14 maltsters in the town.
F. Sheppard Op.cit. P.4.

(71) Many historians refer to the large quantities of grain processed by millers from these Upper Thames towns for the London market.
For example, P.V. McGrath Op.cit. P.127.
Moreover, in 1795 it was declared from Mongewell that,
"The millers in this neighbourhood and considerably lower on the Thames usually send their flour to the London market...."
RAiL 855:4 The Committee Book of the Oxford Canal Company 1787-1797 P.430.

have evidence to show that certain individual food processors who were purchasers of corn in Oxfordshire's open markets were engaged in supplying malt and flour to distant consumption centres.

Thus, Thomas Howell of Holywell Mill, miller and licensed corn badger⁽⁷²⁾, who purchased wheat in Oxford market in the mid eighteenth century seems to have been involved in the dispatch of flour to London. - In 1766 flour produced at Holywell Mill was seized by a rioting crowd as it was being sent out of Oxford at night and the fact that Howell and his partner Joseph Hill felt compelled to deny that the flour was for exportation⁽⁷³⁾ would almost certainly indicate that it was destined for London. Again, a similar accusation of exportation had to be refuted by Thomas Burrows, probably a mealman, baker and maltster⁽⁷⁴⁾ and another purchaser of wheat in Oxford market.⁽⁷⁵⁾ On

(72) Thomas Howell of St. Giles's Parish, Oxford, was licensed to be a common badger of corn at the Epiphany Sessions in 1765.

(73) They declared, "That we never had the least Concern, directly or indirectly, in buying Corn for Exportation; or of grinding Flour for that Purpose; nor were we ever concerned in any such Trade, either as Agents or Principals."
J.O.J. Nov. 8 1766 No.701.
This passage would seem to indicate that it was not, in fact, unusual for millers and dealers like Howell to purchase as factors.

(74) J.O.J. Jul. 23 1791 No.1995.
He was also licensed to be a common badger of corn at the Epiphany Sessions in 1769.

(75) Although it would seem certain that Howell and Burrows and probably Joseph Hill as well were purchasers of wheat in Oxford market, neither Howell nor Hill have been included on the lists on Table IX because of identification problems. Moreover, Burrows has been included solely as a baker because in the mid eighteenth century there were 2 Thomas Burrows, the second of whom apparently exercised only the occupation of baker.

September 2 1774 he and Edward Tawney⁽⁷⁶⁾ declared,

"WHEREAS a malicious Report, ridiculous as it is false, has been industriously propagated in and about this City, 'That a considerable Quantity of Flour, the Property of Mr. Edward Tawney and Mr. Thomas Burrows, of Oxford, had been seized in attempting to send it abroad.' - The Improbability of such a Story, at a Time when every Sea Port of this Kingdom is open for Importation, and great Quantities of Grain actually landed every Week, would be a sufficient Refutation with all candid and sensible Men; but as something more may be adviseable in order to justify Ourselves We have judged it requisite to make the following Affidavit:

WE...declare, That we never were, by Ourselves or Agents, either at this or any other Time whatsoever, directly or indirectly, concerned in the Exportation of Grain or Flour; nor were We ever concerned in any Contract with such Design."⁽⁷⁷⁾

This too would seem to suggest involvement in the London trade.

Yet again, we have a clear statement that William Atkins of Chipping Norton, mealman⁽⁷⁸⁾, who probably purchased wheat and beans in Oxford market in the 1790's and definitely bought wheat at Chipping Norton fair in 1798⁽⁷⁹⁾ was supplying

(76) Edward Tawney was, as we have seen, a brewer, and in this capacity bought barley in Oxford market. However, he also took a lease on the Castle Mills in 1763 and was described in 1783 as a miller and mealman. We have no evidence that he bought wheat in Oxford market.
H.E. Salter, "Oxford City Properties"... P.200.
Bailey's Western and Midland Directory... 1783 P.299.

(77) J.O.J. Sept. 3 1774 No.1114.

(78) William Atkins is described in The U.B.D. as a banker and mealman.
The U.B.D. Vol.II P.557.

(79) Farm Diary...of John Lamb of Sibford Ferris... P.42.

flour to bakers in and around Birmingham and Coventry:

"Whereas divers Reports have lately been propagated by some evil disposed Persons, much to the prejudice of myself, and evidently to disturb the Peace of Civil Society, and impose on the Credulous, that I have sent Corn and Flour into Foreign parts, and also that Sacks with my Name have been seen in France; For the Information of all such Persons who may have heard such Reports I do solemnly affirm, That I never did, either directly or indirectly at any time, send Flour or Grain out of the Kingdom, nor deal with, or sell to any Person or Persons whomsoever that I believed or even suspected to send the same Abroad; but that my Dealings are and were with those in this Part of the Country and with Bakers within the Distance of Birmingham and Coventry." (80)

Finally, we may note that a maltster and bargemaster, who was a regular purchaser of corn in Henley market (81) was also very much involved in the London trade; the loss of 465 quarters of his malt being recorded after his barge had sunk on its way to London. (82)

If, as would seem likely, it was largely processed corn which was dispatched to distant markets, a major question which obviously arises is whether the malt, meal and flour

(80) J.O.J. Aug. 1 1795 No.2205.
Atkins was also acquainted with the London market, although we, in fact, have evidence only that he received corn from London.
London Wharf Account... Gloucs. R.O. T. and S. 102 P.127.

(81) J.O.J. Jan. 26 1793 No.2074.

(82) Evidence Relating to Drowned Malt Ms D.D. Henley A XVI 36.
Court of Quarter Sessions 1773-1779 Ms D.D. Henley A XV No.5. Reference under 19 Apr. 1776.
We may also note one more example, that of William Brookes of Sandford-on-Thames and Oxford, miller, mealman and considerable corn dealer, who both purchased wheat in Oxford market in the 1790's, and, from the fact that in 1800 he was suspected of being involved in exporting corn from Oxfordshire via the canal, was almost certainly engaged in the trade with the West Midlands.

for the consumption centres was ever offered for sale in the open market. Unfortunately, very little data on the sale of malt, meal and flour in any of Oxfordshire's markets has survived and all we can do is suggest that a proportion of the processed corn destined for non-local consumption may have been offered for sale in the open markets and purchased there by dealers from London and the population centres or by local dealers or locally based factors employed by brewers or bakers from other areas.

However, it is probable that it was largely other methods which were employed to forward the malt, meal and flour to the consumption centres. Thus, we have already suggested that maltsters might combine this occupation with that of bargemaster and dispatch their own malt to London and there is evidence that mealmen and millers may have behaved similarly. R.B. Westerfield, for example, records that the mealmen of the Upper Thames Valley exercised the occupations of wholesale shipper and dealer in addition to that of mealman⁽⁸³⁾ and several writers have referred to the fact that the millers of this region were also mealmen, flour dealers and corn merchants⁽⁸⁴⁾, sending flour, sometimes in boats they themselves owned⁽⁸⁵⁾ to the London market. The principal destination for this

(83) R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. P.171.

(84) P.V. McGrath Op.cit. Pp.132-133.
E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. Pp.87; 104.

(85) Advertisements of Oxfordshire mills for sale frequently stress the availability of transportation from the mill directly to the London market. For example, J.O.J. Sept. 6 1800 No.247 contains an advertisement of this type for a mill at Rotherfield Peppard.

processed corn, certainly in the first half of the eighteenth century, was the malt and meal market at Queenhithe, where it was sold largely by factors.⁽⁸⁶⁾ However, millers, mealmen and maltsters might also supply produce directly to the urban bakers and brewers. Thus, in 1757, during rioting at Abingdon, a part of a quantity of flour taken from a barge was declared to have been already sold to a baker from Kingston, Surrey⁽⁸⁷⁾ and we have noted cases of Oxfordshire mealmen consigning produce directly to Birmingham bakers. What is unclear in these latter cases is the way in which the transactions had taken place; that is, we do not know if the food processor had been commissioned directly by the baker or brewer; whether factors or agents had been employed to seek out supplies⁽⁸⁸⁾ or whether the food processor himself

- (86) The role of the factor at Queenhithe, as well as at the 2 important corn markets of Bear Key and Mark Lane is discussed by R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. Pp.152-156 and P.V. McGrath Op.cit. Pp.43; 122.
- (87) Assi 5:77 Berkshire Summer Assizes 1757. The Information of Isaac Fletcher.
- (88) We have, in fact, found one case which does illustrate the role of the agent. In June 1795 a Birmingham baker requested a Burford surgeon, with whom he was acquainted, to enquire of the local millers whether any of them could supply him with 45 sacks of flour per week. P.C. 1:27 A 56 Jas. Hewitt to Mr. Hunt c 18 Jul. 1795.

had taken the initiative in finding purchasers for his produce.

In conclusion, it would seem, therefore, that the open market was basically of significance in the long distance trade by providing a centre at which food processors could buy wheat and barley to convert into meal, flour and malt for distant markets. Little wheat and barley would seem to have been purchased in the open market to be dispatched unprocessed to London and the population centres except in food crisis years, when there was an overall increase in demand for Oxfordshire corn.

Having suggested, however, that the open market retained an important role in the local corn trade in Oxfordshire and had a not insignificant part to play in the long distance trade, it is nevertheless true that most historians consider the open market to have lost much of its significance in the corn trade by the eighteenth century. Thus, D. Baker suggests that corn was largely handled in the private sector by the early seventeenth century⁽⁸⁹⁾ and A. Everitt both that commercial dealings in corn were largely undertaken privately by 1750 and that many of the old "open" corn markets had decayed.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Again, W.J. Shelton records that by mid century barley and rye were not normally offered for sale in the open market⁽⁹¹⁾ and D. Baker and G.E. Fussell both indicate that fodder crops; beans, pease, oats, hay and vetches; rarely entered the market.⁽⁹²⁾

(89) D. Baker Loc.cit. P.139.

(90) A. Everitt, "Urban Growth 1570-1770"... P.124.

(91) W.J. Shelton Op.cit. P.140.

(92) D. Baker Loc.cit. P.147. G.E. Fussell, "The Traffic in Farm Produce in Seventeenth Century England", P.83.

Obviously, without statistical data it is not possible to assess the proportion of corn supplies which passed through the open market. We can, however, offer one very rough but possibly informative calculation on the role of Oxford market in the wheat trade in the late eighteenth century. It is generally accepted that the average per capita consumption of wheat per annum was one quarter. (93) In 1797⁽⁹⁴⁾ the total number of quarters of wheat sold was 4937. As the population of Oxford in 1801 was 11,694, if the market was supplying the needs of Oxford alone, which we know was not the case, then, even allowing for the fact that the volume figures do under-estimate the total sold, probably only one half of the wheat needs of the City of Oxford could have been satisfied by corn sold in the open market.

We shall now provide a brief account of the various types of transaction which could take place outside the open market.

(93) The consumption estimate of 1 quarter is given by several writers including C. Smith Op.cit. P.18.

(94) 1797 was chosen because it was not a year of serious shortages and because we do not find, in this year, complaints that the corn returns were not being properly kept.

Part IV The Alternatives to the Open Market

In this section we shall summarize the principal ways in which corn supplies could be dispersed outside the formal open market setting.

On the simplest level corn could be grown to be consumed by the individual or group growing it. No attempt has been made to ascertain the degree to which farming was actually for subsistence⁽¹⁾ but one may suggest that most farmers would probably have grown sufficient wheat for the consumption of themselves and their families⁽²⁾ and many would have grown barley and produced malt themselves. Moreover, fodder crops were grown, on the whole, to be fed to the grower's stock⁽³⁾ and particularly on the demesnes, much land was devoted to oats to be fed to horses. An example of the way in which corn grown on a great estate might have been employed occurs in the records of the Ditchley Estate. Here we find that in the month of April, 1762, 16 bushels of wheat were sent to the miller, presumably to be ground for the use of the family, and 1 bushel was supplied to the poultry. Turning to barley, we find that 25 bushels were supplied to the hounds; 3 to the dogs; 7 to the hogs; 5 to the poultry and 14 quarters were used to make

(1) An important discussion of this neglected subject is by N.J.G. Pounds. Loc.cit. Passim.

(2) R.B. Westerfield makes the point that every farmer sought to produce enough corn at least for his household consumption, turning surpluses over to the middlemen. R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. P.130.

(3) D. Baker Loc.cit. P.147.

malt. Finally oats were employed as follows: 19 bushels were used by the groom; 30 bushels supplied to the coach stable; 12 to the hunting stable; 56 to the cart stable and 2 fed to the poultry. (4)

Farming for subsistence would, one assumes, have taken place in all types of farming country but in open field areas many more persons would have been enabled to subsist upon what they themselves had grown and, although Oxfordshire is noted as a county in which the effects of the parliamentary enclosure movement of the second half of the eighteenth century were very marked, even by the end of the century, there were approximately one hundred parishes still unenclosed. To give an example of the number of people able to grow crops in an open field area we may note that in the parish of Wiggington, until 1796, all but 38 of the parish's 1124 acres were open field, waste or common pasture and nearly all the inhabitants had a stake in the land. (5)

Moreover, before enclosure, even those who did not own or rent land could satisfy their corn requirements from the local fields; as, under the less intensive system of open field cultivation, the privilege of gleaning was less likely to come under attack from improving farmers (6),

(4) The Account of Corn from Lady Day 1762 to Lady Day 1763
DiL I/j/32d.
Similar data can be found in the following:
The Account of Corn 1727 DiL I/j/32a.
The Account of Corn 1730 DiL I/j/32b.

(5) Ed. F.D. Price, "The Wiggington Constables' Book 1691-1836," in The B.H.S. Vol.II (1969-1971) P.xxv.

(6) This was not, however, always the case. Mrs. B. Stapleton Loc.cit. P.167 records an attack on "leazing" at Kidlington in 1802. Kidlington's enclosure award is dated 1818.

and was, in addition, likely to be of greater value; the Hammonds suggesting that gleaning in the open fields may have provided a family with sufficient grain to supply their bread needs for one whole year.⁽⁷⁾

Gleaning was a traditional right in rural communities but there were also less acceptable ways in which particularly the agricultural labourer could obtain supplies of corn without paying for them; that is most notably by theft⁽⁸⁾ or by riot.

Food rioting will be discussed in detail later. Here we may note that, as regards theft, at all times and particularly in years of high prices and food shortages⁽⁹⁾ it

(7) J.L. and B. Hammond Op.cit. P.107.
See also E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. P.84.
G.E. and K.R. Fussell The English Countrywoman, A Farm-house Social History 1500-1900 (1953) Pp.126; 154.
Fussell suggests that gleaning enabled each woman to obtain 5 or 6 bushels of free grain.

(8) No moral judgment is involved in the use of the term theft. It is recognized that the labourer may have regarded, for example, supplementing his food supply by removing corn owned by his employer, as simply the taking of a legitimate perquisite.

(9) J.M. Beattie, for example, has suggested that theft of all types increased in times of high prices: "The correlation between prices and the number of indictments suggests that in the countryside crimes against property were to a considerable extent a matter of poverty and necessity. Both the short-term sensitivity of indictments to prices and their general long-term relationship argue that a large number of people were close enough to the subsistence line for changes in price to register immediately in their fortunes and for them to turn to theft to fill the gap." J.M. Beattie, "The Pattern of Crime in England 1660-1800," in P. and P. Vol.LXII (Feb. 1974) P.92.
No attempt was been made to examine the relationship between prices and indictments for theft in Oxfordshire.

was not uncommon for rural labourers to supply themselves with corn from the fields and the barns. For example, in 1757, Samuel Knibb was committed to the County Gaol in Oxford on suspicion of stealing a quantity of wheat in the sheaf from the land of William Cole in the common field of Wardington⁽¹⁰⁾ and in 1765 a labourer was accused of stealing corn from a farmer who had employed him in threshing; the threshed wheat being found among unthreshed wheat which the labourer had gained by gleaning.⁽¹¹⁾ The problem was evidently so severe that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century Arthur Young actually advocated a rise in wages for agricultural labourers on the grounds that,

"it would very materially alleviate the distresses of many families who are now under the necessity of procuring a considerable part of their necessities by theft and plunder: the laws for petty offences might then be more strictly enforced and the farmer released from those depredations which are so frequently committed upon his hedges, turnips, corn at harvest, and many other things in the farming business..."⁽¹²⁾

(10) J.O.J. Aug. 20 1757 No.225.

(11) Information of Theft at Chalgrove. Q.S. Bundles Michaelmas 1765. For a similar case see Assi. 5: 121 Oxfordshire Summer Assizes 1801. The Voluntary Confession of William Carter of Watlington; The Examination of William Carter of Watlington, Labourer, Apr. 10 1801; The Examination of William Hayward of Watlington, Brewer, Apr. 10.

(12) A. Young Op.cit. P.336.

We may also note that in the 1780's large numbers of societies were formed by farmers and tradesmen to encourage prosecutions for the theft of corn and a whole range of other commodities regularly stolen - poultry, hay, seeds, wood, turnips, carrots, potatoes and cabbages. J.O.J. Oct. 14 1786 No.1746.

Turning to the disposal of grain surplus to the farmer's own requirements and not appropriated by the local community it is clear, as J.M. Martin has shown⁽¹³⁾, that, for many farmers the nearest great house could be, as late as the close of the eighteenth century, still the most important market for agricultural commodities.

For the tenant farmer, particularly during the first half of the eighteenth century, and most notably between 1730 and 1750, the supply of crops to the landlord could often provide a way of overcoming the problems of low commodity prices and arrears of rent.⁽¹⁴⁾ For example, in 1719, we find the rent due from the tenant of a farm at Elsfield, "abated for a crop of corn" by order of Baron Guilford, her landlord⁽¹⁵⁾ and, as late as 1767, we find a tenant of the Earl of Guilford paying his rent in malt, which may have been produced from his own barley.⁽¹⁶⁾

(13) J.M. Martin Op.cit. Pp.118; 222.

(14) This point is made by several writers including:-
W.J. Shelton Op.cit. Pp.54-55.
B.A. Holderness Op.cit. P.79 makes the more general point that payment of rents in kind was very widespread until after 1750.

(15) Estate and Household Accounts for Wroxton, Elsfield... 1715-23 Ms North c 52 P.3.
See also Adderbury 1712-18 5 Rent Books and 2 Accounts DiL IX/b/2 which shows how the Adderbury tenants of the Ditchley Estate had their rents reduced because they supplied the estate with oats, barley, hay and vetches.

(16) Letters from Stewards of Estates 2 1765-1800... P.39.
This tenant is possibly the same person who can be found selling beans valued at £7, to the Wroxton estate in 1747.
House and General Estate Accounts in the hand of Robert Cheyne, Steward Michaelmas 1742-1748. Ms North c 59 P.157.

In the above cases we are seeing the operation of an unofficial system of corn rents. The official corn rents which were, by Act of Parliament, established as payable to Oxford Colleges in a combination of money, wheat and malt appear also to have been still paid partly in kind in the eighteenth century⁽¹⁷⁾ and, as it has been estimated that, at the close of the century the University of Oxford possessed,

"the property in whole or in part,
or one-sixth of the county⁽¹⁸⁾,"

it is possible that many farmers may have been having to discharge their rents partly in corn as late as 1800. Moreover, other expenses which the farmer had to meet,

(17) A detailed account of the amounts of money, wheat and malt payable by tenants of lands belonging to Corpus Christi College has survived. See, for example, A Bundle of Corn Books, the Annual Record kept of the Corn Rents paid by tenants on land belonging to Corpus Christi College, for the following years: 1701; 1703; 1705-7; 1709-13; 1715-20. Corpus Christi College Archives F/10/6. See also, Sir W. Blackstone Op.cit. P.23, for an account of how corn rents payable by tenants of lands belonging to All Souls College were paid. Corn rents were, however, sometimes paid entirely in money. Thus, the Earls of Guilford appear to have paid the corn rents which they owed to Trinity College solely in money. Letters from Stewards of Estates 2 1765-1800... Pp.35; 203.

(18) A. Young Op.cit. P.39.

tithe demands⁽¹⁹⁾ for example, could be met by the provision of commodities, including grain, rather than by the payment of money.

Even if the farmers were not having to, or choosing to, provide corn to meet rent demands it was still usual for them to sell a large proportion of their crops, particularly fodder crops, directly to the nearest large estate. This, one may suggest, applied particularly if the estate owner were their landlord but was probably also the case if they were tenants of other landlords or were yeomen farmers. Much evidence can be adduced to support this point. For example, in November-December 1720, 61 quarters, 5 bushels of barley were purchased to make malt for Baron Guilford, 47 quarters, 6 bushels of this being purchased from 9 tenants of Wroxton Abbey and/or Demesne lands.⁽²⁰⁾ Again, much of the 136 quarters of oats; 26 quarters, 7 bushels of barley; 49 bags of wheat and 27 bags of pease bought for the use of the Wroxton Estate between September 12 1750 and August 3 1751 was the property of Guilford's tenants and other local farmers.⁽²¹⁾ Finally, we may note the case of Henry Cross who was the tenant of Withycombe Farm between Wroxton and Banbury and who, between January 1777 and July 1780 sold to the Wroxton steward at least 10 quarters of oats for £7;

(19) For an account of tithe payments in Oxfordshire at the end of the eighteenth century see Ibid Pp.39-43. An account of a dispute over payment of the tithe due on a crop of wheat occurs in J.O.J. Sept. 20 1777 No.1273.

(20) Estate and Household Accounts for Wroxton, Elsfield... 1715-23 Mss North c 52 Pp.32; 90.

(21) Accounts etc 1737-1755 Mss North 6 14 P.339.

6 quarters of barley for £5/14/0; 11 quarters of wheat for £17 and approximately 7 quarters of pease for £10/12/0. (22) Although these examples have all been drawn from the records of the estates of the Earls of Guilford a similar pattern of selling could be shown to have prevailed among the tenants of the Earls of Jersey of Middleton Stoney (23) and the Earls of Lichfield of Ditchley. (24)

While it was clearly usual for small farmers to supply the nearest great estate, it was, if less usual, not unknown, for the reverse situation to apply and for crops grown on the home farms of the great estates to be sold to estate tenants and to other local farmers. (25) For example, we may suggest that corn grown on the home farm at Ditchley was sold occasionally to the estate's tenants. (26) The most

(22) Accounts etc 1776-1800 Mss North b.16 Passim.

(23) See, for example, Estate Account Book 15 Nov. 1742 - 5 Jan. 1744/5 J VI a/3.
Receipt Book 11 Nov. 1754 - 14 Jan. 1772 J VI p/1.

(24) See, for example, An Account of Corn Bought in from 1749 to 1751 DiL I/j/32c.
A similar picture also emerges from Account Book of Denys and John Rolle Esqs 1788-1792 Lo VI/3.

(25) N.J.G. Pounds, discussing barton farming in Cornwall, makes the point that as surpluses began to be produced by the home farms the earliest methods adopted for disposing of surplus grain were offering it for sale in the local market town or selling it directly to the tenants of neighbouring small-holdings.
N.J.G. Pounds Loc.cit. P.66.

(26) Ditchley Farm Account Book June 1781 - Dec. 1786 DiL I/c/22a.
We also have a record of barley and oats being sold to 2 tenants of land belonging to Baron Guilford, at Elsfield. It is likely, however, that this corn had been the property of another tenant who had fallen into arrears with his rent.
Estate and Household Accounts for Wroxton, Elsfield... 1715-23 P.26.

likely crops to have been sold by these estates were probably not, however, wheat or barley but fodder crops like hay and grass. For example, sainfoin growing on the lands of Thomas Weld was sold regularly to one of Weld's tenants. (27)

As usual an occurrence as the exchange of goods between landlord and tenant farmer was the allowance of foodstuffs by both farmers and landowners to persons whom they employed in exchange for those persons' labour. The most comprehensive form which payment in kind could take was when the labourer actually lived in with the farmer and his family and received the bulk of his wages in board. We do not know the extent to which living-in occurred in eighteenth century Oxfordshire but it would seem likely that it was still widespread in at least the early years of the century and would obviously have been a limiting factor on the amount of produce, including corn, which the farmer would have been able to sell. Furthermore, even if the farmers were not providing full board for their employees it was possible that they were accommodating and feeding them during certain periods of the agricultural year, for example over harvest (28), or at least providing them with some of their meals.

Probably more usual than for the farmer to provide board or meals for his labourers was, however, for him to allow them to buy from him small quantities of wheat and/or barley, sometimes at reduced prices. The sale of unsubsidized

(27) Accounts between James Howse and Thomas Weld. Receipts and Disbursements. 1773-1782 Ms D.D. Weld c 17/1/12-13; 15-16.

(28) A.Young Op.cit. Pp.317-322.

grain by farmers and estate owners to their labourers appears to have been taking place throughout the eighteenth century. We find, for example, that in the 1780's, wheat and barley grown on the Ditchley estate home farm were sold regularly to the estate's labourers.⁽²⁹⁾ The provision of subsidized grain appears, however, to have been more a feature of the years of shortages and high prices of the second half of the eighteenth century, when the practice was very widely followed by the wealthier farmers, the gentry and the aristocracy.⁽³⁰⁾ For example, in 1795 Sir Christopher Willoughby informed the Home Office that,

"with respect to my own labourers
I have determined to sell them the
wheat at 7/- the bushell and some
few farmers have agreed to do the
same,"⁽³¹⁾

and 5 years later, when prices had again risen, he reported to the Mayor of Henley that,

"I certainly shall furnish all my
Labourers with wheat at a lower
price than it can be purchased
in market."⁽³²⁾

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- (29) Ditchley Farm Account Book June 1781 - Dec. 1786...
R. Wells, making the same point in relation to the South West of England suggests that the provisions were offered to the agricultural workers at constant and low prices. R. Wells Loc.cit. P.717.
- (30) This point is made by several writers. For example, D.J.V. Jones Loc.cit. P.342. Jones records that, in years of scarcity, labourers in Wales received barley from their employers at a much reduced price.
- (31) H.O.42:35 Document 54-55 Willoughby to Carter 28 Jun. 1795.
- (32) Sir Christopher Willoughby to John Cooper Esq., Mayor of Henley 14 Sept. 1800. Ms D.D. Henley C IV 7/12.

Moreover, in the same year Thomas Stonor Esquire called together his 80 day labourers, farm servants and woodmen and promised that all who would serve him for the coming year should have their bread, presumably made from corn grown on the estate, for a price not exceeding 1/8 per gallon loaf. (33)

In the above cases we are seeing the farmers and the gentry supplying wheat and barley to their own employees but, while this was perhaps the most usual practice (34), it might also happen, even at the close of the century, that farmers would be prepared to supply corn to labourers working on other farms in their area as well.

Permission to sell corn directly to poor craftsmen and labourers living in one's own neighbourhood, if they were unable to go to market, had been granted, in the Book of Orders as early as 1587 (35) and throughout the eighteenth

- (33) J.O.J. Sept. 27 1800 No.2474.
Such measures were not, however, regarded uncritically in the late eighteenth century. In 1800 it was declared, "There seems also to be an objection to a measure, which has been taken, with the very best of intentions by gentlemen in different parts of the country - that of entering into agreements to sell wheat at a cheap rate, or of dealing it out at a reduced rate to their labourers: this practice, as far as it goes, is aggravating the evil it is meant to cure, it is risking a famine to avoid a scarcity."
An Address to the Plain Sense of the People, on the Present High Price of Bread (1800) P.13.
- (34) E.P. Thompson suggests that farmers may have allowed corn by the bushel to their own labourers only.
E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. P.101.
- (35) Ibid P.109.
N.S.B. Gras Op.cit. P.238.

century it was accepted that farmers would be selling small quantities of corn to the local labouring community. Even in crisis periods the practice was defended. In 1756, for example, when it was being advocated that corn should be sold only in the open pitched markets, a writer to The Gentleman's Magazine argued that it would be oppressive for the poor village dweller to have to go to market for

"a bushel or two of corn, which
he might have as cheap of a
neighbouring farmer." (36)

In Oxfordshire direct selling to labourers was probably widespread. For example, in 1800 we find 2 agricultural labourers from Hornton, purchasing barley for their own use from a village farmer, who was not their employer. (37)

In periods of high prices the farming community appears sometimes to have been prepared to extend further the practice of supplying corn directly to the local poor, being noted, in several years, offering corn to labourers not simply from neighbouring villages but also from the nearby small towns. Thus, we have noted how, in 1767, Mr. Lee supplied the poor of Charlbury with wheat. (38) Moreover, in crisis periods the wealthy farmers and the farming gentry might also be found agreeing to sell their produce directly to committees set up in the larger towns by local authorities or respectable

(36) G.M. Vol.XXVI 1756 P.623 contained in a Letter on the Means for Lessening the High Price of Corn.

(37) Ass1 5:120 Oxfordshire Lent Assizes 1800. Indictment of Joseph Cleaver and Deposition of William Gilkes.

(38) See Chapter IV P.210.

inhabitants to obtain corn for and supervise the retailing of it to, the urban poor. (39) For example, in 1800, it was reported that certain of the gentry and farmers around Henley had agreed that, each week, they would supply stated quantities of corn at a fixed rate, to a Committee established to obtain provisions for the town's poor. (40)

Hitherto we have been showing how the farmer could dispose of his produce to the labouring classes in his locality. It should be noted, however, that it was also usual for farmers to sell directly to relatives, friends and persons of all occupational and social groupings in the area in which they lived. In 1795, for example, Sir Christopher Willoughby reported that the County Quarter Sessions had recommended,

"to all farmers and occupiers of land within the County to bring into and sell in open market all such wheat as can be spared from the necessary consumption of their families and neighbourhood," (41)

indicating that family and neighbourhood were expected to

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- (39) The practice of purchasing corn to retail to the poor was very widespread in periods of high prices and is mentioned by several writers, including:-
 R.B. Rose, "18th Century Price Riots and Public Policy in England," in International Review of Social History Vol. VI (1961) P.289.
 A.W. Coats, "The Relief of Poverty, Attitudes to Labour and Economic Change in England, 1660-1782," in International Review of Social History Vol.XXI Part I (1976) P.III.
- (40) Agreement as to Supply of Corn for the Poor at Reduced Rate
 Ms D.D. Henley CIV 7/13.
- (41) H.O. 42:35 Document 366 Willoughby to Carter 7 Aug. 1795.
 See also J.O.J. Aug. 8 1795 No.2206.

have the first claim on the farmer's supplies.⁽⁴²⁾ Direct evidence of dealings of this type can be found in the account books of William Davey who farmed at Dorchester,

"In these two account books... we come across constant transactions with relatives, the Scoles, Haskeys, Days, Cherrills and Gosfords; with the Reverend George Bruning, Chaplain of Britwell House, and with members of families still or lately flourishing in the neighbouring villages - Beesley of Warborough, King of Chalgrove, Ashby of Shillingford, Shrubb of Benson, Toovey of Brightwell, Moulden of Wittenham, Allnatt of Wallingford and Sir George Oxenden."⁽⁴³⁾

Moreover, the seventeenth century accounts of a farm at Garsington reveal a similar pattern of selling. Under barley, we find it reported that 5 bushels had been

"sould at home amongst neibors."⁽⁴⁴⁾

Finally, we may note that there was possibly also a certain amount of direct selling to casual visitors to an area. For example, the Ditchley farm accounts record quantities of oats and beans delivered to "strangers."⁽⁴⁵⁾

Turning away from those purchasing corn for their own use, it is clear that the farmer might also dispose of his produce, in his own or surrounding villages, to those processing corn for the use of others, particularly to bakers and maltsters.

(42) R.B. Westerfield shows, in fact, that from the sixteenth century onwards it was usual for farmers to add to their sales at the weekly market by selling at home to their neighbours the rest of the week.
R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. P.142.

(43) E.C. Davey Op.cit. Pp.32-33.

(44) Garsington Account Book 1625-1701 BL I/V/2.

(45) The Account of Corn 1730 D1L I/j/32b.

An Oxfordshire farmer, writing in 1795 to condemn the idea of all corn sales being confined to the open market, gave as a principal reason for his attitude, that it would be very curious,

"for a farmer, a baker and a maltster, who reside in the same village, to be obligated to go to market, 5 or 10 miles, to make a bargain for a commodity, which must be carried to such market, before the baker or maltster can take possession of it." (46)

There is much evidence that farmers in Oxfordshire were supplying local tradesmen outside the formal market setting. For example, the accounts of John Lamb of Sibford Ferris record sales of wheat to bakers from Sibford itself, Bloxham and Swerford. (47) Again, the accounts of a farm at Thame reveal the farmer selling wheat and oats to persons, amongst whom we find a baker (48), a maltster (49) and a miller from

(46) An Oxfordshire Farmer Op.cit. P.17.
A similar point was made in a letter written during the crisis of 1756-57. The author declared, "And the forcing all corn to come to market would be a great Inconvenience, not to say an Oppression, both on buyer and seller; for instance, if a baker who wants corn for his trade be forced to hire a team (for most have none) to fetch corn 6 or 8 miles through almost impassable roads, which perhaps his next neighbour carried the very same Road to sell."
G.M. Vol.XXVI 1756 P.623.

(47) Farm Diary... of John Lamb of Sibford Ferris Pp.2; 47; 51.

(48) This is suggested by the fact that the farmer, in addition to supplying the person with wheat settled an account with him for bread.

(49) This is suggested by the fact that the farmer, in addition to supplying the person with oats made regular payments to him for malt.

Thame and from the surrounding villages of North Weston, Ickford, Long Crendon, Worminghall, Wheatley and Shabbington. (50) Again, in the farm accounts of the Ditchley demesne we find entries recording sales of wheat and barley to "Baker Evans." (51) Finally, we may note that one year William Davey sold to Ashby of Shillingford, maltster, his entire barley crop of 251 quarters (52) and it is probable that others of those to whom he sold corn were food processors. In none of these cases is there any suggestion that the transactions had taken place away from the farm.

It is also possible that, in addition to supplying food processors, the farmer might also have been selling to local shopkeepers and publicans, who were then retailing corn in its various forms to the poor. It is certainly clear that village shopkeepers and publicans were retailing corn and corn products. Thus, in 1795 William Brooke recorded that he had observed a poor man visit an Oxfordshire inn,

"under pretext of buying a peck of wheat
the landlord being the only person in the
neighbourhood who had any to dispose of." (53)

(50) Farm Account Book of a Farm near Thame, Oxfordshire 1742-1866 OXF 11.1.1. Passim.

(51) Ditchley Farm Account Book Jun. 1781 - Dec. 1786...

(52) E.C. Davey Op.cit. P.33.

(53) W. Brooke The True Causes of our Present Distress for Provisions, with a Natural, Easy and Effectual Plan, for the Future Prevention of so great a Calamity... (1800) Pp.29-30 Again, the Account Book of Thomas Taylor of Shipton-under-Wychwood, Publican, Dealer and Chapman 1809-14. Ms Top Oxon c 390, although unclear, would appear to show that Taylor sold malt, barley, beans and oats.

However, there is no evidence on whether these retailers had purchased the corn from local farmers and it has, in fact, been suggested that publicans, at least, may have been combining this occupation with that of farmer⁽⁵⁴⁾ and thus selling their own produce.

The transactions which we have described above would probably have been taking place largely on a regular basis and between persons who were acquainted with each other. It is clear, however, that farmers might also sell to urban tradesmen and dealers, with whom they presumably had no relationship but, who, rather than always waiting for the producers to attend their markets, might go to the farms in search of grain. Evidence on these transactions is difficult to find but there is no doubt that contemporaries felt they took place regularly. Thus, a typical comment was that made by a tradesman and mechanic of Thame in 1800:

"What are markets appointed for, but to have the produce of the Earth brought there and exposed for sale that every one might have an opportunity of buying, instead of which they are sold at their Barns or House."⁽⁵⁵⁾

Moreover, a statement made in 1768 provides a useful illustration of the practice:

(54) J.M. Martin Op.cit. P.84.

(55) H.O. 42:52 Document 92 Anonymous Letter sent from Thame to His Grace the Duke of Portland 5 Nov. 1800.

"One Pitman⁽⁵⁶⁾, a Maltster in Henley
went to a Farmer's House at Shiplake
and at his Barn Door purchased sixteen
quarters of Barley"⁽⁵⁷⁾

and we may note that the Chipping Norton mealman, William Atkins,
and the Oxford corn dealer John Borlase⁽⁵⁸⁾ both appear to have
visited the Ditchley Estate; Atkins to purchase wheat and
Borlase, oats; produced on the home farm.⁽⁵⁹⁾

- (56) Pitman was probably Peter Pittman of Henley whom we know to have been involved in the malt trade with London.
Court of Quarter Sessions 1773-1779... Reference under 19 Apr. 1776.
- (57) Mr. Hayes Opinion About Forestalling 1768...
- (58) Working on the assumption that all the following references relate to the same person, an informative picture can, in fact, be built up of the activities of John Borlase. In 1786 John Borlase was recorded to have lost his bakery, by fire, within days of insuring it and, in 1791, to have received his freedom as a baker by Act of Council. By the 1790's, when more details become available, he would appear to have diversified his activities, being described by The U.B.D. as a corn chandler and being accused in 1795 of exporting grain to France. He denied the charge, claiming that, "my Dealings in Corn, Grain, or Flour, were and have been with Persons who resided within the Distance of Coventry, Birmingham and Dudley." His career ended in 1796, when John Borlase, corn-chandler, dealer and chapman, was declared bankrupt. Apart from making private purchases, Borlase also made purchases of oats, beans, pease and barley, but not wheat, on an irregular basis, in Oxford market. Finally, we may note that he was also an agent for a London firm producing boulding cloths.
J.O.J. Oct. 28 1786 No.1748.
Ed. M.G. Hobson "Oxford Council Acts, 1752-1801," ... P.209.
W.E. Taunton Op.cit. P.4.
J.O.J. Jul. 11 1795 No.2202.
J.O.J. Oct. 8 1796 No.2267.
J.O.J. Nov. 5 1796 No.2271.
- (59) Ditchley Farm Account Book Jun. 1781 - Dec. 1786...

In the dearth years of the second half of the eighteenth century farm-gate sales are mentioned more frequently and it is evident that, at these times, the farmer was able to sell on the farm to non-resident tradesmen, dealers and factors, as well as to those from the County. Thus, in 1795, Sir Christopher Willoughby reported that it was a "positive fact" that dealers from the Midlands and North...

"buy up all our wheat from the Farmers
at their own price and without taking
it to Market," (60)

and, again, that,

"Jobbers of every description go round
to the farmers houses to contract for
all the wheat without its being sent
to market." (61)

Moreover, corn factors, both non-resident and local were also active in the County in the late eighteenth century dearths -

"It has been proposed that whenever the Farmer or Cornfactors intend to move Corn or Flour towards Navigation for this Place (Birmingham) that application should be made to a Magistrate in order to obtain assurance that their Property should be protected But the Farmers & Cornfactors who reside in Oxfordshire, apprehend that if they were to make such application it would expose their Buildings & Persons to danger... Under the impressions here stated, it hath occurred, to the Committee, that respectable Cornfactors who do not reside in Oxfordshire, might apply to magistrates near the several places where Corn or Flour is ready to be moved, & acquaint them with the Day & Hour it is

(60) P.C. 1:26 A 51 Willoughby to Portland 29 Jun. 1795.

(61) H.O. 42:35 Document 367 Willoughby to Carter 7 Aug. 1795.

proposed to be moved provided that the magistrates will assure them it may be done with perfect safety..." (62)

- and, as there is little evidence that factors bought in the open market, it is probable that they too would have been visiting the farms.

In conclusion, the evidence adduced above might seem to suggest that dearth periods saw an upsurge in farm-gate sales. However, it is difficult to know, firstly, whether such sales were actually increasing in these periods or whether it was simply that normal marketing practices were attracting publicity because high prices had aroused fears of speculation; secondly, whether farm-gate sales increased only in the same proportions as other types of sales - dearth periods seeing an overall increase in demand - or whether such times acted as a spur to a relative increase in private selling; or, finally, whether dearth years precipitated longer-term changes in marketing techniques. Nevertheless, it would seem that the option of selling to non-local dealers at the farm-gate was one which became available very largely because of the dearth conditions.

Hitherto we have been discussing the disposal of crops which had been harvested. It was the case, however, that the farmer might also dispose of his corn while it was still growing. Regular sales of growing crops appear to have commenced as early as the seventeenth century, in which period it apparently became usual for food processors, and

(62) P.C. 1:29 A56 Garbett to Legge 28 Jul. 1795.

most particularly brewers and maltsters, to visit farms before the harvest and contract with the farmer for the delivery of his most promising corn crops. A. Everitt, for example, makes this point and gives as an instance of it the purchase by Richard Ward and Michael Webb of Henley,

"usually men that deal upon such
advantageous bargains for great
quantities of corn,"

of the crop of barley growing on 2 enclosed fields at Idstone. (63)
Eighteenth century evidence to show the existence of this type of transaction has, in fact, proved difficult to discover but it would seem likely that Oxfordshire farmers probably did continue to enter into pre-harvest contracts to supply corn to local and distant food processors or factors operating on their behalf throughout the period. (64)

As well as entering into long-term business arrangements with food processors, it was also the case that the farmer might sell his growing crops, probably on a rather more casual basis, to persons who were seeking corn supplies not for employment in their own businesses but for speculative

(63) A.M. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk Op.cit. P.556.
D. Alexander Op.cit. Pp.33; 232.

(64) It would seem likely that evidence of such sales would tend to be found in the account books of farmers and food processors. However, where these have survived for Oxfordshire they are not sufficiently informative to enable us to establish with certainty the existence of either contracts for regular supplies between farmers and food processors or of the more casual type of pre-harvest selling. However, it is certainly possible, for example, that when Davey recorded the purchase by Ashby of his entire barley crop he was recording a sale which had taken place pre-harvest.

purposes. Evidence on this tends to come from dearth years. Thus, M.J. Kingman has produced an account of the speculative purchase of field crops in Warwickshire and Oxfordshire during the crisis of 1586-87⁽⁶⁵⁾ and during the dearth years of the 1790's one can find many complaints of a great expansion in pre-harvest purchasing by dealers. Thus, J.S. Girdler referred, in 1800, to the considerable upsurge in this "iniquitous mode of doing business," and gave as an example of it the purchase, in 1795, by a maltster and farmer of Benson of 11 acres of wheat growing on a farm at Roke.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Similar questions are, however, raised by this as by the fact that much of the evidence on farm-gate sales comes from periods of harvest failure, in particular do dearth years witness a genuine expansion in the sale of growing crops or merely a growth in the attention paid to a common, and in the farming and business community at least, widely accepted practice? Without further evidence it is not possible to draw conclusions on this but it would seem likely that, while there may not have been an increase in pre-harvest selling to local food processors, fears over supplies engendered by shortages and high prices may have led, as W.M. Stern suggests⁽⁶⁷⁾, to an upsurge in the purchase of growing crops by dealers, and especially by those who were engaged in the supply of distant markets.

(65) M.J. Kingman, "Markets and Marketing in Tudor Warwickshire: The Evidence of John Fisher of Warwick and the Crisis of 1586-87," in Warwickshire History Vol.IV No.1 (Summer 1978).

(66) J.S. Girdler Op.cit. P.289.
See also, Considerations on the Scarcity and High Price... P.52.

(67) W.M. Stern Loc.cit. P.175.

While the private selling of growing crops, described above, undoubtedly aroused public hostility, in times of dearth at least, there were circumstances under which the sale of standing crops was apparently seen as quite acceptable, that is when the farmer who owned them had either died, retired, become bankrupt or was moving to another farm. Thus J.O.J. contains many notices, of which the following is an example, announcing the sale, often by auction, of the crops of such persons:

"To be SOLD by AUCTION... at the Greyhound at Exell-Street, near Woodcut, - The Crop on the Ground, late William Lawrence's, in the Parish of Woodcut, containing between Sixty and Seventy Acres of Oats, and one Acre of Wheat, a very fine Crop, which will be sold in different Lots, according to the Grounds they are on." (68)

The important problem which this raises is, however, whether either the auction sale or the newspaper advertisement were ever used for the disposal of crops which were available for sale simply as the excess produce of a particular farm, or, whether crops offered for sale in this way, were purchased solely by other farmers or by food processors and dealers as well. These questions are not yet possible to answer, but we may note 2 points. Firstly, one can find advertisements of auctions where the reason for the sale is not given. Thus, we do not know the reasons for

(68) J.O.J. Aug. 1 1772 No.1005.

the sale by auction at the White Lion Inn, Banbury, in July 1798, of crops of wheat, barley, oats, beans and pease growing in the parish of Horley⁽⁶⁹⁾ or again, the sale by auction in August 1795 of 28 acres of oats; 10 of wheat; 10 of barley and 8 of clover, standing near the first milestone from Oxford on the Woodstock and Banbury Roads.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Secondly, while it is therefore conceivable that the auction sale may have been used by the farmer for the disposal of his own crops, there is no evidence that he employed the newspaper advertisement for this purpose. Thus, while in 1777, we do find an announcement in J.O.J. of the sale by private contract of a crop of approximately 3 acres of oats, as the land upon which the oats were growing was reported to be to let,⁽⁷¹⁾ this would seem to suggest that the farmer's crops were being sold in this way because he was giving up the land.

Although we have seen that auction sales of crops might be conducted in inns the above discussion has been concerned largely with how the farmer could dispose of his produce without leaving the farm. We shall now examine the types of private transaction which might take place away from that setting.

The first point is that the farmer might attend the local market town on market day but sell in such a way that

(69) J.O.J. Jul. 28 1798 No.2361.

(70) J.O.J. Aug. 22 1795 No.2208.

(71) J.O.J. Jul. 19 1777 No.1264.

the open market institution was largely bypassed. Thus, sale by sample might be said to have involved a rejection of the open market principle in that once it had become established the farmer might visit the market place simply to seek out one large-scale purchaser to whom he would later deliver perhaps his entire crop. Again, the farmer, while setting out to attend a market might sell before the market had been officially opened or on his way to the market town. Finally, in 1757 we find the following report:

"No sooner was the Corn brought in
(to Oxford market) than the Farmers
had an order to tie it up and it is
justly suspected that base Artifices
are carried on under this Cloak." (72)

This may suggest that the market place had become an actual centre for private trading, although it is possible that, as 1757 was a year of food rioting, the farmers were attending the market simply to persuade riotous crowds that they were conducting their business openly, while they had actually already sold their crops privately on the farm or in inns.

The inn was, in fact, a much more usual setting than the market place for the private sale of corn and it has been suggested that much of the eighteenth century corn trade was conducted in inn parlours. A. Everitt, for example, maintains that much of the seventeenth and eighteenth century

(72) J.O.J. Jun. 18 1757 No.216.
W.J. Shelton Op.cit. P.72 discusses the way in which sales in the open market might be open market sales in appearance only.

trade in agricultural seeds, corn and malt was centred in inns. (73) The reasons for the shift from selling in the market place to selling in the inn are not difficult to understand. Thus, the inn possessed a great advantage over the open market - it provided a dry, comfortable setting in which farmers and dealers could meet and corn be stored. Announcements of an inn's facilities often stress these points; for example when John Fry took over the Mitre in Oxford he reported:

"N.B. There will be an Ordinary on
Market Days, and there is exceeding
good Room for stocking Corn." (74)

Moreover, we do know that corn brought into market towns for sale was definitely stored in inns. Thus, in 1757, the principal inhabitants of Witney announced their preparedness to permit corn unsold on one market day to be lodged in any inn or public house until a subsequent market day. (75)

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- (73) A.M. Everitt, "The English Urban Inn 1560-1760," in Ed. A. Everitt Perspectives in English Urban History (1973) P.105. See also, D. Baker Loc.cit. P.143.
J.A. Chartres, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce in Metropolitan Western England," in Ed. M.A. Havinden Op.cit. P.69.
A.B. Robertson, "The Foundation of the Mark Lane Corn Exchange," in The Guildhall Miscellany Vol.I No.2 (Feb. 1953) P.35.
A.M. Everitt, "Urban Growth, 1570-1770..." Pp.121-124. Here Everitt records, "Commercial dealings in corn were undertaken privately... either by travelling merchants who took corn samples with them and showed them to maltsters and other big customers in the provincial inns on their circuit, or by corn factors who visited a number of farms and purchased in advance the owners' most promising looking crops."
- (74) J.O.J. Feb. 27 1762 No.461.
- (75) J.O.J. Jul. 2 1757 No.218.

With traders meeting there and storage space available it is not surprising that the inn should have become the centre for the actual conduct of business.

There is certainly no doubt that in Oxfordshire, inns did come in the course of the eighteenth century, to play an important role in the grain trade. This may be illustrated by examining the data relating to 2 particular inns, the King's Head in the Corn Market in Oxford and the Red Lion in Banbury.

Several pieces of evidence indicate the importance of the King's Head as a centre of corn dealing. Firstly, during the 1757 riots the inn was visited by rioters and 2 loads of corn stored there were seized, ⁽⁷⁶⁾ indicating that the inn possessed both a reputation with the crowd as a place where dealings in corn occurred and also storage space for corn. Secondly, Richard Williams who took the King's Head in 1772, was variously described between 1766 and 1781 as a licensed badger, a corn factor, a corn chandler and seedsman, and a very considerable dealer in corn. ⁽⁷⁷⁾ Thirdly, in 1791 rent for the King's Head was being paid to Hall's Brewery by Mr. Brookes ⁽⁷⁸⁾, who was, one assumes, the notable corn dealer.

Turning to the Red Lion in Banbury we find that, like the King's Head, this too was occupied in the late eighteenth century by a very notable corn dealer, William Pratt; a man whose varied private dealings are illustrated by the fact that he can be found supplying oats, seed oats and beans to

(76) See Chapter VII P.474.
One may note that the crowd also visited the Mitre during the 1757 riots.

(77) J.O.J. Mar. 28 1772 No.987. Sessions Records Easter 1761-Michaelmas 1781 QSM II/1 Reference under Epiphany 1766.

the Wroxton Estate steward in the 1780's, ⁽⁷⁹⁾ and providing information on local barley crops and prices to a Warrington innkeeper, brewer and maltster in the 1790's. ⁽⁸⁰⁾ Again, and a probable indication of both Pratt's and the inn's association with private corn dealing; during food rioting in Banbury in 1800 the Red Lion came under violent attack from the crowd. ⁽⁸¹⁾ Finally, we may note that in the early nineteenth century the inn would appear to have become the actual centre of Banbury's corn trade; it being suggested that corn exchanges built in the town in the mid nineteenth century failed to attract custom,

"presumably because dealing in practice continued, as before, in the yard of the Red Lion Inn in High Street..." ⁽⁸²⁾

The inn would appear to have played an important role in both the local and long-distance trade. With the long-distance trade, however, there may have been an equally important location for dealings and that is the centres from which grain was transported, notably the river and canal wharves. P.V. McGrath shows that in seventeenth century London sales of grain were certainly taking place at docks and warehouses ⁽⁸³⁾

(77) Recognizances 1770-1791 O.5.16.
J.O.J. May 5 1781 No.1462.

(78) Notebook Containing the Brewery's Account... P.32.

(79) Accounts etc 1776-1800... Pp.213; 290.

(80) P. Mathias Op.cit. P.451.

(81) See Chapter VII Pp.495-496.

(82) Ed. A. Crossley V.C.H. Oxfordshire Vol.X... P.60.

(83) P.V. McGrath Op.cit. Pp.39; 55.

and it would seem likely that in eighteenth century Oxfordshire also the wharves were of importance for dealings in corn. Thus, we have already noted that a market appears to have developed around the wharves at Shillingford. (84)

This does, however, lead us back to a point we noted earlier, and that is that it is actually very difficult to distinguish between public and private marketing by the mid eighteenth century. Thus the official market place, the inn and the wharf all offered largely the same facilities, being places where farmers could meet large-scale purchasers; food processors and dealers and factors engaged in the local and long distance trades and sell to them their corn often by sample and in a largely unsupervised fashion.

Finally there was one way in which the farmer might dispose of his corn without selling on the farm or attending a local market town, that is he might take or send his corn directly to a distant consumption centre. Thus, farmers were certainly able to dispatch wheat and barley to be sold by factors at Bear Key, Mark Lane and Queenhithe (85), and it is also possible that sometimes, instead of waiting for the brewer, maltster, baker, factor or dealer from the large

(84) See Chapter II Pp.50-51.
For other evidence on this point see Chapters IV; VII
Pp.269, 475-476.

(85) It is thought that very few farmers were responsible for the selling of their own produce in distant markets but several writers declare that farmers did consign grain to factors who sold for them on a commission basis.
C.R. Fay The Corn Laws and Social England (1932) P.58.
R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. P.154.
P.V. McGrath Op.cit. Pp.42-43.

population centres to visit the farm, they may have taken the initiative in contacting such persons to offer them their surpluses. We have, in fact, no Oxfordshire evidence on this point but it is, at least, possible that the wealthier farmers may have acted independently in this way; farmers, that is, like Mr. Lowndes of Brightwellgrove, who,

"for the benefit of his neighbours,
procures his seed-wheat from Taunton -
the White Lammas, which being sown on
his fresh land, is much improved and
well suited for the London market." (86)

In conclusion, in this section we hope to have provided a summary of the various ways in which the farmer could dispose of his corn if he did not choose to attend the local open market. Without statistical data it is, of course, impossible to give an indication of the proportion of produce which was dispersed by each method. We also hope to have raised the question of whether dearth periods led to changes in marketing techniques or at least brought about an acceleration in changes which had already taken place or, whether such periods simply caused an awareness of long-established private marketing practices.

(86) A. Young Op.cit. P.146.

This quotation raises an important additional point and that is that it was not uncommon for farmers to order their seed wheat directly from very distant suppliers. For example, we know of barley seed being ordered from Patney, Wiltshire; wheat seed from Kent and barley seed from the Isle of Thanet. We also have an example of sainfoin seed being ordered from Oxfordshire for use on Anglesea.

R. Plot Op.cit. P.155.

A. Young Op.cit. P.145.

W. Mavor, "A Tour through Wales in the Summer of 1805," in Ed. W. Mavor British Tourists... Vol.V (3rd Ed. 1807) P.290.

Part V The Consumption of Barley Bread

The question which it is intended to examine in this section is whether bread made from a mixture of wheat and other cereals, or from barley alone, was consumed in Oxfordshire during the late eighteenth century.

Since 1928, when W.J. Ashley wrote that,

"by the end of the eighteenth century,
wheat had become the almost universal
bread corn of the whole people,"

and that any attempts to persuade working people to use other bread corn were wholly unsuccessful⁽¹⁾, many writers have accepted that, by the last decade of the eighteenth century, the poor in at least Southern, Eastern and Central England⁽²⁾ were unwilling to substitute barley for wheaten bread. T.S. Ashton, for example, both asserts that the use of loaves made from coarse grains was fiercely resisted in the seventeen nineties and argues from this that an improvement in the standard of living must have taken place, for,

"If there had been serious Malthusian pressure, if conditions had been growing worse for the labourers, we should surely have had to record a return to the inferior and cheaper grains."⁽³⁾

(1) W.J. Ashley Op.cit. Pp.1-2.

(2) It is generally accepted that in Northern and Western England, Scotland and Wales other grains were still important. W.J. Ashley himself, for example, accepts the importance of barley in the West and oats in the North. Ibid. P.3.
For a full discussion of consumption patterns in these areas see E.J.T. Collins, "Dietary Change and Cereal Consumption in Britain in the Nineteenth Century," in A.H.R. Vol.23 Part II (1975) Pp.100-103.

(3) T.S. Ashton Loc.cit. Pp.174-175.

Other historians, including S. and B. Webb⁽⁴⁾ and E.P. Thompson⁽⁵⁾ have gone further, suggesting that not only was bread made from coarse grains rejected, but that the poor, even during the crises of 1794-96 and 1800, when the gentry and nobility were said to be eating wheat bread made from the whole grain with only the bran removed, insisted upon the best white bread. Moreover, many statements by contemporaries lend support to the view that the labouring classes were committed to the white loaf; a typical remark being that made by Edmund Burke in 1795 that the

"known difficulty of contenting (the poor) with anything but bread of the finest flour and meat of the first quality, is proof sufficient"

of their improved diet.⁽⁶⁾

This view of consumption patterns has not, however, passed entirely uncontradicted. Thus, G.E. Fussell has indicated that in the later eighteenth century, the diet of the farm worker deteriorated in the Midlands and South, their bread corn being often barley or rye⁽⁷⁾ and E.J.T. Collins has suggested that,

(4) S. and B. Webb Loc.cit. P.204.

(5) E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. P.81.

(6) E. Burke, "Thoughts and Details on Scarcity Originally presented to the Right Hon. William Pitt in the month of November 1795," in The Works of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke Vol.VI (The World's Classics CXIV 1907) P.5.

(7) G.E. and K.R. Fussell The English Countrywoman... P.148.

"in 1800 a significant proportion of people in England and Wales, and a large minority in Great Britain, subsisted on the coarser grains, rye, barley, oats, and pulse, and that a century or more was to elapse before wheat could properly be called the 'staff of life'." (8)

Nevertheless, even Collins considers that there was a positive aversion to the use of wheat substitutes in certain counties,

"in particular, London and Middlesex, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire," (9)

and one would therefore expect that on turning to examine Oxfordshire one would find evidence to suggest that by the late eighteenth century wheat was very largely the only bread corn employed in the County.

There is, in fact, little literary evidence to show which bread grain was employed before the 1790's, although we may note that Charles Smith, writing in the mid century, placed Oxfordshire in with a group of counties in which he estimated over three quarters of the population to have been

(8) E.J.T. Collins Loc.cit. P.115.

(9) Ibid. P.104.

consumers of wheat bread.⁽¹⁰⁾ The dearth conditions of the 1790's, however, led to the production of considerable documentation on this subject, much of it suggesting that the Oxfordshire poor were totally committed to the white or at least the wheaten loaf. Thus, in the Replies from Towns As to Bread in Use returned to the Privy Council in 1796, we find several reports on the refusal of the labourers to eat "inferior" bread; including ones from Oxford, where the poor were, as we have seen, eating wheaten bread alone, and Abingdon and Wallingford, over the border in Berkshire, where the poor were apparently refusing to eat mixed bread.⁽¹¹⁾ Moreover, several members of the gentry and magistracy commented to the Home Office on their inability to persuade the poor to accept substitutes for white bread. Sir Christopher Willoughby, for example, recorded in 1795,

"Individually I have for some time adopted the method recommended by the gentlemen of Sussex and I have sold to my labourers wheat at 2/6 the bushel under the market price on condition that they made good brown bread and only had the very coarse bran taken out; and in which case I have succeeded by the bribe, but no labourer will purchase for their own use any bread but finest and best and I am sorry to

(10) C. Smith Op.cit. P.183. The other counties in the group were Monmouth, Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Northampton, Shropshire, Stafford, Leicester and Rutland.

(11) P.C. 1:33 A 87 Part I Mayor of Abingdon to Portland 26 Mar. 1796. Mayor of Wallingford to Portland 28 Mar. 1796. Additional evidence on bread consumption patterns in Wallingford can be found in Ed. C. Bruyn-Andrews Op.cit. Vol.I P.194, where we find, "No brown bread here (Wallingford), for the poor won't eat it." The year was 1784.

add that no substitute for wheaten bread can be found with us as our labourers will not be satisfied without it - At a former time when bread was very dear, I offered my labourers & parishioners wheat at 5/- and barley at 2/6 the bushel on condition that they wo'd mix it and make it into bread but my terms were then universally rejected..."⁽¹²⁾

and Henry Curzon of Waterperry House wrote,

"The difficulty of persuading the poor to use brown bread is greater than your Grace can imagine, nothing short of absolute distress will ever compel them even to try it."⁽¹³⁾

Nevertheless, there is evidence that as late as the nineteenth century barley bread was used on a regular basis in certain rural areas, particularly in the North and West of the County and that barley, or at very least, wholemeal bread were used in a number of towns in years of high wheat prices.

The most direct reference to the use of barley as a bread-corn in the north of the County can be found in the papers relating to a case which was tried at the Oxfordshire Lent Assizes in 1800. The indictment records that Joseph Cleaver of Hornton, near Banbury, kept a public mill

(12) H.O. 42:35 Document 91-93 Willoughby to Portland 5 Sept. 1795. Willoughby lived in a village to the south of Oxford.

(13) H.O. 42:35 Document 96 Curzon to Portland 5 Sept. 1795. Curzon added, "I have ordered (brown bread) to be used in my own family as example has the best influence on the lower class."

"for the purpose of grinding barley
and other corn... in consideration
of certain tolls."

William Gilkes of Hornton, labourer, bought 2 bushels of barley from a local farmer and had them ground at Cleaver's mill. This case would certainly appear to suggest that in Hornton, barley was the main if not the only bread-corn in use.⁽¹⁴⁾ Less decisive in its implications but at least suggestive that barley bread may have been used regularly in the West of the County is the fact that the accounts of the home farm of the Ditchley Estate for the 1780's record numerous sales of barley to the estate's labourers.⁽¹⁵⁾ That this barley may have been intended for use in bread-making is suggested by the fact that E. Corbett indicates that barley was certainly being used for this purpose by the poor of the villages around Ditchley in the early nineteenth century. She records,

(14) Assi 5:120 Oxfordshire Lent Assizes 1800. Indictment of Joseph Cleaver and Deposition of William Gilkes. In this case it is not thought to be significant that the year was 1800.

(15) Ditchley Farm Account Book Jun. 1781 - Dec. 1786...

"People were very poor then and used
to bring him (the miller of Dean)
barley grists to be ground to make
bread." (16)

We may also note that the use of other bread grains can be found in the North West of the County in the late eighteenth century. Thus, in 1767 we find that the poor of Wroxton were being provided with loaves made from a mixture of wheat and rye⁽¹⁷⁾ and, while this was probably in response to the dearth of 1766-67, it would seem that maslin, wheat and rye grown as one crop, which was certainly sown on poorer lands in the eighteenth century⁽¹⁸⁾, may have been in more regular use. Thus John Lamb, a Sibford farmer, recorded that he sold 4 bags of maslin to a Swerford baker in 1777.⁽¹⁹⁾

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- (16) E. Corbett A History of Spelsbury, including Dean, Taston, Fulwell and Ditchley (2nd Ed. 1962) P.261.
Confirmation that the consumption of barley bread was not uncommon in rural Oxfordshire in the nineteenth century can be found in G.E. Fussell The English Rural Labourer. His Home, Furniture, Clothing and Food. From Tudor to Victorian Times (1949) P.90. "an Oxford labourer born in 1815 remembered that in the days of his youth the cottager lived on barley bread and potatoes and seldom tasted meat."
We should, however, note the comment of E.J.T. Collins, that is that folk memory is notoriously unreliable on matters of diet.
E.J.T. Collins Loc.cit. P.112.
- (17) Letters from Stewards of Estates 2. 1765-1800... P.104.
- (18) G.E. Fussell, "Crop Husbandry...." P.563.
- (19) Farm Diary...of John Lamb of Sibford Ferris.. P.51.

Turning to the South of the County we again find evidence of the consumption of barley-bread in rural areas. However, it is not evidence from which general conclusions on the region can be drawn. Thus, we may note that at Mongewell, the Bishop of Durham operated a scheme whereby every workman employed by him was permitted,

"to lodge after harvest, in the
bailiff's hands £1/11/6 and in
consequence of his readiness to
make this reserve from a time of
plenty (was) allowed through the
following winter to purchase barley
at 2/- a bushel under the market price." (20)

It would seem reasonable to assume that the barley would have been intended to be used to make bread⁽²¹⁾ but we cannot deduce from this that barley bread was in use in the adjacent villages; Mongewell, the centre of an experiment, by the Bishop, in paternalist estate management, being untypical of even closed villages. Again, in 1795, when F.M. Eden, researching the consumption habits of an agricultural labourer and his family at Elsfield found that,

"Their bread is 3-fourths barley,
1-fourth wheat,"

he also recorded that they were considered very frugal⁽²²⁾

(20) A. Young Op.cit. P.24.

(21) The shop, founded at Mongewell apparently also sold bread, but it is unclear of which grain this was made.
G.M. Vol.LXV Part II (1795) Pp.567-569.

(22) F.M. Eden Op.cit. Vol.II P.cccxlvi.

which would perhaps have made their diet untypical. Moreover, Eden's research being undertaken in 1795 might mean that he found the family eating barley bread simply in response to the shortage of wheat. A report from the Mayor of Abingdon that,

"barley bread or a mixture of barley
is very much eaten in the neighbouring
villages among the lower orders of the
people," (23)

is also rendered suspect as an indicator of regular barley consumption by being dated 1795.

There is, in fact, more evidence to show that there was a return to the consumption of barley bread during the late eighteenth century dearths than that grains, other than wheat, were used regularly in baking. The Second Report by the Lords' Committee on the Present Scarcity of Corn (1800) suggests that in many parts of the country, the use, in bread, of barley alone or barley mixed with wheat, saw a considerable revival at the close of the eighteenth century. Although Oxfordshire is not mentioned specifically in the report, several of the counties adjacent to Oxfordshire provided the Committee with information. We find, in fact, that,

"On the hills in Gloucestershire, (barley)
has been used with wheat, in the proportion
of one-half,".... "in many parts of
Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, and
other of the midland counties, they use

(23) P.C. 1:33 A 87 Part I Mayor of Abingdon to Portland
26 Mar. 1795.

bread made entirely of barley,"

and that,

"the use of mixed bread has
become general in parts of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire." (24)

Thus, with the area to the east and west of the County witnessing a revival in the use of barley as a bread grain it should not surprise us to find that Oxfordshire too should have shown a change in the pattern of its grain consumption.

Evidence on the revived use of barley bread in the crises of 1795 and 1800 comes from a number of sources. For example, in a pamphlet written by an Oxfordshire farmer to refute the view of the Common Council of Oxford that the failure of oats and barley to fall in price after an indisputably good harvest⁽²⁵⁾ was because the crisis was the creation of avaricious farmers and middlemen, we find,

(24) The Annual Register...for the year 1800 Vol.42 (1801) Appendix to the Chronicle Pp.132-133.

(25) In 1795 it was generally agreed that crops of coarse grains were good. H.O. 42:36 Document 5 Joseph Bullock to Marlborough 4 Nov. 1795. "The wheat crop is better by a fifth than the crop of the same grain in the year 1794 and....a fair crop....the barley and oats nearly double the crop of the same grain in the year 1794....an exceeding good crop." The reference is to the area around Caversfield, near Bicester. H.O. 42:36 Document 54 George Cooke to W.E. Taunton 21 Nov. 1795. Cooke, referring to the Hundreds of Ewelme, Lewknor and Pyrton, shows the crop of wheat in 1795 to have been largely inferior to that of 1794, but the crops of oats and barley considerably superior. Essentially the same point is made in the following:- H.O. 42:36 John Sibthorpe to Marlborough 22 Nov. 1795. H.O. 42:36 Document 70 John Cobb and Francis Penyston to Marlborough 24 Nov. 1795.

"They admit a failure in the crop of wheat, and are surprised the prices of barley, oats and peas do not diminish; not considering when wheat is plenty there is no occasion to substitute a mixture of barley, which is at present the case, not only with labourers, but in most farmers' families; this makes an amazing increase in the consumption of barley of course keeps wheat lower and makes barley of more value; oats are also introduced as a mixture with wheat, but not so generally." (26)

Two towns also reported to the Privy Council that barley bread was in use. From Henley the Mayor wrote, that, in December 1795, several people had started to use bread made from a mixture of barley and wheat, and also whole-meal bread (27), and from Banbury it was reported,

"Bread made of the whole wheat taking out a very small quantity of bran, and bread made from the same flour with an addition of one third barley flour have been and now are in general consumption in (the town) for as to any finer sort of bread so little of it has been made I scarce know how to make any comparison but I should think not more than an hundreth part." (28)

(26) An Oxfordshire Farmer Op.cit. P.6.

(27) P.C. 1:33 A 87 Mayor of Henley to Portland 31 Mar. 1796. However, as the use of these substitutes was voluntary the Mayor did not know the extent to which alternatives to white bread were being employed.

(28) P.C. 1:33 A 87 Part I Mayor of Banbury to Portland 29 Mar. 1796.

In 1800 evidence on the use of barley bread comes from Witney. Thus, David Hughes informed Portland that the Witney poor who rioted on September 11 claimed that they could not obtain wheat or barley for their money⁽²⁹⁾ and confirmation that this means that barley bread was being consumed in Witney can be found in a Victorian history of the town. The author, W.J. Monk, having described the difficulties experienced by the poor in 1800, added,

"few, very few, in Witney, were able to purchase the 'staff of life' at all, and the poor people lived on barley bread called 'clangers'." (30)

Moreover, although it is unclear to which part of Oxfordshire it related, we may note the following report sent to the Bishop of Oxford:

"The barley loaf now used by the poor and the bakers say that they are constrained to use a mixture for (sic) barley for want of wheat." (31)

Hitherto, we have concentrated on the question of the consumption of barley and mixed bread. However, it will have been observed that several of the quotations also refer to the use of wholemeal bread. To complete the picture it should be noted, that in 1795, at Woodstock, where the use of barley bread was found unacceptable, wholemeal loaves,

(29) H.O. 42:51 Document 140-141 Hughes to Portland 14 Sept. 1800.

(30) W.J. Monk History of Witney (1894) P.52.

(31) H.O. 42:52 Replies to the Queries sent to the Bishop of Oxford.

reduced in price by subscription, were apparently used to such an extent as to lead to a saving of one third in the usual consumption of wheat. (32)

The evidence so far adduced to suggest that barley bread was used in Oxfordshire has all been literary. However, as we have seen, in 1795, it was suggested that the use of barley as a bread-corn was the cause of a perceptible rise in its price and similar opinions can be found to have been expressed in other dearth years. Thus, in 1694 John Houghton declared,

"I hear from divers places that one reason for the dearness of barley and malt is, because very great quantities of barley have this dear season been ground for bread," (33)

and in 1800 The Second Report by the Lords' Committee on the Present Scarcity of Corn included the statement,

"the increased demand (for barley for bread) appears....to afford a sufficient reason for the high price of this article, notwithstanding the crop has been proportionably much more productive than that of wheat." (34)

(32) P.C. 1:33 A 87 Part I John Churchill to Portland 6 Apr. 1796. The fact that the use of barley bread was found unacceptable in Woodstock but was apparently readily accepted in Witney and Banbury may suggest that in these northern and western towns barley had been a normal part of the diet until a later period.

(33) Ed. R. Bradley Op.cit. Vol.I P.242.

(34) A.R....for the year 1800 Vol.42 (1801) Appendix to the Chronicle P.133.

We shall, therefore, now consider whether the behaviour of barley prices can be used as evidence to show a revival in the use of barley bread.

In certain years of wheat crop failures there is no doubt that the barley crop failed also. However, it has been shown that years in which wheat was in short supply might nevertheless witness good barley harvests.⁽³⁵⁾ This seems to have been the case in, for example, the crises of 1692-93; 1739-40⁽³⁶⁾; and, as we have seen, 1795 and 1800. In these years, therefore, if there was a rise in barley prices it could not be accounted for in terms of an absolute shortage of the grain.

(35) This is demonstrated very clearly by C.J. Harrison who, looking at the period 1465-1634, showed that an assessment of the quality of the harvest in a given year would vary considerably, depending on whether one looked at wheat alone or other grains in addition to wheat. C.J. Harrison, "Grain Price Analysis and Harvest Qualities, 1465-1634," in A.H.R. Vol.19 (1971) P.146.

(36) See A.H. John, "The Course of Agricultural Change, 1660-1760," in Ed. W.E. Minchinton Essays in Agrarian History Vol.I (1968) Pp.232-3. Here John indicates that in 1740 wheat prices would have been higher had it not been for very heavy crops of barley and that in the early 1690's the problem was a shortage of wheat rather than general crop failures. One should note, however, that he is, in fact, using price trends themselves in making his assessment of the harvests in the 1690's.

The Oxford data is not sufficiently informative to permit an investigation of the trend in barley prices during the crises of 1740, 1757, 1766⁽³⁷⁾ and 1795. We do, however, have sufficient material to show the movement of barley prices in Oxford during the crises of 1692-93 and 1800; in Burford during those of 1795 and 1800 and in Henley during that of 1800. Between January 7 1693 and April 29 1693 a rise in wheat prices in Oxford of approximately 22% was accompanied by a rise in barley prices of approximately 26%. In 1795 there is no evidence of a post-harvest rise in barley prices in Burford in spite of an increase of 24% in the price of wheat, between 5 September and 26 December. Finally, in 1800 yet another picture emerges. In that year between 6 September and 27 December, in Burford wheat rose in price by 14.4% and barley by 54.3%; in Henley wheat rose by 23.8% and barley by 56.8% and in Oxford wheat rose by 19.1% and barley by 39.8%.

(37) The evidence which there is does suggest, however, that barley prices rose in all the eighteenth century grain crises with the possible exception of that of 1766. W.J. Shelton, in fact, concluded that in the 1766 crisis coarse grain prices throughout the country remained steady and well below the price of wheat. Part of his explanation for this is that there was no additional demand for these grains for bread. W.J. Shelton *Op.cit.* Pp.13-14; 140. A contrary picture is, however, presented by D.E. Williams, who, looking at the Northampton price material, suggests a close correlation between the price of wheat and that of maslin, rye and even barley in 1766. D.E. Williams, "Midland Hunger Riots in 1766," in Midland History Vol.IV No.2 (Autumn 1976) Pp.287-288. Without further evidence it is not possible to show precisely how barley prices behaved in 1766 or to state categorically that that year did not see a growth in the use of barley bread.

Therefore, although the 1795 Burford data is not consistent with this, we do find that, on the whole, barley did rise in price in wheat shortage periods, even if crops were good. Moreover, a rise in prices at these times is particularly significant in view of the restrictions which were placed on distilling and malting during grain crises; restrictions which one would expect would have helped at least to keep any increase in barley prices very moderate. Thus, the beneficial influence on prices of the stoppage of the distillery in 1800 is revealed by what occurred when Parliament contemplated permitting distilling to recommence:

"Mr. Burton said he had that day received authentic advice from Oxford of Barley having risen there the day but one preceding from 3/- to 4/- a quarter, although other Grain had been nearly stationary." (38)

Nevertheless, the employment of barley in baking is not the only possible explanation for the rise in prices. Other possibilities do suggest themselves. For example, in 1800, it was suggested in the First Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Present Scarcity of Corn that the unusual demand for wheat had caused a

(38) The Heads of Mr. Burton's Speeches in the House of Commons on Friday the 11th and Monday the 14th of December, 1801, on the Petition Presented by the City of Oxford, the Object of which was to reduce the Price of Grain by Preventing the Distillation thereof for Spirits, Addressed to the Freemen of Oxford... G.A. Oxon 80 1012 (9) Pp.11-12.

delay in the threshing of oats and barley, which might easily have led to a rise in their prices. (39) Again, all years of dearth saw complaints that speculation had brought about rising prices. Thus, in 1795 W.E. Taunton declared,

"The price of barley and of peas (of which the crop was very abundant) also confirms my suspicions that the farmer has kept back his stores, and availed himself of the alarm which has been propagated but too successfully to his interest; for granting that barley has been used out of its ordinary course in the making of bread, still the quantity consumed by that means is more than compensated for by the stoppage of the Distillery." (40)

Moreover, this statement is also important in that it suggests that the use of barley in baking should not alone have brought about an increase in prices and furthermore may indicate that when the distillery had been stopped, even if barley prices remained stationary rather than falling, as at Burford, the grain was being employed to make bread. On the whole, therefore, it is probably unwise to make deductions on the employment of barley bread from price data alone.

Before concluding, we may note that dearth periods, as E.J.T. Collins suggests, probably also saw,

"a marked decline in per capita cereal consumption." (41)

(39) A.R.for the year 1800 Vol.42 (1801) Appendix to the Chronicle Pp.103-104.

(40) P.C. 1:33 A 87 Part I W.E. Taunton to Portland 30 Mar. 1796.

(41) E.J.T. Collins Loc.cit. P.104.

Thus, in many dearth periods we find accounts from Oxfordshire that the poor were consuming a diet in which British cereals played no part. For example, in the 1690's Anthony à Wood recorded that the Oxford poor,

"eat turnips instead of bread," (42);

in 1799-1800 it was found that in one group of Oxfordshire parishes

"the poor were principally fed
on Rice," (43)

and in 1800 one Oxford author declared,

"some mothers I saw, surrounded with
children, who had not tasted bread
or meat for three days, and in that
time had eaten nothing more solid
than a scanty meal or two of potatoes." (44)

In conclusion, we may therefore suggest that the consumption of non-wheat bread was probably still not unknown in rural areas of Oxfordshire in the late eighteenth century and that in the grain crises of 1795 and 1800 there

(42) Ed. A. Clark, "The Life and Times of Anthony Wood..." Vol.III P.437.

(43) H.O. 42:52 Replies to the Queries Sent to the Bishop of Oxford.

(44) Reflections on the Justice, Advantage and Necessity of Limiting, within a Certain Compass, the Price of Wheat, by Legislative Authority... By the author of Dearness of Provisions (1800 or 1801' P.5.

was some return⁽⁴⁵⁾ to the use of barley bread particularly in northern and western towns. Moreover, these conclusions enable one to suggest, if tentatively, that the poor were probably more flexible in their choice of foodstuffs than is often supposed and that, as E.J.T. Collins indicates,

"choice of cereal was price and
income elastic;"⁽⁴⁶⁾

that the effects of the crises of 1795 and 1800 on diet may have been more severe than is always supposed and that there may have been a decline in the expectations of the poor over the standard of living in the last decade of the century.

(45) Although the word "return" has been used throughout this section, no attempt has been made to discover when and in which areas coarse grains were regularly employed.

(46) E.J.T. Collins Loc.cit. P.104.
Probably the most revealing quotation on this comes from Lincolnshire, where "the poorer classes (who within the memory of the person from whom this testimony was received) had exchanged the use of barley bread for wheaten, returned last year to barley bread."
A.R.for the year 1800 Vol.42 (1801) Appendix to the Chronicle Pp.132-133.

Part VI The Assize of Bread in Oxford

The assize of bread, dating back to the Assisa Panis et Cervisiae of 1266 is a regulation of considerable complexity, and it is not felt that a full understanding of its operation in the eighteenth century has been achieved.⁽¹⁾ Here, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to detailing the way in which the assize was set in the City of Oxford⁽²⁾ and raising the problem of the extent to which its continued enforcement was meaningful.

In Oxford the setting of the assize of bread took place upon a regular basis throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, ceasing only in October 1836 after the passage of 6 and 7 Will. IV c37; An Act to repeal the several Acts now in force relating to Bread to be sold out of the City of London.... Detailed records have survived for the whole period, except for the years 1700-1733⁽³⁾ and these records enable us to build up a picture of the way in which the University authorities responded to the several alterations which were made in the laws governing the assize and to the need to economize on wheat flour in years of food shortages.

The assize of bread was a mechanism not for reducing bread prices but for ensuring that they bore a relationship to the prevailing price of wheat. Between 1692 and 1700 the

-
- (1) The major account of the assize of bread is by S. and B. Webb Loc.cit. Their article has been used to provide the national background for this study of the assize in Oxford.
 - (2) The fragmentary data on the setting of the assize in other parts of the county is detailed and discussed in Chapter VI.
 - (3) For a description of this material see Chapter IV Pp.158-165.

assize in Oxford was fixed in accordance with the second highest price paid for a bushel of wheat⁽⁴⁾ and when records again become available in 1733 this was apparently still the case. However, from 1733 until 1753 details of a second assize are given, for "New College" and set upon the highest recorded wheat price. The reason for this has not been established, although it is possible that the College had a special arrangement with its bakers, as, for example, had All Souls, where the baker employed by the College was expected to supply 14 penny loaves for 1/-.⁽⁵⁾ From 1753 and for the rest of the century only 1 assize is recorded, which was, on the whole, claimed to have been still set on the second highest price of a bushel of wheat. However, as Table B of the appendix demonstrates, from the 1770's the price on which the assize was set was very occasionally higher but much more frequently considerably lower than this. It is possible that these lower prices represent an approximate average; a suggestion which is given added weight by the fact that there appears sometimes to have been a correlation between the price upon which the assize was set and the average price of wheat sold in Oxford; detailed on Table C. The reason for this change is unclear but it is possible that

(4) S. and B. Webb record that normally, "the middle price of good ordinary wheat (was) taken as the basis on which to fix the weight of the finest (bread)." S. and B. Webb Loc.cit. P.198.

(5) Sir W. Blackstone Op.cit. Pp.9-10.

it occurred in part in response to the long periods of dearth and high prices in the second half of the eighteenth century, which may have led the authorities to see the assize as a deflationary mechanism. From 1813, following the passing of 53 Geo. III c 116, An Act to alter and amend Two Acts of the Thirty first Year of King George the Second, and the Thirteenth Year of His Present Majesty, so far as relates to the Price and Assize of Bread to be sold out of the City of London.... the assize was definitely fixed in relation to the average price of wheat.

One further point should be made on the price on which the assize was set, and that is, that although by 8 Anne c 18 An Act to regulate the price and Assize of Bread those responsible for setting the assize had been permitted to assume that the baker was purchasing flour rather than wheat and take account of flour prices when fixing the assize, there were only 2 occasions, both in the dearth year 1801, when the authorities in Oxford availed themselves of the right.

When the price of wheat had been ascertained a sum was added to help the baker to meet his expenses; the cost of purchasing wood, yeast, salt and candles and paying his servants and a miller. In the seventeenth century the urban bakers were apparently allowed a larger sum to cover their expenses than were bakers from rural areas⁽⁶⁾ and this meant that 2 assizes had to be issued, one for the country bakers and one for those from the City.⁽⁷⁾ During the course

(6) A. Annesley in Strictures on the True Cause of the Present Alarming Scarcity of Grain and other Provisions; and A Plan for Permanent Relief... (1800) P.45 offers an explanation of this in terms of the extra tax paid by urban bakers.

(7) Thus, in an account of the assize of bread when wheat cost from 2/10 to 9/-, different weights are given for the loaves to be baked by the City and country bakers.
...Miscellaneous Market Regulations...

of the eighteenth century the sum granted to the bakers as an allowance was increased; in December 1776 from 1/3 on each bushel of wheat baked into bread to 1/6, and in January 1805 to 1/9. Allowance was also made for unusual increases in the baker's costs, as in August 1798, when 5d was added to the price of a quarter of wheat to cover an additional duty on salt.

Having ascertained the price of wheat and added the allowance the authorities were then able to refer to the Tables of Assize to discover how the weight or price of loaves should relate to this sum.

During the course of the eighteenth century, however, several alterations were made in these tables.

Firstly, while until 1758 it was always the weight of the loaf which was altered; the price remaining fixed; after the passage of 31 Geo. II c 29 An Act for the due making of bread; and to regulate the price and assize thereof; and to punish persons who shall adulterate meal, flour or bread loaves of fixed weight and adjustable price were permitted. Secondly, the amount of bread which it was assumed should be produced from a quarter of wheat was gradually reduced as the century progressed. Thus, until 1710 the tables were calculated on the assumption that 418 pounds of bread should be made from each quarter of wheat; in 1710 this was reduced to 417 and in 1758 to 365. Thirdly, until 1758 it had been assumed that 3 sorts of loaves would be produced, white, wheaten and household. After the passage of 31 Geo. II c 29, and an amending Act 3 Geo. III c 11, it was assumed that flour would be divided into 2 sorts which would permit a

"wheaten bread and an household bread

only (to) be made for common sale."⁽⁸⁾

Turning to Oxford we find that, until 1774, the authorities always altered the weight of loaves; the prices remaining fixed. However, there were changes in the range of prices for which bread might be sold. Thus, in January 1696 the Vice-Chancellor and Clerks of the Market ordered that no white loaf should be sold for more than 2d; wheaten loaves should cost only 3d and 6d and household loaves only 6d and 1/-. Although this order was repeated in January 1699 it apparently proved so unpopular that in June it was declared that bakers would be allowed to produce larger loaves costing up to 18d.⁽⁹⁾ By the mid eighteenth century 18d loaves were apparently no longer made and the prices were 1d; 2d; 6d and 12d; 4d loaves being omitted from 1754. The first time that loaves of standard weight; peck, half peck and quartern were permitted in the City was February 1774; 16 years after the Act which had allowed for the prizing of loaves. On the whole, from this time an assize was set for 1d and 2d loaves and a price for peck, half peck and quartern.

At the start of the eighteenth century 3 types of loaves were assized; white, wheaten and household. From 1769, however, the white loaf is no longer mentioned in the records; the assize beginning to be set in accordance with the tables contained in 31 Geo. II c 29. It has not proved possible to establish why the authorities should have waited 11 years before implementing the terms of this Act and why they should

(8) "Report from the Committee appointed to Consider of the Methods practised in Making Flour from Wheat; and the prices thereof... Reported by Thomas Pownall Esq. 14 Jun. 1774," in Reports from Committees of the House of Commons Vol. 9 Provisions, Poor, 1774-1802 (1803) P.4.

(9) ...Miscellaneous Market Regulations...

apparently have continued between 1758 and 1769 to set the assize in conformity with the terms of 8 Anne c 18⁽¹⁰⁾, which the Act of 1758 had in fact repealed.⁽¹¹⁾

In 1773, by 13 Geo. III c 62 An Act for better regulating the assize and making of bread the baking of a third type of bread, standard wheaten was permitted and magistrates were also given the right to prohibit for fixed periods the baking of any other sort than standard wheaten. The authorities in Oxford were very much quicker to respond to the passing of this Act. Thus on January 19 1774 the Vice-Chancellor ordered that for 3 months from February 21 bakers in Oxford were to be prohibited from making any prized loaves superior in quality to standard wheaten⁽¹²⁾ and on February 26 we find that a price was set for peck, half peck and quartern standard wheaten and household loaves. 1d and 2d wheaten loaves continued to be permitted. This pattern prevailed for the rest of the eighteenth century, except, that is, during the dearths of 1795-96 and 1800-01 when various attempts were made to bring about a reduction in wheat consumption by prohibiting the use of loaves made from high quality flour.

The pattern in the setting of the assize in the late eighteenth century dearths was, in fact, a very complex one.

(10) It is unclear how quickly the authorities had begun to use the assize tables contained in 8 Anne c 18. However, they were certainly doing so by 1733, the loaf weights being given in ounces and drams, as required by the Act of 1710. In the late seventeenth century they had given in ounces and penny weights. The problems which arose from the fact that prior to 1710 bread had to be sold by Troy weights when avoirdupois weights were in common use is discussed in Ed. R. Bradley Op.cit. Vol.I Pp.111-114.

(11) The Act of 1758 did contain a clause reserving to the University its right to set an assize but it would seem that all this meant was that the University was still to be the authority responsible for setting the assize in Oxford not that it could ignore changes in national law.

(12) J.O.J. Jan. 22 1774 No.1082.

Thus, the first major change occurred on July 11 1795 when assized loaves were omitted and prices were established for loaves termed household and inferior. This was followed by a period between July 18 and September 19 when only one type of bread was permitted; termed "usual Oxford household". On October 17 the assize was set normally but this situation only lasted until December 26 when we again find the bread referred to as household and inferior. This pattern prevailed until December 24 1796; on February 25 1797 the price of household bread alone was recorded and it was not until May 1797 that the assize was again set normally. The return to normality was, however, shortlived, for on December 12 1799 the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses ordered that no finer bread than standard wheaten should be made and throughout 1800 and January 1801, while both assized and priced loaves were permitted, all bread had to be either standard wheaten or household. On January 31 and February 7 1801, when the assize was set on the price of flour only one type of bread was mentioned termed "wheaten" and on February 28 prices and weights for household bread alone were recorded. After this, and for the remaining months of 1801, there was a return to the pattern established in December 1799.

Finally, we should note that the authorities did not merely set the assize but made checks to ensure that it was being obeyed and punished those who were selling short weight bread. (13)

Several historians have, however, questioned the extent to which the assize of bread was an enforceable regulation in the eighteenth century and the question therefore arises, how meaningful was the setting of the assize in Oxford?

(13) The evidence on this is discussed in Chapter VI Pp. 386-7, 417-26.

The first criticism of the assize is that the price on which it was set was often artificially high; being the product of a contract staged in the market place for the benefit of the authorities and unrelated to the prices being paid at the inns where the majority of transactions were taking place.⁽¹⁴⁾ We have already discussed the Oxford price material⁽¹⁵⁾ and all we can say here is that throughout the period Oxford bakers do appear to have been purchasing in the market and paying the prices on which the assize was set and no evidence has been found to suggest that the authorities felt they were being deceived over price levels.⁽¹⁶⁾ Moreover, a further criticism of the assize, that it was being set on wheat prices when bakers were buying flour⁽¹⁷⁾ is also not valid for Oxford where, as we have seen⁽¹⁸⁾, the bakers appear largely to have been purchasers of wheat.

(14) See, for example, W.J. Shelton Op.cit. P.72.

(15) See Chapter IV Pp.158-165.

(16) It is possible that the lowering of the price on which the assize was set in the late eighteenth century may provide evidence to suggest that the authorities believed that, especially with the growth of sale by sample, the bakers were often negotiating lower prices than they were stated to have been paying. However, other explanations of the lowering of the price are possible. Thus, it may also have represented, as we have seen, a response to the higher price levels of the second half of the eighteenth century or again to the higher profits which might be made by bakers after 1758.

(17) See, for example, C.R. Fay Op.cit. Pp.90-91.

(18) See Chapter IV Pp.222; 225.

However, as, for the greater part of the eighteenth century, the assize was set on the second highest price of a bushel of wheat, the majority of bakers would have been paying less for their wheat than the price on which the assize was set and this, taken in conjunction with the fact that the Assize Tables contained in the Act of 1758 were based upon the assumption that the baker was able to make much less bread from a quarter of wheat than was actually possible⁽¹⁹⁾, would have meant that, except in the late eighteenth century dearths, most Oxford bakers were probably capable of selling at prices lower than those established under the assize. An indication that the prices set under the assize might have been maximums below which the bakers could sell easily, comes from the fact that, when, in November 1772, a meeting was held in Oxford to discuss the best means of relieving the poor of the City at a time of high prices it was suggested that the Oxford bakers should be requested to report the lowest terms on which they would supply household bread for the purpose.⁽²⁰⁾ However, an Oxford baker writing in 1867 declared that when he had begun business, while he had discovered that it was possible to sell below the assize price and still make a profit, most bakers were tending to obey the assize.⁽²¹⁾ This would seem to indicate

(19) This point is made by, for example, L. Heslop Observations on the Statute of the thirty-first George II ch 29 concerning the assize of bread. With occasional references to the 3rd George III chap. II the 13th George III chap. 62, and to the late Statute for regulating the assize of bread in the City of London (1799) Pp.5-7.

(20) J.O.J. Nov. 28 1772 No.1022.

(21) A Scrap Book on Oxford "Bread Riots" in 1867 G.A. Oxon 4^o 784.

that, although underselling was possible it was probably not widely practised in Oxford⁽²²⁾ and that, therefore, by the early nineteenth century at least, the maintenance of the assize may have been causing bread prices to be artificially high.

However, while the continued setting of the assize in normal years probably favoured the baker, the way in which it was set during the dearth years of 1795-96 and 1800-01 caused them considerable hardship. Thus, at these times the bakers were sometimes faced with seeing an assize set on prices lower than they had paid. This was particularly problematical in September 1800.

On September 13 the assize was set on a wheat price of 13/6 per bushel, when the second highest price had, in fact, been 18/-. On September 20, following excursions by the Oxford crowd into the countryside to obtain agreements from farmers to bring corn to Oxford market and sell it at £20 per load; all wheat was sold at £20 and the price on which the assize was set was therefore 9/6 per bushel. The following week much of the wheat was still sold at low prices and the sum on which the assize was set was consequently raised a mere shilling to 10/6. Although, at least 9 bakers did apparently manage to obtain wheat at £20 per load the majority were therefore faced, for 3 weeks, with baking bread the price of which had been fixed on prices much lower than they had paid. Moreover, as Sir Christopher Willoughby pointed out, the bakers of the neighbourhood were also regulated under the Oxford assize and as they too had failed

(22) For an account of the growth in underselling in other areas see J. Burnett, "The Baking Industry in the Nineteenth Century," in Business History Vol.V (1962-63) Pp.99-101.

to obtain cheap wheat,

"they must either lose a great deal of money, in case they lessen the price of bread; or there will be tumult in every village in the county." (23)

The solution which was adopted was the granting of subsidies to the bakers. Thus, on September 18, in response to the way in which the assize had been set on the thirteenth, the City Council resolved that,

"this House will indemnify the bakers against the loss at a sum not exceeding 7s 6d on every sack of flour baked into bread on or before next Tuesday." (24)

It would appear that the University and City magistrates then agreed to extend the offer of indemnities to cover the losses which had resulted from the way in which the assize was set on September 20 and 27; for on October 8 it was agreed that the indemnities which had been offered without the consent of the Council, should be honoured. (25) On January 22 1801 it was reported that the City had had to pay to the bakers £157/3/11½ and the University £80. (26)

The alternative method by which the authorities might deal with advancing bread prices in dearth was to set the

(23) H.O. 42:51 Document 338-339 Willoughby to Portland 21 Sept. 1800.

(24) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801,"... P.277.

(25) Ibid. P.281.

(26) Ibid. P.283.

S. and B. Webb Loc.cit. P.214 record that at Exeter also the assize was only maintained at the cost of raising a fund with which to induce the bakers to continue their trade.

assize on the high wheat prices but then to open subscriptions to enable bread to be sold with a subsidy so that the poor did not feel the full impact of the increases. We have already noted several examples of the charitable provision of bread⁽²⁷⁾ and here we may simply add that with either the poor or the bakers or both being subsidized the only purposes in maintaining the assize in severe dearth periods were perhaps to prevent rampant profiteering and to reassure the crowd that the authorities were discharging their duty to supervise marketing.

The second major criticism of the assize is that the types of bread, which it required to be made were not, in fact, being made at all. Thus, several writers suggested at the time that the bakers, being allowed, by the assize, greater profits on white bread, often omitted to make any brown loaves, and that anyway millers, especially in regions which supplied London with flour, were not producing flour from which an acceptable household bread could be made. Moreover, it was widely claimed that 13 Geo. III c 62 was totally unenforceable because millers never produced flour from which standard wheaten bread might be made.⁽²⁸⁾

For Oxford little evidence on the subject of bread consumption patterns is available. However, certain points can be made. Firstly, it is clear that household bread was in use in the City. Thus, it is noticeable that, as late as 1768, the term whitebaker was still in use⁽²⁹⁾, suggesting that

(27) See Chapter IV Pp.212-215.

(28) Considerations on the Scarcity and High Prices... Pp.25-26; 35-36; 38. A.R. ... for the year 1800 Vol.42 (1801) Appendix to the Chronicle Pp.94; 99; 113-115.
G.M. Vol.LXX Part II (1800) Pp.1175-1176.
 See also, E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. Pp.80-81.

(29) An Alphabetical list of persons made free of the City of

most bakers made both white⁽³⁰⁾ and brown bread. Moreover, in 1772 the bread to be provided for the poor was household and in 1824, when the only unequivocal statement on bread consumption in Oxford in a non-dearth period was made it was suggested that household bread was in general use among the inhabitants; wheaten bread tending to be used in the University.⁽³¹⁾ Secondly, no evidence has been found to show whether standard wheaten bread was ever employed in Oxford. However, it should be pointed out that if household bread, which was made from coarser flour were in general use then it would have been pointless to attempt to reduce the consumption of wheat by introducing standard wheaten bread. On this we may note that the Mayor of Abingdon, in January 1800, rejected the call to enforce 13 Geo. III on the grounds that the bread which was commonly used in Berkshire was produced from flour, containing a higher proportion of bran than the flour from which standard wheaten bread was to be made.⁽³²⁾ Thirdly, it is possible that the "inferior bread" mentioned in 1795-96 was actually produced, in that, as this bread was apparently inferior in quality to household, it was most probably intended to be made from a mixture of wheat and barley and we know that mixed loaves were employed during this crisis.⁽³³⁾ Finally, we may note that the suggestion that bread was being adulterated with improper additives was made

(29) Oxford 1740-1801 Ms Top Oxon c 283 F.25.

(30) It is unclear whether white, as opposed to wheaten loaves, continued to be made after they had ceased to be assized in 1769. However, one may note that white loaves were mentioned in the Order of January 19 1774. J.O.J. Jan. 22 1774 No.1082.

(31) Committee (House of Commons) on Allowances Granted to Bakers by 53 George III c 116 in those Places where an Assize of Bread is set (1824) P.6.

(32) H.O. 42:49 G. Knapp to Portland 4 Jan. 1800.

(33) See Chapter IV P.243.

on one occasion.⁽³⁴⁾ However, as that was in September 1800 when, as we have seen, the bakers were facing exceptional difficulties, it would seem to indicate that adulteration was not a common problem in Oxford.

One final point should be made on the extent to which the assize was enforceable and that is that it may have been a difficult regulation to obey with exactitude. Thus, when in 1768 a High Street baker was dismissed from serving New College for selling short weight bread he reported that the problem had arisen because the College required outside loaves because these were crusty and outside loaves were automatically deficient in weight. He recorded that the inner loaves were of correct weight.⁽³⁵⁾

In conclusion, only on one occasion, in the 1690's⁽³⁶⁾ was it suggested that the bakers supplying Oxford with bread were ignoring the assize. On the whole it would seem that the assize was set, enforced and very largely obeyed. Moreover, the assize would seem, at least in non-dearth periods, to have been set upon a price for wheat which the bakers were paying and to have demanded the making of bread, a reasonable approximation to which the bakers were able to make. However, it is not possible to generalize on other areas from Oxford, in that the same questions - on how the price on which the assize was set was discovered and what types of flour were available - need to be asked for each region.

(34) J.O.J. Sept. 13 1800 No.2472.

(35) J.O.J. Dec. 24 1768 No.817.

(36) ...Miscellaneous Market Regulations...

It is possible that the passage of 8 Anne c 18 acted as an incentive to the authorities to enforce the assize and also made it easier to set.

Chapter V

The Marketing of Agricultural Products other than Corn

It was originally hoped that it would prove possible to produce an analysis of the marketing of agricultural products other than corn, of a similar type to that which we have produced for corn. However, on the whole, little evidence has been found on the role of the open market and fair in the marketing of other products in the eighteenth century and it is therefore felt that, without further research on other areas, useful conclusions could not be drawn.

Nevertheless, we have been able to produce a series of tables and maps which not only illustrate the way in which the areas from which market towns drew their supplies varied greatly in both extent and location for different products but which, used in conjunction with evidence from other areas might usefully form the starting point for a future examination of the marketing of other agricultural products.

A Note on Tables I-III

The information on which Tables I-III are based was collected in conformity with the terms of 2 Acts of Parliament, An Acte Agaynst the Byeng of Stolen Horses 2 and 3 Philip and Mary c VII 1555 and An Acte to Avoyde Horse Stealinge 31 Elizabeth c XII 1588-9.⁽¹⁾ These acts specified that horses

(1) The Statutes of the Realm (1819) Vol.IV Part I Pp.283-284; Vol.IV Part II Pp.810-811.
A condensed version of these acts is given in R. Burn op.cit. Vol.II Pp.433-435.

should be sold at one particular place in any fair or market and that the person appointed to collect the toll should make a record of the name, occupation and place of residence of the buyer and the seller, and, if the seller were unknown to him, of a third person who could vouch for the seller's honesty. They also required the toll keeper to note the price paid for the horse and record a description of its appearance. In Oxford all the requirements of the acts were observed but the Banbury records are less full; almost all records of sales omitting the occupations of the parties involved.⁽²⁾ No attempt has been made to discover the occupations of those mentioned in the Banbury records because of the widely dispersed nature of their places of residence.

Records of horse sales at Oxford have survived for the period 1673 to 1745, although only those relating to the years after 1700 have been used in this study. It is unclear why no records exist for the period after 1745. J. Chartres suggests that toll ceased to be collected in that year⁽³⁾ but this would appear to be incorrect for in 1755 it was declared that horses sold at Gloucester Green should be tolled for at the Town Clerk's office.⁽⁴⁾ As very few sales are recorded after the mid 1720's it is

(2) The occupations of only 4 sellers, 2 buyers and 3 witnesses are given. The sellers were a postmaster; a dealer and 2 specified as dealers and chapmen. The buyers were a yeoman and a dealer in earthenware and the witnesses were a yeoman, a victualler and a labourer.

(3) J. Chartres Markets, Fairs and the Community,... P.12.

(4) Ed. M.G. Hobson, "Oxford Council Acts 1752-1801"... P.15.

possible that the details of sales were recorded very perfunctorily in the later years and that after 1745 records were simply not kept. The period covered by the Banbury Toll Book is 1753-1767. In 1768 the right to collect tolls at the fairs was leased and although the lessee was expected to keep a toll book, if he did keep a record of the sales which took place, such material has failed to survive. (5)

Two major difficulties are experienced when attempting to use the horse toll data to assess market areas. Firstly, there is a problem of accuracy, stemming from the way in which place-names were recorded. It would appear that the names of towns and villages were recorded as they were pronounced (6) and while most places could be identified without difficulty the identity of certain towns and villages proved impossible to ascertain and it is possible that a small number of others may have been identified incorrectly. Secondly, there is evidence to suggest that not all transactions which took place in Banbury were recorded. Thus, the greatest number of sales recorded at Banbury was 24, at the Corpus Christi fair in 1754, and

(5) A full report of 2 sales in the 1820's, contained at the end of the toll book, may suggest that the recording of horse sales did continue throughout the period.

(6) For example, we find Moreton-in-Marsh written as Morten Inmus. J.H. Hamer noted the same problem when using the toll records of Saint White Down Fair. J.H. Hamer, "Trading at Saint White Down Fair, 1637-1649," in Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Vol.CXII (1968) P.62. The way in which the Banbury horse toll material is presented was suggested by this article.

frequently fewer than 10 sales were recorded at fairs known to see a substantial trade in horses and at which in the early nineteenth century several 100 horses might be sold.⁽⁷⁾ Two possible explanations for this suggest themselves; firstly that the authorities were failing to keep a record of all the sales taking place at the fairs or secondly that many of those involved in horse dealing were conducting their business transactions privately; not under the supervision of the authorities.⁽⁸⁾ If the first suggestion is correct then it would seem possible that it would frequently have been the details of transactions involving sellers of whom the toll collectors had personal knowledge which were not recorded. As such sellers would probably have been from the town and its immediate neighbourhood it is possible that we have an incomplete record of the sales which involved persons from the locality. Under these circumstances an attempt to assess the proportion of sellers and buyers travelling less and more than 5 miles to the fairs would be of questionable value.

(7) For example J.O.J. Jan. 25 1834 No.4213 records that perhaps 4 to 500 horses had been put up for sale at Banbury Twelfth fair and that this number was smaller than had been known on former occasions.

(8) There is certainly evidence of a growth in the number of deals conducted privately at fairs, in the second half of the eighteenth century. Thus, in July 1788 James Bevan of the White Lion Inn, Banbury, was reported to have opened a Repository where he conducted horse sales both on fair days and at other times. It would seem unlikely that details of the deals which were made at the Repository were ever brought to the attention of the authorities.
J.O.J. Jul. 19 1788 No.1838.

Before detailing the conclusions to be drawn on Banbury's market area one final point should be made and that is that a comparison between the market areas of Oxford and Banbury would be unlikely to be meaningful in that sales in Oxford took place in the market and probably involved persons who were in the City for other purposes than dealing in horses⁽⁹⁾, while sales at Banbury took place at the town's livestock fairs and presumably involved persons who had come to the town specifically to attend the fairs.⁽¹⁰⁾

We shall now note the major conclusions to be drawn. Firstly, it is clear that almost all places within a 10 mile radius of Banbury sent at least one person to the town's fairs and that a majority of towns and villages within 15 miles of Banbury were also represented. Secondly, it is noticeable that many of those travelling further than 15 miles to the fairs were from towns and villages either on or adjacent to major roads. Thirdly, it is evident that the fairs possessed a national importance, their influence extending throughout Central and Southern England and up to

(9) Thus, J. Chartres, using material in the Oxford horse toll records to support his argument, has suggested that carriers from the north may have sold off horses which were not required for the journey home. It would seem likely that it was fortuitous that such sales were taking place in Oxford.

J. Chartres Loc.cit. P.79.

(10) Sales of horses were recorded at the Twelfth Fair, Fish Fair, Holy Thursday Fair, Corpus Christi Fair, Lammas Fair, Hop Fair and St. Luke's Fair.

a distance of 120 miles from the town.⁽¹¹⁾ Furthermore, it is possible that, although we have direct evidence on those attending the fairs for the purpose of dealing in horses, we may, in addition, be gaining an indication of the areas from which persons were coming to trade in the other commodities for which the fairs were noted, cattle and sheep for example; it appearing likely that witnesses to sales at least may have been attending the fairs primarily to sell or purchase other products.

Finally, we may note that further research in 2 areas might yield valuable results. Firstly, a closer examination of the areas from which buyers and sellers were coming might enable us to identify concentrations of sellers from regions notable for horse-breeding and buyers from centres which had an important role in the horse trade.⁽¹²⁾ Secondly, a possible line of research is suggested by the inclusion in the records of the names and places of residence of the witnesses. In many cases it is possible to establish the connection which existed between the seller and the witness. Thus, witnesses appear often to have been related to the

(11) A. Everitt suggests that a fair was of national importance if it attracted persons living more than 75 miles from the town in which it was held. Everitt also includes Banbury among a group of towns whose fairs were of central importance for the dispersal of riding and blood horses, and cart horses.

A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk Op.cit. Pp.535-540.

(12) Thus, R. Forder Dennington, looking at material on Boughton Green Fair was able to show that the fair was attended by buyers from Newgate, which was the scene of a horse market.
R. Forder Dennington, "A Midlands Horse Fair at Boughton Green, 1627," in Northamptonshire Past and Present Vol.IV (1969/70) P.236.

sellers or to have exercised the same occupation as them, or, particularly in the case of the witnesses at Banbury fairs to have come from the same towns or villages as the sellers, or from towns or villages nearby. In several cases, however, the connection between seller and witness is not obvious and it is possible that an investigation of these sellers and witnesses might reveal the existence of business relationships and thus help to show the type of business networks which existed in the eighteenth century.

Table I

Table to show occupations of Persons attending Oxford Market to buy and sell Horses and witness sales 1700-1745⁽¹⁾

B = Buyer S = Seller W = Witness
E = Party to an Exchange of horses.

The number indicates the total number from each occupational group visiting the market.

Baker	B	Butler	W
Barber	W	Carpenter	S
Bargeman	B	Chandler	1E 1W
Bargemaster	B	Chapman	2S
Boatbuilder	B	Collar-maker	S
Boatman	W	Cook	B
Brass Founder	S	Currier	2B
Brazier	1B 1S	Dealer	1B 1S 1W
Brewer	B	Farrier	3B
Brewer/victualler	B/W	Fellmonger	B
Butcher	3B 4S 3W	Fishmonger	S
	1B/S 1S/W		

(1) From Toll Book for Sale of Horses 1673-1745 F.4.4. In the majority of cases the occupations of buyers, sellers and witnesses are stated in the text. No attempt has been made to discover occupations where these are not given or to check the accuracy of the occupations listed. In ten cases the occupations listed above may be incorrect.

Gardener	S	Printer	W
Gentleman	2S	Saddler	1S 1W
Hair Buyer (i.e. Livestock Dealer)	1B 1W 1B/S	Schoolmaster	W
Husbandman	B	Soldier	1S 1W
Innholder	1B 1S 1W	Stockinger	B
Jockey	S	Student	S
Labourer	3B 3S 2W 1E	Surgeon	B
Maltster	2B 2W	Tailor	3B 2S 1W
Merchant	E	Tanner	1B 1S 1W
Miller	W	Tapster	1W
Musician	B	Victualler	1B 1S 2W
Organist	B	Water Carrier	B
Ostler	1B 1W	Wine Cooper	S
		Yeoman	7B 3S 1W 1E

Table II

Table to show Towns and Villages from which persons came to
Oxford Market to buy and sell Horses and witness sales 1700-1745 (1)

B = Buyer S = Seller W = Witness
E = Party to an Exchange of horses.

Oxfordshire

Banbury	S	Nethercott,	S
Beckley	E	near Tackley	
Broughton	S	Oxford	B S W E
Culham	S	Water Eaton	B
Dean	W	Witney	W
Horspath	B	Wolvercote	B
Ipsden	E	Yarnton	S
Moreton, near Thame	S		

Counties adjacent to OxfordshireBerkshire

Abingdon	W
Ardington	S
Newbury	B
2 unidentified places	Both B

Buckinghamshire

Aylesbury	B S
Long Crendon	B

(1) From Toll Book for Sale of Horses 1673-1745.

Gloucestershire

Bristol	S	W
Minchinhampton	S	
Tewkesbury	W	
1 unidentified place	S	

Northamptonshire

Badby	S	
-------	---	--

Warwickshire

Brailles	W	
----------	---	--

Worcestershire

Bretforton	S	
Pershore	S	

Other CountiesCambridgeshire

Great Shelford	S	
----------------	---	--

Cardiganshire

Tregaron	S	
1 unidentified place	W	

Cumberland

Bewcastle	S	
-----------	---	--

Derbyshire

Blackwell	S	(Either Blackwell East of Buxton or Blackwell North East of Alfreton)
-----------	---	--

Devon

Plymouth	S	
----------	---	--

Hertfordshire

Puckeridge	S	
------------	---	--

Huntingdonshire

St. Ives	S	
----------	---	--

Middlesex

Lincoln's Inn Fields	S	
London	S	
St. Giles's in The Fields	S	W
Shoreditch	S	
Twickenham	S	

Monmouthshire

Mitchel Troy	B	
--------------	---	--

Norfolk

Great Yarmouth E
Norwich S

Shropshire

Bagley S
Cardington S

Somerset

Frome S
1 unidentified
place S

Surrey

Putney S
Southwark S

A Total of 89% of places have therefore been identified.

62.5% of all buyers, sellers and witnesses came from Oxford.

32.7% of all sellers came from Oxford.

82.5% of all buyers came from Oxford.

Table III

Table to show Towns and Villages from which persons came to
Banbury Fairs to buy and sell Horses and Witness Sales 1753-1767⁽¹⁾

B = Buyer S = Seller W = Witness/Voucher
E = Party to an Exchange of Horses.

Oxfordshire

Adderbury	S	B	W	Bicester	S	B
Ardley	B			Blackthorn	B	
Aston	S			Bletchington	B	
Balscote	S	B		Bloxham	S	B W
Banbury	S	B	W	Bodicote	S	B W
Barford				Bucknell	B	
St. John	W			Chadlington	B	
Barford				Charlbury	B	
St. Michael	S			Chipping Norton	B	W
Berry Fields,				Churchill	B	
near Great				Claydon	B	W
Rollright	B			Combe	B	

(1) Toll Book for sale of Horses 1753-1826.

Cowley	B				Neithrop	B	W	
Cropredy	S	W			North Leigh	S	W	
Culham	B				North Newington	S	W	
Deddington	S	B	W		Nuneham			
Drayton	B				Courtenay	B		
Dunthrop	S				Oxford	S	B	
Duns Tew	S	W			St. Clements	B		
Enstone	S	W			Shenington	S	W	E
Epwell	S	W			Shipton under			
Fawler	S				Wychwood	W		
Finstock	B				Shorthampton	S	B	
Fulwell	S				Shutford	B	W	
Great Bourton	S				Sibford Ferris	S		
Great Rollright	B	W			Sibford Gower	S		
Great Tew	S	W			Somerton	B	W	
Hampton Gay	S				Souldern	B		
Hampton Poyle	B				South			
Hanwell	S	B	W	E	Newington	S	B	W
Hampton	B				Steeple Aston	S		
Henley-on-					Stonesfield	S	B	W
Thames	B				Stratton Audley	S	B	
Hook Norton	S	B	W		Swalcliffe Mill	B		
Hop Croft's					Swerford	S		
Holt	W				Tadmarton	S	B	
Horley	S	B	W		Tiddington	B		
Hornton	S				Upper Heyford	S	B	W
Kidlington	S				Wardington	S	B	
Kirtlington	B				Water Eaton	B		
Launton	B				Williamscot	S		
Lidstone	S				Withycombe Farm	S		
Little Tew	W				Wroxton	B	W	
Merry Court,					3 unidentified			
near Sarsden	B				places	1B	2W	
Milcombe	S	B	W					
Mollington	S	W						

Counties adjacent to Oxfordshire

Berkshire

Appleton	W	Steventon	B
Basildon	B	Sunningwell	B
Botley	B	1 unidentified	
East Ilsley	B	place	E
Sonning	B		

Buckinghamshire

Bletchley	B	Long Crendon	B
Brill	S	North Marston	B
Chetwode	S	Quainton	B
Chilton	B	Stowe	B
Gerrard's		Westbury	S
Cross	B	Whaddon	B
Hanslope	B	1 unidentified	
		place	B

Gloucestershire

Adlestrop	S	
Cheltenham	B	
Chipping		
Campden	S	
Clapton	S	
Condicote	E	
Eastington	W	(Either Eastington S.E. of Northleach or Eastington W. of Stroud)
Iron Acton	B	(On England map)
Lower Slaughter	W	
Marshfield	B	(On England map)
Maugersbury	S	
Moreton-in-		
the-Marsh	W	
Naunton	S	W
Newent	S	(On England map)
Oddington	S	
Saintbury	S	
Southam	W	
Stow on the		
Wold	W	
Tewkesbury	S	W
Todenham	B	
Twynning	S	
Westcote	S	
Winchcombe	S	
3 unidentified		
places	All	S

Northamptonshire

Adstone	W	
Althorp	W	
Appletree	S	(in the parish of Aston le Walls)
Aynho	S	B
Badby	S	W
Blakesley	S	B W
Boughton	W	
Brackley	S	B
Brafield on		
the Green	S	W
Braunston	S	W
Brockhall	S	W
Byfield	B	W
Catesby	W	
Chacombe	E	
Chipping Warden	S	W
Clapton	S	
Cold Ashby	S	
Croughton	S	B W
Culworth	S	B W E
Daventry	B	E
Evenley	B	
Eydon	B	W
Farthinghoe	W	
Flore	S	
Greatworth	S	B
Grimsbury	S	W
Grimscoate	S	
Hellidon	B	
Hemington	B	

Hinton	S	(near Woodford Halse)
Hinton-in-the-Hedges	B	
Kilsby	S	
King's Sutton	S	B
Kislingbury	B	
Marston St. Lawrence	B	W
Moreton		
Pinkney	W	
Moulton	S	
Nethercote	B	
Newbottle	B	
Newnham	S	W
Norton	S	W
Old Stratford	B	
Overthorpe	S	
Staverton	S	B W
Stowe Nine Churches	B	
Sulgrave	S	B
Syresham	S	B W
Thenford	S	
Thorpe		
Mandeville	S	
Towcester	B	
Upper		
Boddington	S	W
West Farndon	W	(in the parish of Woodford Halse)
West Haddon	W	
Weston near Weedon Lois	S	
Whitfield	W	
Whittlebury	B	
Wood Burcote	B	
Woodford Halse	S	B
4 unidentified places	2B 1E 1S	W

Warwickshire

Alderminster	B	
Atherstone on Stour	S	
Avon Dassett	S	B W
Bedworth	S	
Bishop's Itchington	B	
Brailes	S	W
Burton Dassett	W	
Cherington	S	
Chesterton		
Green	S	
Coventry	S	W
Darlingstons	S	
Farnborough	S	
Fenny Compton	S	
Foleshill	S	W E
Harbury	W	
Hunningham	B	
Idlicote	B	
Kineton	S	B

Knightcote	W		
Ladbroke	W		
Little Welford	B		
Long Compton	S		
Long Itchington	S	B	
Lower			
Chelmscote	S		
Lower Tysoe	B		
Loxley	B		
Napton on the			
Hill	S	W	
Newbold on			
Stour	B		
Northend	S	B	E
Offchurch	W		
Old Milverton	S	W	
Oxhill	B		
Pillerton			
Hersey	S		
Pillerton			
Priors	W		
Preston on			
Stour	B		
Priors Marston	S	B	
Ratley	B		
Rowington	B		
Shipston on			
Stour	S	B	W
Shottery	S		
Shotteswell	S	W	
Stivichall	S		
Sutton Under			
Brailes	S		
Tysoe	S	B	
Ufton	S		
Upper			
Shuckburgh	W		
Warmington	S	W	
Warwick	S		
Wellesbourne			
Hastings	W	(or Wellesbourne Mountford)	
Whatcote	S		
Winderton	W		
8 unidentified			
places	2S	1B	3W 1SW 1SBW

Wiltshire

Chippenham	B		
Cricklade	B		
Devizes	B		
Marlborough	S	W	

Worcestershire

Bengeworth	S	W	
Blackwell	B		
Eckington	W		
Feckenham	B		
Fladbury	S		
North Littleton	S		
Pershore	S	W	
5 unidentified			
places	3S	1B	1W

Other CountiesBedfordshire

Heath and Reach W
 Leighton
 Buzzard S

Caernarvonshire

1 person given B

Cambridgeshire

Soham B

Carmarthenshire

Llandovery S W

Dorset

Batcombe B
 Shaftesbury B

Hampshire

South Stoneham B
 Wickham B
 1 unidentified
 place B

Herefordshire

Eastnor W
 Ledbury S B W

Hertfordshire

Rickmansworth W
 1 unidentified
 place B

Kent

Hayes B

Leicestershire

Hinckley S

Middlesex

Twickenham B

Radnor

Llandrindod
 Wells S

Rutland

Oakham B

Shropshire

Newport S B

Somerset

Castle Cary	B
Shepton Mallet	B
Wells	W

Staffordshire

Coseley	W
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Surrey

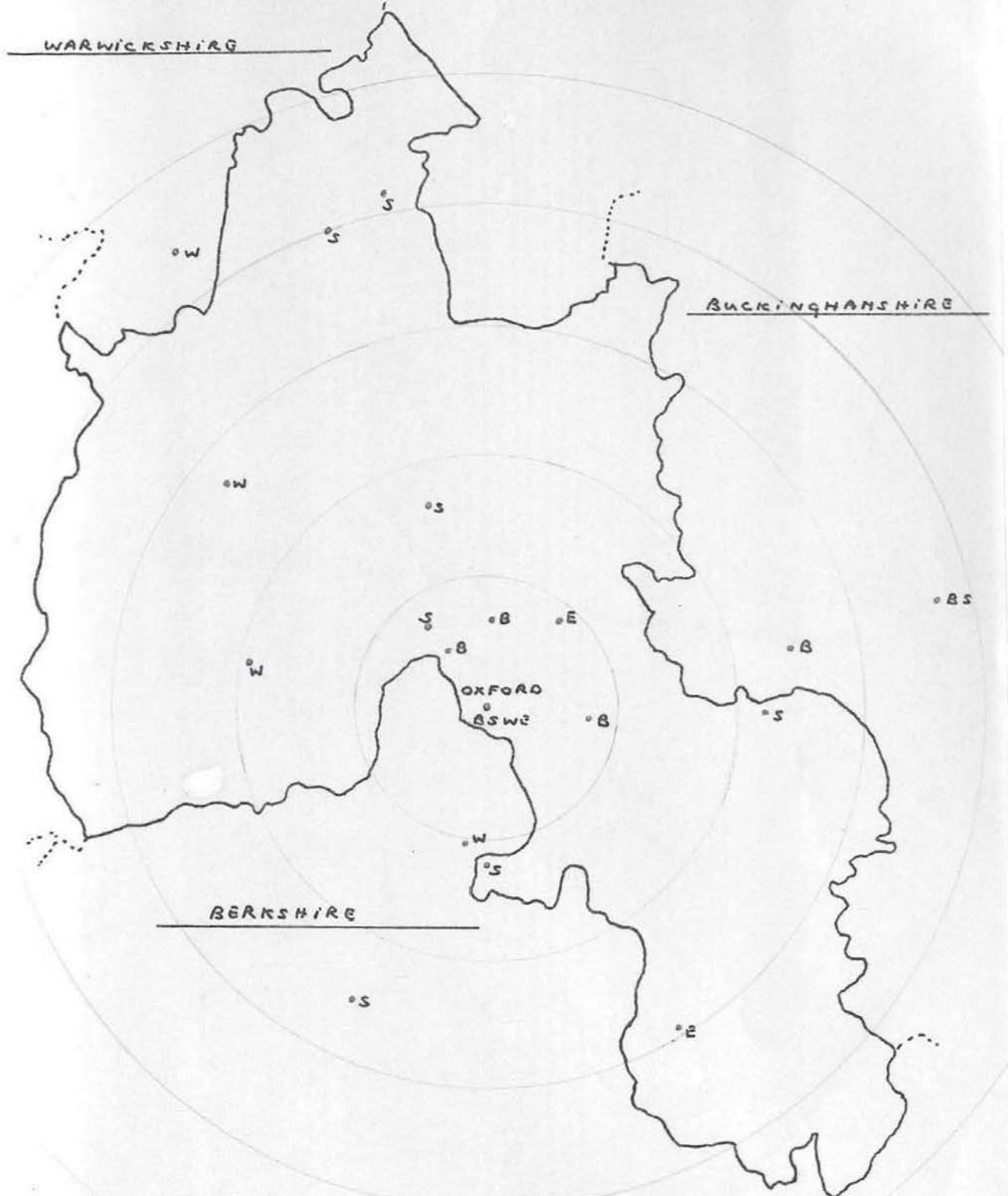
Abinger	B
Camberwell	S

Sussex

Boxgrove	B
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MAP TO SHOW THE PLACES OF ORIGIN OF BUYERS AND SELLERS
OF HORSES AND WITNESSES TO SALES (1) PLACES WITHIN 25 MILES
OF OXFORD.

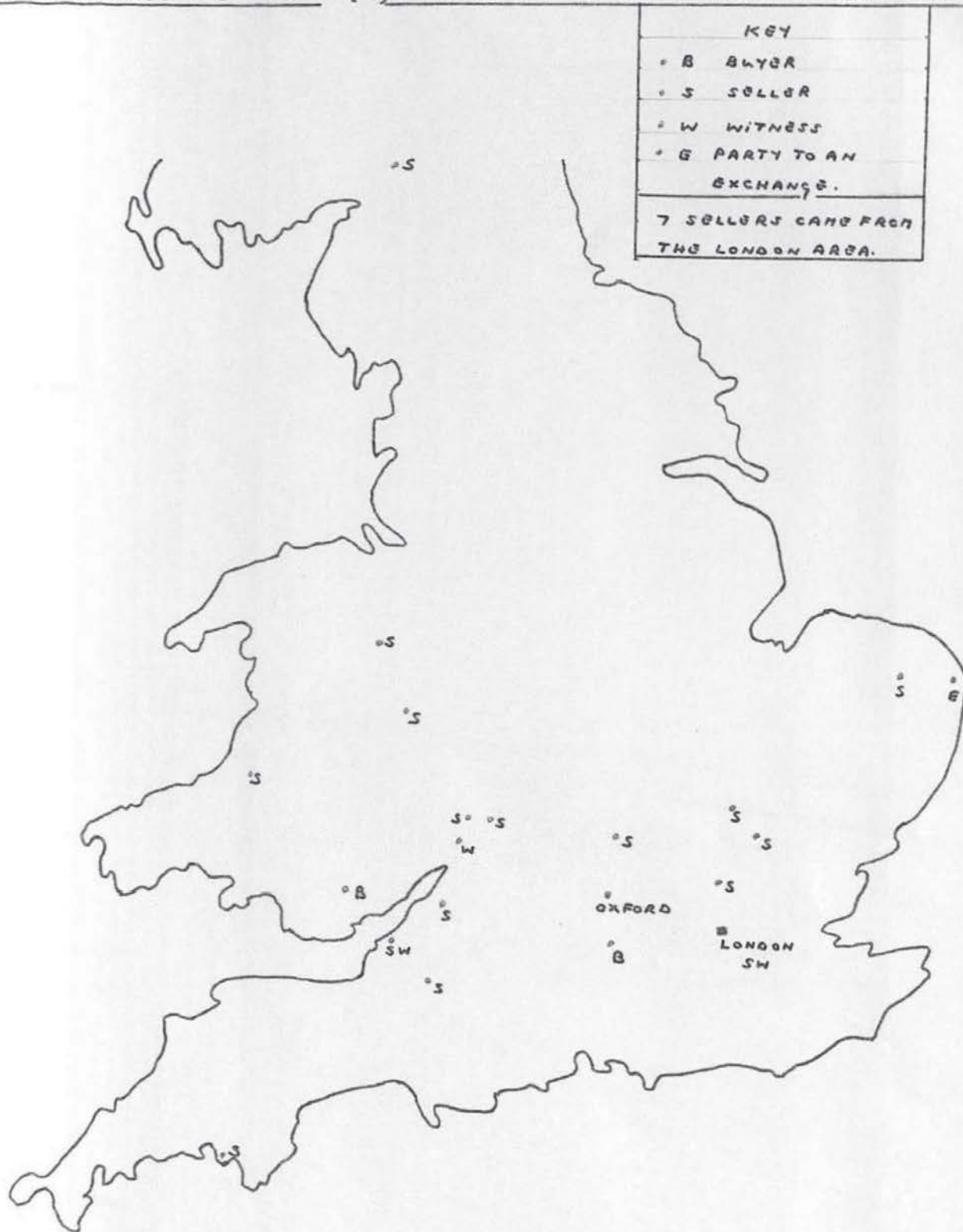
<u>KEY</u>	
• B	BUYER
• S	SELLER
• W	WITNESS
• E	PARTY TO AN EXCHANGE



OXFORD MARKET AREA : HORSES : 1700-1745

circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.

MAP TO SHOW THE PLACES OF ORIGIN OF BUYERS AND SELLERS OF HORSES
AND WITNESSES TO SALES (2) PLACES 25 OR MORE MILES FROM OXFORD.



OXFORD MARKET AREA: HORSES: 1700-1745

MAP TO SHOW THE PLACES OF ORIGIN OF BUYERS AND SELLERS OF HORSES AND WITNESSES TO SALES.

(1) OXFORDSHIRE AND COUNTIES ADJACENT.

BANBURY MARKET AREA: HORSES: 1753-1767

KEY:	KEY
CIRCLES INDICATE	B BUYER
DISTANCE FROM	S SELLER
BANBURY AT 5	E PARTY TO AN
MILE INTERVALS.	EXCHANGE
	W WITNESS



MAP TO SHOW THE PLACES OF ORIGIN OF BUYERS AND SELLERS
OF HORSES AND WITNESSES TO SALES (2) PLACES OTHER
THAN THOSE ADJACENT TO OXFORDSHIRE.



BANBURY MARKET AREA : HORSES : 1753-1767

Table IV

Table to show Places of Origin of Persons Attending Oxford
Market to sell Meat and Garden Produce ⁽¹⁾ c 1773-1808 ⁽²⁾

Oxfordshire

Beckley	2	Kidlington	4
Bletchington	1	Kirtlington	2
Cassington	2	Littlemore	1
Charlton-on-		Long	
Otmoor	1	Hanborough	1
Chipping Norton	1	Marsh or Toot	
Combe	1	Baldon	1
Cowley	2	Northmoor	2
Eynsham	2	Oxford	47 (c 52%)
Garsington	2	St. Clement's	1
Headington	1	Standlake	3
Horton cum		Wolvercote	1
Studley	1	Woodstock	3
Islip	1	Yarnton	3

Berkshire

Abingdon	1	Foxcombe Hill	1
Botley	1	North or South	
		Hinksey	1

(1) 62 of the 90 persons on whom this study is based were butchers, 2 baconmen and 2 poulterers; 7 were market gardeners and 1 a fruiterer. In addition 2 appear to have been fishmongers, 2 bakers, 1 a butter dealer and 1 a yeoman. These have been included as they were stallholders in the new market.

(2) The majority of the persons identified for this study were stallholders in the new market during the period 1773-1808. Their names occur in:-
Papers of the Market Committee 1774-1823 D.3.11 (8) - (11)
The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835
Passim.
Perambulations of the Clerks of the Market 1808-1828
Ms Top Oxon f 2 Pp.1-2.
 In addition a small number of suppliers have been identified from other sources. These include a butcher who supplied the market in 1726; 4 butchers who supplied it in 1746 and later, and 1 in 1764; and a woman who brought cheese to Oxford Market until 1756.

MAP TO SHOW PLACES OF ORIGIN OF PERSONS ATTENDING OXFORD
MARKET TO SELL MEAT AND GARDEN PRODUCE c 1773 - 1808
Circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.



Table V

Table to show Towns and Villages from which One or More Persons ⁽¹⁾ either came to Oxford Covered Market to sell Meat, Butter and Garden Produce or From which Supplies were sent to Dealers in the Market ⁽²⁾ 1809-1851

Oxfordshire

Arncott		Hampton Poyle	
Aston, near Bampton		Headington	X
Bampton	X	Horspath	X
Barford St. Michael		Horton cum Studley	
Barton, near Headington		Islip	
Beckley	X	Kiddington	
Begbroke		Kidlington	X
Binsey		Kirtlington	
Black Bourton		Launton	
Bladon	X	Lewknor	
Bletchington		Littlemore	X
Brighthampton		Marsh and/or Toot Baldon	X
Cassington	X	Marston	X
Charlton-on-Otmoor	X	Murcott	X
Chislehampton		Noke	X
Clanfield		Oddington	
Cote		Oxford	X
Cowley	X	Standlake	X
Culham		Stanton Harcourt	X
Dorchester		Stanton St. John	X
Elsfield	X	Sutton, near Stanton Harcourt	
Eynsham	X	Weston-on-the-Green	
Fencott	X	Wheatley	
Forest Hill		Wolvercote	X
Fritwell		Woodstock	
Garsington	X	Worton, near Cassington	
		Yarnton	X

(1) An X next to a town or village indicates that several persons attended the market from that town or village.

(2) The names have been collected from the following works:-
Perambulations of the Clerks of the Market 1808-1828...
Bliss Papers. Oxford Market 1828-1848 Ms Top Oxon d 71.
Papers Relating to the Clerks of the Market and their works 1848-1851...

These three works contain lists of persons whose weights and measures were tested at various dates or whose butter was short in weight.

It has not proved possible to determine the exact location of 8 of the places from which persons are reported to have come.

Berkshire

Abingdon		Kennington	
Appleton		Radley	
Botley		South Hinksey	X
Burcot		Sunningwell	
Cumnor	X	Uffington	
Drayton		Wytham	

Buckinghamshire

Boarstall
 Ickford
 Oakley
 Worminghall (3)

Gloucestershire

Brockhampton,
 near Cheltenham

Wiltshire

Highworth	
Purton	X

-
- (3) Black Bourton, Bletchington, Chislehampton, Fencott, Uffington, Boarstall, Ickford, Oakley and Worminghall contained dairies which produced butter to be sold in Oxford market. It would seem that the butter from these villages was sold through the agency of market dealers. An explanation of the process of testing and seizing butter is given by O. Ogle Loc.cit. Pp.5-6. A record was kept of the dairies from which short-weight butter had come because the farmers, not the dealers, were held responsible for the deficiency.

MAP TO SHOW TOWNS AND VILLAGES FROM WHICH ONE OR MORE
PERSONS EITHER CAME TO OXFORD COVERED MARKET TO SELL
MEAT, BUTTER AND GARDEN PRODUCE OR FROM WHICH SUPPLIES
WERE SENT TO DEALERS IN THE MARKET. 1809-1851.

Circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals



Table VI

Table to show the Villages from which Butchers came
to Banbury Market in 1798⁽¹⁾

Oxfordshire

Adderbury		North Newington	
Bloxham	(2)	South Newington	
Cropredy	(2)	Tadmarton	(2)
Great Bourton		Wardington	(2)
Hornton		Wroxton	

Northamptonshire

Byfield		King's Sutton	
Chacombe		Moreton Pinkney	
Chipping Warden		Upper Boddington	
Eydon	(2)		

Warwickshire

Farnborough
Knightcote
Northend
Priors Hardwick
Radway

(2) indicates that 2 butchers came from this village.

(1) From Rusher's Banbury List for 1798. It is not stated whether the butchers attended Banbury market to sell meat or buy livestock or whether they visited the market for both purposes.

MAP TO SHOW VILLAGES FROM WHICH BUTCHERS CAME TO
BANBURY MARKET IN 1798

* INDICATES A VILLAGE
CIRCLES INDICATE DISTANCES FROM
BANBURY AT 5 MILE INTERVALS.



Table VII

Table to Illustrate Places from which Persons visited
Oxford Market for unstated reasons 1746-1799⁽¹⁾

Oxfordshire

Adderbury
Barford St. Michael
Beckley
Horspath
Horton cum Studley
Noke
Osney
Sandford-on-Thames
Standlake
Stanton Harcourt
Wheatley
Wolvercote
Woodstock

Berkshire

Abingdon
Botley
Stanford-in-the-Vale

(1) The occupations of 12 of the persons are known: 5 were higglers, 4 were farmers, 2 millers and 1 a horse breaker. These references are from a wide range of sources, all of which are contained in the bibliography.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE PLACES FROM WHICH PERSONS VISITED

OXFORD MARKET FOR UNSTATED REASONS 1746-1799

Circles indicate distances from Oxford at 5 mile intervals.



Table VIII - Table to Illustrate Distances Travelled by
Persons Visiting Markets and Fairs in Oxfordshire and by
Oxfordshire Persons Visiting Markets and Fairs in Adjacent
Counties ⁽¹⁾

Date	Type of Person	Place of Origin	Market or Fair Visited	Approx. Distance Apart	Purpose of Visit/ Comments
<u>BAMPTON</u>					
Aug. 1761	Rev. James Newton	Nuneham Courtenay	Fair	c 16 miles	
Aug. 1762	Yeoman	Clanfield	Fair	c 2 miles	
Aug. 1800	Yeoman	Shilton, nr. Burford	Fair	c 5 miles	
<u>BANBURY</u>					
1650's	Gentleman	Tidmington, Warks.	Market	c 13 miles	Selling sheep.
1650's	Shepherd	Deddington	Market	c 6 miles	Buying and/or selling sheep.
1650's	Shepherd	Adderbury	Market	c 3 miles	Buying and/or selling sheep.
Feb. 1717		Wroxton	Fair	c 3 miles	Selling militia horses.
Feb. 1718		Wroxton	Fair	c 3 miles	Selling a horse
Apr. 1719		Wroxton	Fair	c 3 miles	Selling a mare.
1739	Farrier	Helmdon, Northants.	Fair	c 10 miles	Helping to shoe a horse.
1739	Farrier	Shipston-on-Stour, Warks.	Fair	c 12 miles	Selling a horse
1739	Gentleman	Shalstone, Bucks.	Fair	c 13 miles	Buying a horse.
1740	Grazier	Farthinghoe, Northants.	Fair	c 6 miles	
c 1742		Wroxton	Fair	c 3 miles	Buying a horse.
Apr. 1751	Coachman to Purefoy Family	Shalstone, Bucks.	Market	c 13 miles	Buying cattle.

(1) These references are taken from a wide range of sources, all of which are included in the bibliography.

Date	Type of Person	Place of Origin	Market or Fair Visited	Approx. Distance Apart	Purpose of Visit/ Comments
1753	Cookmaid to Elizabeth Purefoy	Shalstone, Bucks.	Fair	c 13 miles	
Sept. 1773	Yeoman	Clifton, near Deddington	Market	c 6 miles	
Jan. 1783		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 14 miles	Selling 2 cart geldings.
Jan. 1789	Horse-dealer	Shoreditch, London	Fair	c 80 miles	
Feb. 1793	Farmer	Kirtlington	Fair	c 15 miles	
Jun. 1798	Farmer	Sibford Ferris	Market	c 7 miles	Buying 20 tegs.

BICESTER

Jul. 1630	Gentleman	Garsington	Fair	c 13 miles	Buying a horse.
1650's	Shepherd	Deddington	Market	c 11 miles	Buying and/or selling sheep.
Oct. 1746	Gentlewoman	Shalstone, Bucks.	Statute Fair	c 10 miles	
Oct. 1749	Yeoman	County of Brecon	Market	c 100 miles	Selling 3 lean oxen and 1 lean cow.
Oct. 1763	Farm servant/ Labourer	Rousham	Statute Fair	c 7 miles	To be hired.
Oct. 1763	Possibly Inn-keeper	Oxford	Statute Fair	c 13 miles	Hired the above
Feb. 1767	Butcher	Bletchington	Market	c 6 miles	
Aug.-Sept. 1779; Jan., Apr.-Aug. 1780; Dec. 1780; Aug.-Sept. 1783; Apr., Jul., Sept., Dec. 1784; Oct. 1785; Aug. 1786; Sept. 1787.	Agent of Lord Jersey	Middleton Stoney	Market	c 3 miles	Various purpose including to receive rents.
Oct. 1786	Farmer	Water Eaton	Market	c 8 miles	
May 1787		Buckingham	Market	c 12 miles	
1788	Horse breaker	Beckley	Market	c 8 miles	

Date	Type of Person	Place of Origin	Market Or Fair Visited	Approx. Distance Apart	Purpose of Visit/ Comments
<u>BURFORD</u>					
1650's	Shepherd	Adderbury	Market	c 23 miles	Buying and/or selling sheep.
Sept. 1766		Oxford	Fair	c 21 miles	Buying cheese.
Sept. 1781		Childrey, Berks.	Fair	c 17 miles	
Sept. 1783	Farmer	Saintbury, Gloucs.	Fair	c 21 miles	
<u>CHARLBURY</u>					
Mar. 1735	Rev. Richard Dalby	Steeple Aston	Fair	c 9 miles	Selling a horse for Henry Purefoy.
Feb. 1782		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 2 miles	Selling a cart gelding.
May 1784		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 2 miles	Selling 3 barren cows.
May 1784		Wick Rissington, Gloucs.	Fair	c 12 miles	Buying and/or selling heifers
May 1785		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 2 miles	Selling a heifer, in-calf
Mar. 1786		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 2 miles	Selling a heifer and calf
May 1786		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 2 miles	Selling a cart horse.
Oct. 1790		Churchill	Fair	c 6 miles	
<u>CHIPPING NORTON</u>					
1650's	Shepherd	Deddington	Market	c 10 miles	Buying and/or selling sheep.
Apr. 1719		Wroxton	Fair	c 12 miles	Selling a mare.
1725	Probably pig dealer	Finstock	Market	c 8 miles	Selling cattle.
1726		Stonesfield	Market	c 8 miles	Buying and selling cattle.
1726		Deddington	Market	c 10 miles	Buying and selling cattle.
Apr. 1777	Glover	Banbury	Market	c 13 miles	
Jul. 1782		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 6 miles	Selling a heifer.
Mar. 1785		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 6 miles	Selling a cart gelding.
May 1785	Yeoman	Chadlington	Market	c 3 miles	
Mar. 1786		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 6 miles	Selling a cart horse.

Date	Type of Person	Place of Origin	Market or Fair Visited	Approx. Distance Apart	Purpose of Visit/ Comments
May 1786		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 6 miles	Selling 3 heifers and calves.
<u>HENLEY</u>					
May 1796	Farmer	Twyford	Market	c 4 miles	
<u>HOOK NORTON</u>					
Nov. 1781	2 Men, 1 Woman	Chipping Norton	Fair	c 5 miles	
<u>NEWBRIDGE</u>					
Mar. 1707		Milton, Berks.	Fair	c 8 miles	Selling a horse.
<u>THAME</u>					
1694	Higgler	Long Crendon, Bucks.	Market	c 2 miles	
Dec. 1702	Labourer	Easington	Market	c 6 miles	Accused of selling stolen poultry.
Dec. 1702	Yeoman	Easington	Market	c 6 miles	Accused of selling stolen poultry.
Dec. 1702	Labourer	Little Milton	Market	c 7 miles	Accused of selling stolen poultry.
Dec. 1702	Carrier	Thame	Market	0	
May 1713	Dyer	Oxford	Market	c 13 miles	
1788	Horse breaker	Beckley	Market	c 10 miles	
Old Michaelmas Day 1793		Oakley, Bucks.	Fair	c 6 miles	
<u>WITNEY</u>					
Nov. 1702		Burford	Fair	c 8 miles	
Oct. 1782		Burford	Market	c 8 miles	
Jan. 1788		Ducklington	Market	c 2 miles	
<u>WOODSTOCK</u>					
1650's	Shepherd	Deddington	Market	c 10 miles	Buying and/or selling sheep.
Jul. 1775	Seller of old books	Abingdon	Market	c 14 miles	
Dec. 1775	Wheelwright	Wolvercote	Fair	c 6 miles	

Date	Type of Person	Place of Origin	Market or Fair Visited	Approx. Distance Apart	Purpose of Visit/ Comments
<u>FARINGDON</u>					
Feb. 1759	Farmer	Filkins	Fair	c 7 miles	
<u>READING</u>					
Aug. 1782		Kidlington	Market	c 30 miles	Attending on a regular basis.
<u>WALLINGFORD</u>					
Jan. 1783	Miller	Sandford-on-Thames	Market	c 10 miles	
<u>BUCKINGHAMSHIRE</u>					
<u>WINSLOW</u>					
1650's	Shepherd	Adderbury	Market	c 21 miles	Buying and/or selling sheep.
<u>GLOUCESTERSHIRE</u>					
<u>STOW-ON-THE-WOLD</u>					
Oct. 1784		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 13 miles	Buying 6 stirks.
May 1791		Ramsden	Fair	c 14 miles	
May 1791	Blacksmith	Bladon	Fair	c 19 miles	
<u>WINCHCOMBE</u>					
Jul, 1790	Farmer	Bampton	Fair	c 26 miles	
<u>NORTHAMPTONSHIRE</u>					
<u>BRACKLEY</u>					
1736		Great Bourton	Fair	c 10 miles	
<u>NORTHAMPTON</u>					
Mar. 1717		Wroxton	Fair	c 25 miles	Selling a horse.
<u>WARWICKSHIRE</u>					
<u>BRAILES</u>					
Apr. 1751		Wroxton	Fair (Easter fair for horses, cows and sheep)	c 7 miles	Buying 16 sheep.
<u>RUGBY</u>					
Aug. 1761	Estate Steward	Wroxton	Fair	c 24 miles	Buying 46 sheep and 4 Scotch runts.
Aug. 1766		Northmoor	Fair	c 53 miles	Buying cows, sheep, horses and pigs.

Date	Type of Person	Place of Origin	Market or Fair Visited	Approx. Distance Apart	Purpose of Visit/ Comments
<hr/>					
		<u>SHIPSTON- ON-STOUR</u>			
Jun. 1786		Ditchley Farm	Fair	c 15 miles	Buying a cart horse.
<hr/>					
		<u>STRATFORD- ON-AVON</u>			
1680-1700		Oxford	Fair	c 40 miles	Buying cheese.
Sept. 1724	Tallow chandler and Mayor of Oxford	Oxford	Fair	c 40 miles	
<hr/>					
		<u>WARWICK</u>			
Oct. 1792	Stone Cutter	Hornton Quarry	Fair	c 15 miles	
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		<u>WORCESTERSHIRE</u>			
		<u>EVESHAM</u>			
1650's	Shepherd	Adderbury	Market	c 30 miles	Buying and/or selling sheep.
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Chapter VI

The Regulation of Markets, Marketing and Trade

In this chapter we shall discuss the problems connected with the survival and interpretation of evidence on the regulation of marketing and the prosecution of marketing offences and assess whether it is possible to draw any broad conclusions on the control of marketing in Oxfordshire.

Tables I-XIII detail the evidence which has been found on the regulation of marketing in Oxfordshire.⁽¹⁾ It is certain, however, that they provide only an incomplete record of the enforcement of marketing laws in the County.⁽²⁾

Thus, the records of certain courts, at which market offences may have been heard, are known to be missing. For example, the Chipping Norton Manor, Borough and Sessions Court Book for the period 1720-1771 has been mislaid, a loss

(1) The evidence contained on these tables is drawn from a wide range of sources, all of which are included in the bibliography.

(2) Certain regulations have, in fact, been excluded from the lists. Thus, no attempt has been made to tabulate data on the licensing of hawkers, horse-dealers or alehouse-keepers and details of offences committed by alehouse-keepers, except those relating to the use of weights and measures have been omitted. Moreover, orders on the suppression of markets and fairs and the prevention of the movement and marketing of cattle during epidemics of smallpox and rinderpest have not been included. For examples of orders relating to the closure of markets and fairs during the outbreaks of cattle plague in the mid eighteenth century see:-

M. Dickins History of Hook Norton 912-1928 (1928) P.191.
Miscellaneous Papers. Sixteenth-Eighteenth Century. Mss North b.24 P.143.

which would render any attempt to compare trends in the prosecution of market offences in different boroughs a difficult problem.

Again, there is little doubt that evidence on the punishment of offenders by the County justices has been lost. Thus, throughout the eighteenth century it was usual for petty sessions to be held, at which minor misdemeanours could be punished. Moreover, when new regulations, for example on the assize of bread or the use of false weights and measures, were issued, it was not uncommon for special petty sessions to be instituted solely to check upon whether their terms were being observed.⁽³⁾ In addition, summary jurisdiction, that is the hearing of cases and the instant punishment of offenders by single magistrates increased in importance as the century progressed.⁽⁴⁾ Occasionally petty sessional

(3) For example, in 1796, when the County Quarter Sessions recommended the use of mixed bread, the magistrates for the Hundreds of Bullingdon, Dorchester and Thame declared that they would hold a petty sessions each week to check whether the regulation was being obeyed and to receive information on offenders.
J.O.J. Jan. 23 1796 No.2230.

(4) The way in which successive statutes empowered magistrates to deal in a summary manner, with a whole range of offences, including the using of false weights and measures, is discussed in the following works:-
I.E. Gray and A.T. Gaydon Gloucestershire Quarter Sessions Archives 1660-1889 and other Official Records (1958) P.55.
J.M. Beattie Loc.cit. Pp.78-80.
J.M. Beattie, "Towards a Study of Crime in 18th Century England: A Note on Indictments," in Eds. P. Fritz and D. Williams The Triumph of Culture: 18th Century Perspectives (1972) P.313.
During the crisis of 1800 influential Oxford citizens suggested that a petition should be sent to the government requesting the passing of a law enabling all market offences including forestalling, regrating and engrossing to be punished summarily, and the County magistrates also called for summary jurisdiction to be extended so that Justices could deal instantly with frauds committed by mealmen and bakers.
J.O.J. Sept. 27 1800 No.2474.
J.O.J. Nov. 15 1800 No.2481.

proceedings were reported in the newspapers or conviction certificates were lodged among the records of the County Quarter Sessions. Thus, in 1774 the conviction for assize of bread offences of 2 bakers in Wootton Hundred was reported in J.O.J. ⁽⁵⁾, and a number of conviction certificates for assize of bread offences can be found in the Quarter Sessions Bundles for 1757 and 1758. However, these survivals are probably exceptional - one may note that no certificates of conviction have survived for 1774 and that the cases heard in 1757 and 1758 were not reported in the newspapers. ⁽⁶⁾ Two basic problems arise because of this. Firstly, it is possible that a distorted picture of trends in the prosecution of certain market offences may emerge as a result of the transference of the offences from the jurisdiction of a higher court, the records of which have survived, to a lower court, the records of which have not. ⁽⁷⁾ Secondly, the fact that the

(5) J.O.J. May 7 1774 No.1097.

(6) A. Ballard, when discussing whether assize of bread regulations were ever enforced in Wootton Hundred makes the point that as space in the newspapers was valuable it was unusual for proceedings at petty sessions to be reported and that one cannot therefore know whether prosecutions for assize of bread offences were taking place.
A. Ballard, "The Assize of Bread in Oxfordshire in the Nineteenth Century," in Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Reports for the year 1906 (1907) P.24.

(7) J.M. Beattie makes the general point that changes in jurisdiction among the various courts and levels of administration might be responsible for the rises and falls in the crime figures.
J.M. Beattie, "Towards a Study of Crime in 18th Century England"... in Eds. P. Fritz and D. Williams Op.cit. P.313.

data which has survived on prosecutions in the hundreds is very incomplete means that it would not be easy to make a comparison between the attitudes of urban and rural magistrates to offences committed by food sellers.

Prosecution in a court of law was, of course, only one method by which those committing marketing offences, or pursuing unreasonable trading practices might be disciplined. Thus, the tables show clearly that those selling short weight foodstuffs might be punished by having their produce seized and distributed to the poor. Again, those breaking the regulations which governed Oxford market might be at least threatened with evictions and tenant farmers who refused to moderate grain price demands in periods of dearth threatened with corn rents.

It is certain that much of the evidence on these alternative methods of punishment and control has been lost. Thus, one can find small pieces of evidence which seem to suggest that the regular punishment of illegal practices, on the control of which no detailed records have survived, must have been taking place. For example, in 1765 the governor of Banbury Workhouse was dismissed for supplying the inmates with unwholesome food and it has been suggested that he may have obtained the food by exploiting his other post, Clerk of the Market.⁽⁸⁾ This would seem to suggest that in Banbury it was usual for checks to be made on the quality of foodstuffs and the offence of selling unwholesome food to be punished, if not by prosecution, at least by the seizure of the goods.

(8) R.K. Gilkes Loc.cit. P.89.

However, no evidence on these seizures has survived. Again, records exist which show that in the early nineteenth century the Clerks of the Market in Oxford regularly seized defective weights and measures, short weight butter and rotten food.⁽⁹⁾ This would perhaps suggest that the practice had prevailed in the eighteenth century also. However, between 1732⁽¹⁰⁾ and 1800 the only evidence which has been found on this is an occasional newspaper report on the seizure of short weight butter. Finally, in 1835, when the Clerk of the Market in Oxford was requested for information on whether assize of bread offences were punished in the City, he replied,

"The Examination of the weight of bread takes place more or less frequently according to information given to the Clerks of the market, or their own suspicions of particular Bakers, and since the 1st of June 1833 two seizures, both of a small quantity only, of bread have occurred, as, in both cases, there was every reason to suppose that the deficiency arose more from the carelessness of the servants, than any intentional dishonesty on the part of the master baker, the Clerks of the market contented themselves with seizing, according to ancient custom and distributing it to the poor, not thinking themselves justified in convicting the parties before the Vice Chancellor."⁽¹¹⁾

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- (9) Perambulations of the Clerks of the Market 1808-1828... Papers Relating to the Clerks of the Market and their Work 1848-1851.
- (10) Evidence on the examination of weights and measures in Oxford has survived for 1701, 1722 and 1732, perhaps suggesting that in the early eighteenth century, full checks were made every 10 years.
...Miscellaneous Market Regulations...
- (11) Bliss Papers - University Market Book 1828-1836 Ms Top Oxon d 70 P.225.

The use of the term "custom" suggests that the punishment of assize of bread offences in Oxford took place on a regular basis throughout the eighteenth century. However, apart from occasional reports in the newspaper we have found no evidence on the seizure of short weight bread or the hearing of cases by the Vice Chancellor. (12)

Two basic conclusions arise from this. Firstly, it would seem that the evidence which has been found on the punishment of those offending against marketing regulations may, in fact, represent the tip of a very large iceberg. Secondly, it is possible that the policy of seizing short weight or unwholesome produce and the existence of other punishments which might be inflicted on those engaged in the production and sale of food may have had the effect of deterring them from engaging in illegal or antisocial trading and marketing practices. Thus, the absence of marketing cases may sometimes indicate not dereliction of duty on the part of the authorities but that their constant surveillance helped to ensure that the law was actually being obeyed. (13)

(12) Offences connected with the sale of short weight bread are often reported to have been heard before the Vice-Chancellor and have therefore been included on the Tables as heard in the (Vice-) Chancellor's Court. However, a check made through both the Register and Papers of the Chancellor's Court, over which the Vice-Chancellor or his deputy presided, for the year 1764, when an offence by a baker was certainly punished has revealed no evidence on his case. This may suggest that these offences were, in fact, punished in a summary manner by the Vice-Chancellor.
 O.U.A. Chancellor's Court Papers Bundle 106 1764-1765.
 O.U.A. Chancellor's Court Register 1763-1780 HYP/A/61.

(13) Thus, we may note that it was not uncommon when checks were made to discover whether a particular offence were being committed, for it to be found that no one was actually breaking the law. For example, on October 2 1811, when the butter was tested in Oxford it was found that all of it was of correct weight.
Perambulations of the Clerks of the Market 1808-1828... P.4.

been partly one in reporting rather than in prosecution, the newspapers perhaps choosing to publicize prosecutions at such times in order to avert disturbances by demonstrating to the public that the authorities were taking seriously the complaints of the poor about the illegal activities of market traders.

Turning to the tables, which detail the issue of licences and law enforcement decisions one is again faced with the problem that evidence is almost certainly missing and here the difficulties which arise over interpretation are more serious.

Thus, the occasional announcement of an order that a particular assize law was to be obeyed, coupled with the spasmodic reporting of convictions, would seem to suggest that the assize of bread may have been set on a regular basis throughout the eighteenth century, in Henley and Banbury, and even in rural areas. However, other interpretations of the evidence are certainly possible. Thus, for Banbury no data has been found for the period before 1758 and as that year witnessed the passing of 31 Geo. II c 29 An Act for the due making of bread; and to regulate the price and assize thereof... it is possible that the new legislation may have stirred the authorities into recommencing to enforce a regulation over which they had perhaps become lax.⁽¹⁵⁾ Again, it is noticeable that the evidence on the setting of the assize in hundreds dates either from periods of high prices or from the months

(15) The existence of an annotated copy of this Act among the records of Banbury Corporation may perhaps lend support to this view.

immediately following the passage of new legislation and this, taken in conjunction with the fact that the Chairman of Quarter Sessions declared in 1800 that,

"the present Laws for regulating the
Assize of Bread in Counties (are)
very inadequate," (16)

may indicate that the County authorities needed a particular spur before they would attempt the difficult task of setting an assize for rural areas.

An examination of Table VII, detailing the evidence on the licensing of higgler, drovers and badgers reveals even more clearly the problems of interpretation which can arise when data has apparently failed to survive.

By the statutes 5 and 6 Ed. VI c 14 and 5 Eliz. c 12 licences to be laders, kidders and carriers of corn and grain; higgler of butter, cheese, eggs, poultry and dead victuals and drovers of cattle were to be granted only at the County Quarter Sessions and to persons who satisfied certain conditions; being married householders, above the age of 30 and resident in the same county for more than 3 years. The basic right accorded to the holder of the licence was that of being able to buy to resell, that is to engage in middleman activities. Unrestrained buying and selling was not, however, permitted to the licence-holder who was, for example, rarely allowed to forestall. Persons who acted as dealers without being

(16) H.O. 42:49 Willoughby to Marlborough 21 Jan. 1800.
Inclosure in Marlborough to Portland 26 Jan. 1800.

licensed laid themselves open to prosecution.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1663, by 15 Ch. II c 7, the licensing laws were relaxed over corn, all persons being permitted to buy wheat to store and resell when the price was below 48/- per quarter.⁽¹⁸⁾ It would seem likely that in the eighteenth century there may have been a general decline in the enforcement of the Tudor statutes, the central government finding it necessary in periods of dearth to issue orders calling for them to be obeyed.⁽¹⁹⁾ The licensing laws were finally repealed in 1772 by 12 Geo. III c 71.⁽²⁰⁾

An analysis of the evidence detailed on Table VII would seem to suggest that the Oxfordshire County authorities continued to issue licences throughout the eighteenth century, ceasing only on the repeal of the statutes. It would also suggest, however, that more care was taken to ensure that the terms of the licensing laws were being observed in periods of dearth and especially in the wake of a central government

(17) For a detailed explanation of these Acts see R. Burn Op.cit. Vol.I Pp.134-140.

(18) R. Burn Op.cit. Vol.II Pp.198-199.
In addition this Act established that the engrossing of barley might take place when it was costing less than 28/- per quarter; of pease, beans and rye when they cost less than 32/- and of oats when the price was below 13/4. Fore-stalling and regrating continued to be offences.

(19) Such orders were issued in 1709, 1740, 1756 and 1766.
E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. P.88.

(20) C.R. Fay Op.cit. P.54.

proclamation that the laws were to be put in execution. Thus, there was a considerable upsurge in the licensing of higgleres at the Michaelmas sessions 1766, following the issue of a proclamation by George III on September 10 that 5 and 6 Ed. VI and 5 Eliz. were to be enforced. (21)

Even so, for the period prior to 1761 very little evidence is available (22) and it is therefore difficult to be certain that the pattern observed in the sixties did prevail in the first half of the century. Certainly much of the evidence suggests that it did. Thus, the regular licensing of higgleres is suggested by the fact that the licences which have survived are on standard printed forms and also by the occurrence of prosecutions in years not noted for high prices and food shortages. The correlation between dearth and an upsurge in licensing is also suggested by the increase in the data which is available on the licensing of both badgers and higgleres for the years 1694-95 and 1757. (23)

(21) G.M. Vol.XXXVI 1766 Pp.410-411.

The proclamation, in fact, mentioned the licensing of corn dealers only but it is likely that it was interpreted as a call for obedience to the parts of the Acts relating to other middlemen also.

(22) The persons who received licences in the 1760's are listed in Sessions Records. Easter 1761 - Michaelmas 1781... Books of this type do not appear to have been kept prior to 1761.

(23) An upsurge in the issue of licences was also observable in Gloucestershire in 1757. Details on the issue of licences in that county have survived for the period 1757-1764.

I.E. Gray and A.T. Gaydon Op.cit. P.26.

However, other interpretations of the evidence are possible. Firstly, it is conceivable that the very considerable licensing activity which took place in the 1690's may represent not an upsurge in licensing but the reintroduction of the enforcement of 5 and 6 Ed. VI and 5 Eliz. after they had actually ceased to be enforced. Such an interpretation is certainly possible, given that the law of 1663 would obviously have led to a decrease in the licensing of corn badgers and that 1693 was the first time for almost 20 years that prices had risen significantly above 48/- and that corn dealers would have needed licences, and that the virtual cessation in the licensing of 1 type of middleman may have led both authorities and dealers to have become less concerned over unlicensed trading in other commodities.⁽²⁴⁾ Secondly, although the evidence from 1694-95, 1757 and 1766 might suggest that all dearth years witnessed an attempt to put the licensing laws in execution, no evidence has survived to show whether there was any renewed interest in the licensing of dealers in either 1709 or 1740 so that it cannot be proved that the dearth pattern always prevailed. Thirdly, while the regular licensing of dealers which certainly took place in the sixties might imply that justices had been issuing licences throughout the century it is also possible that the enforcement of the licensing statutes in the sixties was not the continuation of a tradition but a response to the dearth of 1757. Thus, the high prices and condemnation of unlicensed

(24) Certainly many of those applying for licences in 1694-95 may well have been trading previously without licence; it being mentioned in a number of applications that the person had been carrying on the occupation, for which he wished to be licensed, prior to the application.

corn dealing which occurred in 1757 may have brought about an awareness among those engaged in trading in corn that sudden price rises might render their activities illegal and this may have led badgers to have become more careful to cover themselves against the risk of prosecution. Such an interpretation is suggested partly by the fact that one can find in the sixties a small number of persons applying for licences to be badgers in years in which they could have traded legitimately without them. Moreover, the anti-middleman feeling prevalent in the crisis of 1757 and the increased fear of prosecution for unlicensed trading which this must have aroused may have led higgler also to have taken more care to ensure that they were operating within the law. (25)

Finally, 2 general problems connected with evidence on market regulation should be mentioned. Firstly, in the mid eighteenth century J.O.J. commenced publication and many of the law enforcement decisions, included on the tables, have been extracted from this source. It is possible therefore that the apparent absence of decisions to enforce market regulations in the earlier eighteenth century may reflect not an actual lack of interest by the authorities in the regulation of marketing but a failure of data on the decisions to enforce the law to survive, this particular medium for the dissemination of information not being available.

(25) A letter written in Gloucestershire suggests very clearly that dealers in provisions did become very worried during the Crisis of 1757 that their activities might lay them open to prosecution.
I.E. Gray and A.T. Gaydon Op.cit. P.83.

Secondly, it would appear that in Oxford a greater range of regulations was issued and the standard regulations were enforced with greater regularity than elsewhere. While this probably does indicate that in Oxford marketing and trading practices were more carefully supervised than in other parts of the County, it is also possible that as Oxford market was supervised by educated officials and documents on marketing were preserved in the University Archives we may simply have more information on decisions which were, in fact, typical of those taken in other towns.

Given the problems outlined above it is clear that further research, particularly on other areas, is required before detailed conclusions can be drawn on the trends in the enforcement of particular regulations and even on the overall pattern in the regulation of marketing and internal trade. However, even if conclusions must be preliminary, the evidence on Oxfordshire does point to the existence of a broad pattern in the enforcement of marketing laws.

The tables have been designed to illustrate the chronological pattern in the enforcement of the various types of law and regulation which related to marketing and internal trade during the period c 1680-1800. An examination of the dates of enforcement decisions and prosecutions in relation to the movement of corn prices enables the principal conclusion to emerge, that is, that while concern with regulations designed to ensure minimum standards of honesty from traders, and hygiene and good order in the market place, appears to have been shown throughout the century and was unrelated to price levels and, while, in the major urban centres at least, the price of bread continued to be set in relation to the cost of

wheat on a very regular basis⁽²⁶⁾, except in Oxford, the enforcement and attempted enforcement of other types of regulation were very largely⁽²⁷⁾ dearth-related. Thus, attempts to enforce the statute, 5 and 6 Ed. VI c 14, and to prevent forestalling, engrossing and regrating⁽²⁸⁾, which remained common law offences after the statute had been repealed and measures on the protection of the local consumer and the restoration of the "just" price; of the type detailed in the Book of Orders⁽²⁹⁾ were very much a response to dearth.

However, while the attempted enforcement of such regulations was very much a product of high prices and food shortages, certain dearth years, in particular 1740-41 appear to have witnessed no serious attempt by the authorities to return to the enforcement of traditional pro-consumer measures.

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- (26) The only other measure which was designed to relate the price of a processed food to the cost of the raw material from which it was made was the assize of ale. This appears to have been set in Oxford alone and there not beyond 1701. It is not clear whether there is any particular pattern in the enforcement of this regulation.
- (27) It is possible that the prosecutions and enforcement decisions which occurred in 1764 and 1765 were less dearth-related than a product of the very considerable mid century debate on the role of the middleman. This debate is mentioned by, for example, W.J. Shelton Op.cit. Pp.51-52.
- (28) C.R. Fay suggests that these words stood almost as a single general phrase for unpopular manipulation, in time or place of the people's food. C.R. Fay Op.cit. P.54. For an account of the precise types of activity which were covered by these terms see R. Burn Op.cit. Vol.II Pp.194-200.
- (29) According to N.S.B. Gras, the Book of Orders consolidated in one document, "the regulations embodying the Tudor policy of restraint." Gras provides a summary of the "Book", N.S.B. Gras Op.cit. Pp.237-240.

It is clear therefore that it was not dearth alone which spurred the authorities into regulating markets and internal trade. For a full explanation it is, in fact, necessary to return to a theme which has recurred throughout this thesis, that of the role of the wider community in influencing marketing policies. Conclusions must therefore await an examination of the attitude of the consumer to dearth and to the way in which marketing and trade should operate during periods of high prices, an attitude revealed almost solely in the food riot.

Table I Table to show the Prosecution and Punishment of Offences concerning Weights & Measures
c 1679-1801

Date of Offence or Pros- ecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Apr 1702	1 Woman 3 Men	Probably Henley	Henley	Possess- ing short- measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3d for each mug
Apr 1702	The Bailliffs	Henley	Henley	Possess- ing unequal and false town scales.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4
Apr 1702	1 person	Probably Henley	Henley	Possess- ing a defective weight.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 1/2
Oct 1703	10 Men 3 Women	Probably Henley	Henley	Possess- ing several unsealed & short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		All fined. Fines ranged between 3/4 and £1/3/4.
Oct 1703	1 Cheeseman 13 Men 3 Women	Probably Henley	Henley	Possess- ing and using defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		Each fined 3/4.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1703	2 persons	Probably Henley	Henley	Each possessing a false measure.		Henley Court Leet		Both fined 3/4
Oct 1705	1 person	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing false measures.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4
Apr 1706	1 person	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4
Apr 1706	2 persons	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing false measures.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 1/6 each
Oct 1707	7 Men 2 Women	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing and using short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 1/- and 4/-.
Oct 1707	1 Man 1 Woman	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 2/- each.
Oct 1707	2 persons	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing and using short-measure mugs and pots.		Henley Court Leet		1 fined 14/6. The other 6/-.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1707	2 persons	Probably Henley	Henley	Losing 1 pot, Winchester measure, being a standard belonging to the Manor of Henley.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 1/-.
May 1709	3 victuallers	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		1 fined 3/4; 1 10/-; 1 £1.
Oct 1710	8 victuallers 2 widows	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 1/- and 4/-.
Oct 1711	8 victuallers 1 Shop-keeper 1 Man 1 Widow	Henley	Henley	Possessing short-measure mugs and pots.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 3/4 and 13/4.
Oct 1711	4 mealmen 8 butchers 7 shop-keepers 5 bakers 1 cheesemonger, 1 Man, 2 Women	Henley	Henley	Possessing and using defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 3/4 and 10/-.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1711	2 butchers	Henley	Henley	Possessing false scales.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4 each.
Apr 1712	1 Brandy seller, 1 inn-holder, 4 shop-keepers, 4 victuallers, 1 man 1 woman	Henley	Henley	Possessing short-measure mugs and pots.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 6d and 6/-.
Oct 1712	3 shop-keepers 1 baker 1 butcher 2 persons	Henley	Henley	Possessing and using defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 1/8 and 3/4.
Oct 1712	1 person	Henley	Henley	Possessing and using defective weights & scales with a false balance.		Henley Court Leet		Fined £1/8/4.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1712	1 inn-keeper 8 victuallers 2 brandy sellers 1 distiller 1 person	Henley	Henley	Possessing and using short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 1/8 and 15/-.
Oct 1712	1 mealman	Henley	Henley	Possessing and using a pair of scales with a false beam.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 6/8
Oct 1713	2 inn-keepers 6 persons	Henley	Henley	Possessing and using short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 1/8 and 5/-.
Oct 1713	1 person	Hambleton	Probably Henley	Possessing a defective weight.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4
Apr 1716	5 persons 1 baker 2 gardeners	Probably 7 Henley 1 High Wycombe	Probably Henley	Possessing defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 1/8 and 3/4.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Apr 1716	6 publicans or inn-keepers	Henley	Henley	Possessing short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		Fines ranged between 1/8 and 3/4.
May 1720	3 victuallers	Henley	Henley	Possessing and using short-measure ale and beer mugs and wine pots.		Henley Court Leet		1 fined 3/4; 1 13/4; 1 £1.
Oct 1720	1 butcher 2 persons	Henley	Henley	Using defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		1 fined 1/4; 2 3/4.
Oct 1720	2 persons	Henley	Henley	Using false measures.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4 each.
Oct 1720	Town Bailiffs	Henley	Henley	Failing to acquire and keep true weights for the town scales but permitting false ones to be used.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 6/8

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1721	3 persons 1 widow 1 woman	Probably 4 Henley 1 Ewelme	Henley	Possessing defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		3 fined 3/4; 2 fined 6/8.
Oct 1721	1 butcher	Henley	Henley	Possessing false scales.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4
Oct 1721	Town Bailiffs	Henley	Henley	Failing to keep the common weights and scales in good order.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4
Trinity & Michaelmas 1727 and Epiphany 1728	6 persons	Watlington	Watlington	Selling small wares by false weights.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted True bill. 5 pleaded guilty. 1 fined 1/-; 4 fined 2/- each.
Trinity & Michaelmas 1727 and Epiphany 1728	1 alehouse-keeper	Watlington	Watlington	Selling ale and beer by false measures.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted True bill. Pleaded guilty. Fined 2/-.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
May 1734	5 men 2 women	Henley	Henley	Selling ale out of mugs that were not measure according to law.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 2/6 each.
May 1734	1 butcher 1 woman	Henley	Henley	Using defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 2/6 each.
May 1765	6 persons	Probably Henley	Henley	Possessing and using defective weights.		Henley Court Leet		3 fined 2/6 each; 3 fined 1/- each. The weights were seized; melted down and sold; the money being used to buy bread for the poor.
May 1767	1 person	Rye Farm, Oxfordshire	Abingdon	Selling milk using short-measure jug.		Abingdon Borough Court	1 person	
Oct 1768	Several persons	Henley	Henley	Using false weights and measures.		Henley Court Leet		

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Nov 1769	6 persons 3 probably innkeepers	Henley	Henley	Probably using short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		Probably fined.
Nov 1772	1 actual ualler	Henley	Henley	Possessing 4 short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 4/-
Jan 1783	2 labourers	Oxford	Oxford	Probably assisting 1 woman to sell ale in short-measure vessels.		Oxford City Quarter Sessions		
1785	1 person	Chipping Norton	Chipping Norton	Possessing defective weights.		Chipping Norton Court Baron and View of Frankpledge.		Offence named in the Jury Presentments.
Nov 1786	Alehouse-keepers	Adderbury	Adderbury	Selling ale in non-standard and unmarked vessels.		The offence was probably heard before 1 Justice of the Peace.	Workmen employed on the canal.	Fined 10/- each. (More cases were pending in other parts of the County.)

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1787 and Oct 25 1788						Henley Court Leet		Large numbers of defective weights and measures were destroyed.
Jan 1791	1 publican	Tiddington	Tiddington	Selling beer in a short-measure mug.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace.		Convicted. Fined 20/-.
Oct 1793				Possessing short-measure mugs.		Henley Court Leet		
Feb 1796	10 persons	Probably Witney	Witney	Possessing false weights.		The offences were heard before local Justices of the Peace.	Clerks of the Market.	Convicted and fined.
Mar 1796	1 shop-keeper and publican	Witney	Witney	Using defective weights and obstructing the officers.		The offence was heard before local Justices of the Peace.		Fined 10/- for each offence.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
May 13 1796	1 dealer in charcoal	Near Watlington	Oxford	Bringing charcoal to Oxford in sacks which were almost $\frac{1}{2}$ the correct size.				Clerk of the Market seized all the charcoal valued at £3.
Oct 31 1796	Several persons	Henley	Henley	Possessing defective weights & measures.		Henley Court Leet		Acquitted of having done anything intentionally to defraud the public.
Oct 1797	9 persons	Woodstock	Woodstock	Possessing defective weights.		Woodstock View of Frankpledge		5 fined 5/- for 1 defective weight each; 4 fined 6/8 for several defective weights each.
Oct 1797	5 persons	Woodstock	Woodstock	Possessing short-measure cups.		Woodstock View of Frankpledge		3 fined 5/- each; 2 discharged. All fines were used to supply the poor with bread.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Jan 1798	1 person	Woodstock	Woodstock	Selling ale, short of measure.		Woodstock Portsmouth Court		Fined 10/-
Nov 9 1798	3 inn-keepers or ale-house-keepers	Henley	Henley	Possessing defective measures.		Henley Court Leet		1 fined 1/-; 1 fined 4d; 1 fined 5/- for not appearing in Court and 1/- for the measures. The measures were destroyed.
Oct 1799	2 persons	Woodstock	Woodstock	Possessing cups not marked according to statute.		Woodstock View of Frankpledge		Fined 10/- each.
Nov 11 1799	3 inn-keepers or ale-house-keepers	Henley	Henley	Possessing defective measures.		Henley Court Leet		1 fined 2/6; 1 fined 1/6 and 1 fined 1/3. The measures were destroyed.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Dec 4 1799	1 baker	Probably Marsh or Toot Baldon		Possessing defective weights.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace.		Fined.
Oct 23 1800	10 shopkeepers selling by retail	Hundreds of Binfield & Langtree		Possessing defective weights & unequal balances.		Petty Sessions at Henley	Probably County Authorities	Fined total of £5.
Dec 13 1800	1 shopkeeper selling by retail	Hundreds of Binfield & Langtree		Possessing defective weights.		Petty Sessions at Stoke Row	Probably County Authorities	Fined 5/1
Dec 18 1800	39 shopkeepers selling by retail	Hundreds of Binfield & Langtree		Possessing defective weights & unequal balances.		Petty Sessions at Henley	Probably County Authorities	Fined total of £18/15/0.
1801	25 persons	Wootton Hundred		Possessing defective weights.		Petty Sessions		Convicted.
1801	18 persons (probably shopkeepers) 2 millers, 1 baker	Wootton Hundred		Possessing defective weights.		Petty Sessions		Convicted. Their names were published in <u>J.O.J.</u>

Table II Table to Show the Prosecution and Punishment of the Offence of Selling Short Weight Butter
c 1679-1801

Date of Offence or Pros- ecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1707	1 person	Tetsworth	Probably Henley	Offering to sell 1 lb of butter which was short weight.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4
May 1709	1 dairy woman	Tetsworth	Probably Henley	"Uttering, selling and exposing to sale", several parcels of short weight butter.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 6/8
Mar 1783			Oxford	Selling short weight butter.				The butter was seized by the Clerks of the Market and dis- tributed among the poor.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
May 16 1795	1 person		Oxford	Selling 102 lbs of short-weight butter.				The butter was seized by the Clerks of the Market and distributed among the poor.
Jun 10 1795			Oxford	Selling 27 lbs of short-weight butter.				The butter was seized by the Clerks of the Market and distributed among the poor.
Jul 11 1795			Oxford	Selling c 60 lbs of short-weight butter.				The butter was seized.
Oct 31 1795			Oxford	Selling 26 lbs of short-weight butter.				The butter was seized and distributed among the poor.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Apr 30 1796			Oxford	Selling a large quantity of short-weight butter.				The butter was seized by the Clerks of the Market and distributed among the poor.
Oct 15 1796			Oxford	Selling 22 lbs of short-weight butter.				Seized.
Jun 10 1797			Oxford	Selling 40 lbs of short-weight butter.				Seized by the Clerks of the Market.
Aug 18 1798			Oxford	Selling 36 lbs of short-weight butter.				Seized by the Clerks of the Market.
Aug. 25 1798			Oxford	Selling 60 lbs of short-weight butter.				Seized by the Clerks of the Market.
Jun 13 & 17 1801			Oxford	Selling 50 lbs of short-weight butter.				The butter was seized by the Clerks of the
/Market and distributed among the poor.								

Table III Table to Display Data on the Enforcement of the Use of Correct Weights and Measures
c 1670-1800

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to Enforce Regulation	Nature of Order
Jan 1670	Vice-Chancellor	Order that all persons using weights and measures, especially grocers, brewers, bakers, innholders, alehouse-keepers, farmers, maltsters, millers, chandlers and butchers should bring their weights and measures to the Vice-Chancellor or the Clerks of the Market who would test that they conformed with the public standard.
Apr 1701	2 Clerks of the Market in Oxford	Testing all the weights and measures used by those selling provisions and drinks in Oxford.
Jul 7 1701	Vice-Chancellor	Order that no person was to sell wine, beer or ale in short-measure or unstamped pots or vessels.
Oct 1705	Witney Borough Court	Order that the Clerks of the Market ensure that proper measures were being employed.
Aug 1722	2 Clerks of the Market in Oxford	Testing all the weights and measures used by those selling provisions and drinks in Oxford.
Oct-Nov 1732	2 Clerks of the Market in Oxford	Testing all the weights and measures used by those selling provisions and drinks in Oxford.
Mar 24 1770	Vice-Chancellor	Order that dealers in coals, being thought to use a bushel, narrower and smaller than that required by Parliament should bring their measures to be tested by the Clerks of the Market. Those selling coals by short-measure were to forfeit the coals.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to Enforce Regulation	Nature of Order
Oct 24 1786	Henley Court Leet and View of Frankpledge	Announcement that it was the custom of the Manor for the Leet Jury to go to the inhabitants of Henley selling by weights and measures and examine their weights and measures with the standard ones. Repeated 27 Oct 1787.
Apr 10 1788	Oxford Market Committee	Order that butchers and fishermen selling by weight in the market should weigh with scales instead of by stilliards.
Oct 27 1789	Henley Court Leet and View of Frankpledge	Order that the Leet Jury go round and examine all weights and measures within the Manor twice before the next Court. This order or an order to examine the weights and measures once was repeated each year until 1826 when a searcher of weights and measures was appointed to do the work hitherto done by the Court Leet Jury.
Jan 10 1793	Farmers and dealers in corn frequenting Henley market	Announcement that in cases of short-measure they would adopt the rules prevailing in London, that is that for every deficiency of less than a pint in a sack the offender would be subject to an abatement of the value of 1 quart on every quarter and for every deficiency of more than 1 pint then 2 quarts on every quarter.
Jul 20 1795	Clerk of the Peace	Order that petty constables in Oxfordshire make out lists of all persons selling by weight and deliver the lists to the magistrates at special Petty Sessions to be held once per month. This was the first step towards the enforcement of an Act of Parliament which required the County Quarter Sessions to appoint someone to make a monthly examination of the weights and balances used by retailers and seize and destroy those which were false or non-standard. On August 20 Joshua Harris was appointed to examine weights and balances. Harris was still employed in this capacity at least as late as Epiphany 1797 when a record occurs of the expenses he had incurred when examining weights and measures.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to Enforce Regulation	Nature of Order
Sept 22 1800	Mayor and Magistrates of Woodstock	Warning that all those frequenting the market should use legal weights and measures or they would risk prosecution.
Oct 9 1800	Bailiffs of the Borough of Witney	Warning that all those frequenting the market should use legal weights and measures, because the authorities were compelled to enforce the law against offenders.

Table IV Table to Show the Prosecution and Punishment of Offences connected with the Sale of Bread
c 1679-1801

Date of Offence or Pros- ecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1702	2 men 1 woman	Probably Henley	Probably Henley	(selling) several parcels of short- weight bread.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 6/8 each.
Oct 1702	1 person	Probably Henley	Probably Henley	(selling) 1 loaf of bread, short weight.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4.
Oct 1703	1 man and 1 woman	Probably Henley	Several places	(selling) several parcels of short-weight bread on several occasions.		Henley Court Leet		Fined £1/3/4.
Oct 1703	1 person	Probably Henley	Probably Henley	(selling) 1 parcel of short-weight bread.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
May 1709	2 bakers	Probably Henley	Probably Henley	Making & selling small white loaves not of full weight.		Henley Court Leet		1 fined 3/4; 1 fined 6/8.
Dec 9 1757 & Epiphany 1758	1 person		Ploughley Hundred	Selling a loaf of bread 4 oz. short of the weight required under the Assize of Bread.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace for the Hundred. The Certificate of Conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.	Convicted on his own confession and the oath of a woman (wife of a Bicester corn rioter).	Fined 20/-.
Dec 9 1757 & Epiphany 1758	1 person		Ploughley Hundred	Selling a loaf of bread mixed with grain not permitted under the Assize of Bread.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace for the Hundred. The certificate of	Convicted on his own confession and the oaths of 4 persons, 2 of whom were probably Bicester bakers.	Fined 20/-.
/conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter						Sessions.		

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Dec 9 & 10 1757 and Epiphany 1758	2 persons		Ploughley Hundred	Selling loaves which were not marked with the type of bread which they contained, as required under the Assize of Bread.		The offences were heard before 1 Justice of the Peace for the Hundred. The certificate of conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.	Both convicted on their own confessions and on the oaths of the women to whom they had sold the bread.	Both fined 20/-.
Dec 16 1757 and Epiphany 1758	1 person		Ploughley Hundred	Selling a loaf of bread 2 oz. short of the weight required under the Assize of Bread.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace for the Hundred. The certificate of conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.	Convicted on his own confession and on the oath of the man to whom he sold the bread.	Fined 10/-.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Dec 29 1757 and Epiphany 1758	1 person	Sandford St. Martin		Selling a 6d loaf of household bread, 7 oz. short of the weight required under the Assize of Bread.		The offence was heard before 2 Justices of the Peace for Wootton Hundred. The certificate of conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.		Fined 25/-.
Dec 29 1757 and Epiphany 1758	1 person	Probably Sandford St. Martin		Selling a 6d loaf of household bread, 9 oz. short of the weight required under the Assize of Bread; and a 12d loaf 15 oz. short.		The offence was heard before 2 Justices of the Peace for Wootton Hundred. The certificate of conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.		Fined £6.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Jan 4 1758 and Epiphany 1758	1 shop-keeper	Great Tew		Selling a 12d loaf marked W.H. "being defficient in sort for which it was mark'd."		The offence was heard before 2 Justices of the Peace for Wootton Hundred. The certifi- cat. of conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.		Fined 40/-.
Jan 7 1758 and Epiphany 1758	1 baker	Great Tew		Selling to a Chipping Norton man a 12d loaf not marked with the type of bread which it contained as required under the Assize of Bread.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace for Wootton Hundred. The certificate of conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.		Fined 20/-.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Mar 11 1758 and Easter 1758	1 person	Great Milton		Selling to a Little Haseley man a $\frac{1}{2}$ peck loaf of second wheaten bread for 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ d contrary to orders on the setting of the Assize of Bread in Ewelme, Pyrton and Lewknor Hundreds made 15 Feb 1758.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace for Ewelme Hundred. The certificate of conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.	Convicted on his own confession and the oath of the man to whom he sold the bread.	Fine not given.
Jun 1764	1 baker	Oxford	Oxford	Offering for sale in one of the Colleges 6 loaves of bread deficient in weight.		(Vice-) Chancellor's Court		Fined 45/-.
May 1765	1 person	Probably Henley	Henley	Offering for sale 2 loaves not duly marked according to Act of Parliament.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 20/- . The loaves were seized and given to the poor.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Dec 1765	1 baker	Dorchester	Dorchester	Supposedly selling a 12d loaf deficient in weight.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace for Dorchester Hundred.	One of the Oxford gangbread of "horse-takers"	The assize of bread had been altered which meant that the bread was not in fact deficient in weight. The case was therefore dismissed.
Nov 22 1766 and Epiphany 1767	1 baker	Shiplake, near Henley	Probably Shiplake	Selling a $\frac{1}{2}$ peck loaf of household bread which was not marked H.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace. The certificate of conviction was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.		Fined 10/-.
Dec 1768	1 baker	Oxford	Oxford	Selling to New College 2 6d loaves deficient in weight by 9 oz.				Dismissed from serving the Society of New College.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Apr 26 1774	2 bakers	Hundred of Wootton	Hundred of Wootton	Making and selling assized loaves of the price of 12d contrary to an order made at Epiphany Quarter Sessions. 1 of the bakers was also convicted for selling unmarked bread.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace.		Fined.
Oct 1774	unnamed persons	Henley	Henley	Selling a $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon loaf 3 oz. deficient in weight, and 3 gallon loaves, 1, 4 oz; 1, 6 oz. and 1, 12 oz. deficient in weight.		Henley Court Leet		Probably fined.
Oct 1790	1 baker	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Selling a quartern loaf $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz. deficient in weight.		Probably (Vice-) Chancellor's Court.		Fined 2/6 an ounce.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Jun 1795			Banbury	Selling short weight bread.				The bread was seized by the Mayor and distributed among the poor.
Jul 13 1795	1 baker	Oxford	Oxford	Selling bread 20 oz. deficient in weight.		(Vice-) Chancellor's Court		Fined £5.
Sept 1795	2 bakers	Oxford	Oxford	Selling bread deficient in weight.		(Vice-) Chancellor's Court		1 fined £2/5/0; 1 fined £7/10/0.
Oct 18 1796	4 bakers	Oxford	Oxford	Exposing to sale short weight bread.		Probably (Vice-) Chancellor's Court.		Fined.
Dec 4 1799	1 baker	Probably Marsh or Toot Baldon		Having in his shop 37 out of 42 loaves short of weight.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace.		Fined.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Apr 1801	1 baker	Oxford	Oxford	Selling hot rolls, contrary to the Act requiring the bread to be 24 hours old when sold.		Probably (Vice-) Chancellor's Court	Probably Clerks of the Market.	Fined 5/- per roll.
Apr 1801	2 persons	Oxford	Oxford	Selling hot bread, contrary to the Act requiring bread to be 24 hours old when sold.		Probably (Vice-) Chancellor's Court	Probably Clerks of the Market.	Fined and the penalty was used to buy bread for the poor of the parishes where the persons were resident.
Apr 1801	1 baker	Oxford	Oxford	Selling 7 loaves deficient in weight 21 oz. overall.		Probably (Vice-) Chancellor's Court	Probably Clerks of the Market.	Fined and the penalty was used to buy bread for the poor of St. Giles parish.
May 1801	Bakers	Woodstock	Woodstock	Selling short weight bread.		Unclear		Fined.

Table V Table to Display Data on the Setting of the Assize of Bread in Oxfordshire (except the City of Oxford) c1690-1800

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of the Order
Nov 17 1758	Banbury Corporation	Announcement that the Banbury bakers were disobeying the Assize of Bread and charging higher prices than were permitted; and order that if any action at law be brought against any magistrate on account of any act done by the magistrate to compel obedience to the assize then the expenses of defending him should be borne by the Corporation.
Feb 1766	Justices of the Peace for the 4 Hundreds	Setting of the Assize of Bread for the Hundreds of Bullingdon, Dorchester, Thame and Wootton.
Nov 28 1768	Justices of the Peace	Setting of the Assize of Bread for the Hundreds of Bullingdon, Dorchester, Thame and Wootton. Bakers were ordered to mark the loaves with letters signifying whether the loaves were of wheaten or household bread.
Epiphany 1774	County Quarter Sessions	Order that bakers be prohibited from making or selling bread of superior quality than standard wheaten bread; and also from making assized loaves except 2d or 1d which were also permitted to be wheaten. The order was to be sent to all town authorities. This order was repeated with slight variations at the sessions up to and including that of Michaelmas 1775.
Apr 16 1774	Justices of the Peace for the Hundreds of Ploughley, Banbury, Bloxham, Wootton and Chadlington.	Setting of the Assize of Bread for these Hundreds in conformity with the order of Epiphany 1774. The assize was again set for these hundreds 26 Jul. 1774.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of the Order
Jul 14 1795	County Quarter Sessions	Recommendation that wheaten flour be used sparingly and in particular that wholemeal bread be used; that the industrious poor in the parishes be supplied with wholemeal bread at 14d the gallon loaf and that bakers bake only wholemeal bread.
Aug 1 1795	County Quarter Sessions	Order that bakers bake no bread of superior quality than the standard wheaten defined in 13 George III.
Jan 12 1796	Sir Christopher Willoughby, Chairman of County Quarter Sessions	Recommendation that the Grand Jury agree to follow the suggestion of the Privy Council to use bread of which 2/3 only should be wheat and to encourage their neighbours to use the same. Order that all those in authority should take care to detect frauds committed by bakers and mealmen. The magistrates and Grand Jury, at the Quarter Sessions, agreed to reduce their consumption of wheat by 1/3 either by using less bread as such or by using mixed or wholemeal bread.
Jan 16 1796	Justices of the Peace for the Hundreds of Bullington, Dorchester and Thame	Commitment to enforce Quarter Sessions recommendations on the reduction of wheat consumption. Recommendation that millers furnish flour from 2/3 wheat and 1/3 barley and that bakers bake mixed bread. Order that constables inform the magistrates of millers, bakers and shopkeepers refusing to comply with the request. Petty Sessions to be held in Oxford each week in order to enforce the recommendation.
c Dec 7 1799	Justices of the Peace for Wootton Hundred	Order that no assized loaves, except 2d or 1d be made throughout the hundred. Recommendation that standard wheaten bread only be made and used by all persons throughout the hundred.
Epiphany 1800	County Quarter Sessions	Order that for 3 months from 17 February bakers be prohibited from making or selling any bread superior in quality to standard wheaten.
Jan 18 1800	General Sessions of the Peace for Banbury	Order that for 3 months from 18 February bakers should be prohibited from making or selling in Banbury any bread superior in quality to standard wheaten.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of the Order
Apr 27 1800	Mayor of Banbury	Acknowledgement that he was enforcing the law that no bread under 24 hours old should be sold.
Apr 28 1800	Mayor of Banbury	Setting of the Assize of Bread for the town.
Oct 16 1800	Justices of the Peace at County Quarter Sessions	Agreement to use mixed bread.
Nov 7 1800	Justices of the Peace at County Quarter Sessions	Resolutions that power should be given by law, firstly to enable 2 Justices at Petty Sessions to fix an Assize of Bread for their area, according to that in any adjoining town; and secondly to enable 2 Justices to enquire into and punish summarily any frauds committed by mealmen or bakers in the manufacture or sale of meal or bread.
Nov 2 1801	Justices of the Peace for Wootton Hundred	Setting of the Assize of Bread. Advertisements of 108 Assizes of Bread appeared in <u>J.O.J.</u> between 2 Nov. 1801 and 31 Oct. 1808.

Table VI Table to Show the Prosecution and Punishment of the Offence of Unlicensed Trading cl679-1801

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Epiphany 1694	3 persons	1 Alvescot 1 Filkins 1 Black Bourton		Acting as jobbers & buyers & sellers of corn without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Bampton bailiff's returns and the Grand Jury Presentments.
Epiphany 1694	4 persons	Standlake		Acting as higgler & buyers & sellers of poultry without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Bampton bailiff's returns and in the Grand Jury Presentments.
Michaelmas 1694	7 persons	2 Thame 2 Sydenham 1 Chinnor 1 Oakley, Bucks. 1 Bletchington		Acting as higgler without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.
Michaelmas 1694	3 persons	1 Long Crendon, Bucks.	Thame Market	Acting as higgler without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Michaelmas 1694 and Easter 1695	1 person	Thame	Thame market	Acting as a higgler without being licensed.	Practising as a kidder, lader, carrier, buyer and seller of butter, cheese, eggs, poultry and other dead victuals without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. True bill.
Epiphany 1695	c 36 persons	Including 1 Banbury 2 Beckley 1 Bladon 4 Brightwell Baldwin 4 Burford 3 Cuddesdon 1 Drayton 5 Deddington 3 Marston 1 Mixbury 1 Nuneham Courtenay 3 Oxford 1 Swerford 4 Wheatley		Acting as badgers or dealers contrary to statute, being unlicensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.

Table VI Table to Show the Prosecution and Punishment of the Offence of Unlicensed Trading c1679-1801

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Epiphany 1694	3 persons	1 Alvescot 1 Filkins 1 Black Bourton		Acting as jobbers & buyers & sellers of corn without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Bampton bailiff's returns and the Grand Jury Presentments.
Epiphany 1694	4 persons	Standlake		Acting as higgler & buyers & sellers of poultry without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Bampton bailiff's returns and in the Grand Jury Presentments.
Michaelmas 1694	7 persons	2 Thame 2 Sydenham 1 Chinnor 1 Oakley, Bucks. 1 Bletchington		Acting as higgler without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.
Michaelmas 1694	3 persons	1 Long Crendon, Bucks.	Thame Market	Acting as higgler without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Michaelmas 1694 and Easter 1695	1 person	Thame	Thame market	Acting as a higgler without being licensed.	Practising as a kidder, lader, carrier, buyer and seller of butter, cheese, eggs, poultry and other dead victuals without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. True bill.
Epiphany 1695	c 36 persons	Including 1 Banbury 2 Beckley 1 Bladon 4 Brightwell Baldwin 4 Burford 3 Cuddesdon 1 Drayton 5 Deddington 3 Marston 1 Mixbury 1 Nuneham Courtenay 3 Oxford 1 Swerford 4 Wheatley		Acting as badgers or dealers contrary to statute, being unlicensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Easter 1695	1 miller 4 other persons	Witney 1 Brize Norton 1 Hanborough 1 Milton 1 Oxford		Acting as badgers & dealing contrary to statute, being unlicensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.
Easter 1696	2 men 2 women	1 Launton 1 Wargrave, Berks. 1 Bray, Berks. 1 Marlow, Bucks.		Acting as higgler without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.
Easter 1697	1 person	Yarnton		Acting as a higgler without being licensed.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Grand Jury Presentments.
Michaelmas 1704	2 yeomen	1 Garsington 1 Tetsworth	Garsington		Practising as kidder, lader, carrier, buyer & seller of butter, cheese, eggs, poultry, and other dead victuals without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. True bill.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Easter and Trinity 1710	1 miller	Stratton Audley	Bicester	Buying corn at Brackley, Bicester, and other markets to resell without having a licence.	Practising as a badger, without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. True bill. Indictment quashed.
Michaelmas 1713	1 maltster	Burford	Burford	Buying 5 loads of wheat as a badger without being licensed.	Practising as a buyer & seller of grain without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	Several of the inhabitants of Burford	Indicted. Not a true bill.
Michaelmas 1715	1 yeoman	Charlton-on-Otmoor	Bicester		Practising as a dealer, kidder, carrier, buyer & seller of butter, cheese, eggs, poultry & other dead victuals without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. Not a true bill.
	1 labourer	Bicester						
	1 glazier	Ambrosden						Indicted. True bill.
	1 labourer	Bicester						
	1 yeoman	Ambrosden						

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Epiphany and Easter 1738	1 woman	Epwell	Epwell		Practising as lader, kidder, carrier, buyer & seller of butter, cheese, eggs, poultry & other dead victuals without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 person	Indicted. True bill. Plead guilty. Fined 1/-.
Trinity 1753	1 labourer 4 persons	Barford St. Michael 1 Brightwell 1 Ramsden 2 Charlton-on-Otmoor	Oxford	Trading without licences, on a regular basis.	Practising as lader, kidder, carrier, buyer & seller of butter, cheese, eggs, poultry & other dead victuals without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	Clerk of the Peace	Indicted. True bills.
Trinity 1757	1 labourer (although he described himself as a mealman)	Caversham	Witney		Practising as a badger, kidder, lader, buyer & seller of /corn without being licensed.	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 Individual	Indicted. Not a true bill.

Table VII Table to Display Data on the Licensing of Higglers, Drovers and Badgers c1690-1800

Date	Authority, Group or Individual concerned with Licensing	Details of Licence, Testimonial or Decision to Prosecute Unlicensed Traders
Epiphany 1694	County Quarter Sessions	Grant of licences to 6 persons to buy and sell corn.
Epiphany 1694	County Quarter Sessions	Grant of licences to 5 persons who had applied for them, probably to buy and sell corn. The licences of 5 others appear to have been renewed.
Epiphany 1694	Occupants of the applicants' villages	Testimonials that 4 husbandmen, 1 miller and 1 other person had been householders, not servants, in one village for over 3 years; were married and over 30 and were fitting persons to be corn badgers.
Epiphany 1694	53 occupants of Ramsden	Testimonial that a labourer had been a householder for many years; was married and over 30 and was fit to be a badger, lader, kidder and carrier or buyer of corn, oatmeal and salt, which occupation he had carried on for a long time.
Epiphany 1694	1 person	Testimonial that a poor man had formerly carried corn and goods for others and sometimes for himself and therefore deserved a licence to be a carrier.
Easter 1694	Presumably occupants of the applicant's village	Testimonial that a husbandman was of good character and fit to be a corn badger.
Easter 1694	5 occupants of the applicant's village	Testimonial that a person had been a householder, not a servant, in Wootton for 20 years, was married and over 30 and fit to be a licensed corn badger.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual concerned with Licensing	Details of Licence, Testimonial or Decision to Prosecute Unlicensed Traders
Epiphany 1695	County Quarter Sessions	Renewal of the badgers' and higgler's licences of 20 persons. It would appear that a further 18 either did not wish to renew their licences or failed to do so.
Epiphany 1749	County Quarter Sessions	Grant of a licence to a Hook Norton man to be a common higgler, kidder, lader, carrier, buyer and seller of butter, cheese, eggs, poultry, fish and other dead victuals (except pheasants, hares and partridges) in any open market or fair for 1 year. (This document consists of a printed form on which were added details concerning the individual to be licensed).
Trinity 1754	County Quarter Sessions	Grant of a licence to a Kirtlington man to be a common higgler... (as Epiphany 1749).
Jun 17 1757	Mayor and Justices of the Peace of Oxford	Announcement that they would be willing to receive informations against persons buying corn to resell without being licensed. This order was made because it was believed that unlicensed dealers were buying corn in Oxford.
Jul 11 1757	Churchwardens and overseers of the parish of Dorchester.	Testimonials that 3 persons were suitable to receive licences to buy and sell cheese, butter and bacon.
Jul 11 1757	Minister, Churchwardens and Overseers of the parish of Nuneham Courtenay	Testimonial that 1 person was suitable to receive a licence to buy and sell corn, cheese and butter.

Numbers of Licences issued to Common Higgler, Badgers of Corn and Drivers of Cattle, at Oxford
County Quarter Sessions 1761-1773

Sessions	Common Higgler	Badgers of Corn	Drivers of Cattle
Easter 1761	6		
Trinity	9		
Michaelmas	11		
Epiphany 1762	16		
Easter	9		
Trinity	12		
Michaelmas	11	1	
Epiphany 1763	12	1	
Easter	12		
Trinity	14		
Michaelmas 1763	8		
Epiphany 1764	16	1	
Easter	17		
Trinity	11		
Michaelmas	10		
Epiphany 1765	24	2	
Easter	19		
Trinity	9		
Michaelmas	15		
Epiphany 1766	22	5	
Easter	23		
Trinity	21	4	2
Michaelmas	85		
Epiphany 1767	26	7	
Easter	20	1	
Trinity	12	2	2
Michaelmas	28		1
Epiphany 1768	19	4	
Easter	24		1
Trinity	16	4	

Sessions	Common Higgler	Badgers of Corn	Drovers of Cattle
Michaelmas	23		
Epiphany 1769	19	4	1
Easter	24	1	
Trinity	10	2	1
Michaelmas	18		
Epiphany 1770	24	4	1
Easter	29		
Trinity	10	2	1
Michaelmas	14		
Epiphany 1771	23	2	
Easter	21		
Trinity	16	3	2
Michaelmas	12	1	
Epiphany 1772	20	2	
Easter	23		
Trinity	12	2	
Michaelmas	14	2	
Epiphany 1773	No licences granted.		

Table VIII Table to Show the Prosecution and Punishment of the Offences of Forestalling, Engrossing and Regrating. c1679-1801

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Epiphany and Easter 1679	2 chandlers 1 widow	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Engrossing Bread	Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Fined 1/- each and discharged.
Trinity 1679	currier	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Buying & selling beans in the same market.	Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Fined 1/- and discharged.
Michaelmas 1679	1 chandler (although on his case were to be decided cases against a number of chandlers & grocers).	Probably Oxford	Oxford	"Buying and selling"	Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	The indictment was removed by a writ of certiorari.
Easter 1680	1 chandler	Oxford	Oxford	Engrossing Bread.	Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Fined 1/- and discharged.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings, Verdict and Punishment
Easter 1680	1 person	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Engrossing Bread.	Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Fined 1/- and discharged.
Easter 1680	1 widow 1 Chandler	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Engrossing Bread.	Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Fined 6d each and discharged.
Trinity 1680	1 Chandler	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Engrossing Bread.	Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Fined 6d and discharged.
Epiphany 1684	3 women 2 men (2 definitely chandlers)	Probably Oxford	Oxford		Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	The outcome is unclear.
Trinity 1695	1 person	Probably Oxford	Oxford		Fore-stalling	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Discharged, paying fees.
Epiphany 1696	1 person	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Regrating Country Bread.	Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Pleaded guilty but the outcome of the case is unclear.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Epiphany and Easter 1696	1 person	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Regrating Bread.	Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Found guilty to the value of 3d but upon motion that the indictment was "naught" judgement was arrested.
Easter 1696	1 Chandler	Oxford	Oxford	Buying bread from a baker from Weston-on-the-Green to resell.	Regrating	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. Not a true bill.
Easter 1696	3 persons	1 King's Sutton Northants. 2 Bicester		Buying & selling live cattle, contrary to law.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Offence named in the Grand Jury Presentments.
Epiphany 1696 The case was delayed until Michaelmas 1696 because the man was a serving bailiff.	1 Chandler	Oxford	Oxford		Fore-stalling and Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Found not guilty.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Michael-mas 1696	1 grocer (a woman)	Oxford	Oxford		Fore-stalling and Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Found not guilty.
Michael-mas 1697 & Trinity 1698	1 yeoman	Headington	Headington	Buying & selling 100 sheep "not his own feeding"		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Pleaded not guilty. Outcome unclear.
Michael-mas 1698 & Epiphany 1699	12 persons including 3 mealmen & badgers; 1 baker & badger; 1 farmer; 1 badger; 1 mealman.	Probably Oxford	Oxford		Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Discharged.
Easter and Trinity 1699	1 corn badger. 1 other person.	Probably Oxford	Oxford		Fore-stalling	Oxford City Quarter Sessions		Pleaded not guilty. Discharged when no one appeared to prosecute them.
Easter 1699	1 person	Bicester	Bicester	Buying 4 quarters of corn & reselling $\frac{1}{2}$ of it.	Regrating	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	3 persons	Indicted. Not a true bill.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Trinity 1704	1 woman	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Fore-stalling the market.	Fore-stalling	Oxford City Quarter Sessions		Discharged.
Trinity 1707	1 woman		Oxford	Engrossing the market.	Engrossing	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Fined 2/6 and discharged.
Michaelmas 1707	several persons		Oxford		Fore-stalling	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Fined 1/- each and discharged.
1709 Epiphany 1710	1 yeoman	Curbridge	Probably Witney	Fore-stalling the market of Witney by buying of Henry Peacock of Asthall 7 quarters of barley before the market.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. Not a true bill.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Easter and Trinity 1710	1 miller	Stratton Audley	Bicester	Buying corn to resell.	Regrating	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	Information laid against him by a constable.	
Trinity 1711	Fell-monger	Witney	Oxford	Buying 9 sheep skins from an Oxford butcher outside the market.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 person	Indicted. Not a true bill.
Trinity 1712	1 labourer 1 cord-wainer 6 wives 5 women 3 widows	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Regrating garden stuff and/or fruit.	Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions		Indictment quashed for lack of evidence. Discharged paying their fees.
Trinity 1712	1 labourer 2 wives of labourers. 1 widow 1 woman 1 wife of a gardener	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Regrating garden stuff and/or fruit.	Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions		Indictment quashed for lack of evidence. Discharged paying their fees.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Trinity 1712	3 wives. Indicted "with others"	Probably Oxford	Oxford	Regrating fish.	Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions		Indictment quashed Discharged paying their fees.
Michaelmas 1713	1 maltster	Burford	Burford	Fore-stalling the market of Burford.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	Several of the inhabitants of Burford	Indicted. Not a true bill.
Easter and Trinity 1718	1 labourer 1 person	Oxford	Oxford		Fore-stalling	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Pleaded not guilty and found not guilty.
Easter and Trinity 1718	2 wives	Oxford	Oxford		Fore-stalling	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Originally pleaded guilty but found not guilty.
Easter 1718	1 person	Oxford	Oxford		Fore-stalling	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably Oxford City Authorities	Found guilty. Committed for 2 months.
Trinity 1722	1 labourer 1 wife of a labourer 1 woman	Probably Oxford	Oxford		Fore-stalling	Oxford City Quarter Sessions		No one appeared to prosecute. Found not guilty and discharged, paying their fees.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
October 1725	1 poulterer	Oxford	Oxford	Probably buying poultry before the market.	Fore-stalling	(Vice-Chancellor's Court)	1 of the Clerks of the Market	The Clerk had used force against the poulterer. The Vice-Chancellor therefore stopped the case going to court and pardoned the poulterer.
14 May 1757 Trinity 1757	2 dealers	Brightwell	Oxford	Fore-stalling Oxford Market.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Discharged from their recognizances.
14 May 1757 Trinity 1757	1 poulterer	Oxford	Oxford	Buying 12 pig-eons as they were being brought to Oxford Market.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. Not a true bill.
25 June & other times. Trinity 1757	1 Mealman	Caversham, near Reading	Witney	Buying at divers places of the open market or fair divers quantities of corn and grain /with the intent to sell the same again.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 individual	Indicted. Not a true bill.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Trinity 1758	1 dealer	Henley	Oxford	Dealing in Oxford Market contrary to law.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 dealer from Brightwell	Unclear.
27 April 1758 and Trinity 1758	1 yeoman	Witney	Witney	Buying 12 lbs of butter for 6/- as it was being brought to Witney market.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. Not a true bill.
Oct 1764	1 person		Chipping Norton	Buying 6 live fowls 1 hour before the market bell was rung.	Fore-stalling	Chipping Norton Court Leet		The offence was named in the presentments.
Mar 1765			(Oxford)	It was reported that the cases relating to forestalling, engrossing & regrating had been received & attention would be paid to them.				

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
May 1765 Michael- mas 1765	1 yeoman	Burford	Holwell	Buying 14 ewes & 14 lambs as they were being brought to Burford to be sold in the market.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. True bill.
May 1765 Michael- mas 1765 Easter 1766 Trinity 1766	1 yeoman	Probably Lyneham, near Shipton-under-Wychwood	Burford	Buying 20 (or 23) ewes & 20 lambs in Burford market for £24 and re-selling them on the same day for £28.	Regrating	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 person	Indicted. True bill. Pleaded not guilty. Found not guilty.
May 31, Trinity and Michael- mas 1766	1 higgler	Cholsey, Berkshire	Oxford	Buying 100 lbs of butter, before the hour at which it should have been sold in Oxford market.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	3 labourers	Indicted. True bill. Pleaded not guilty. Withdrew plea and pleaded guilty. Fined 10/- . Imprisoned for 1 month.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
Jun 14, Trinity and Michaelmas 1766	1 "lath render"	Oxford	Oxford	Buying 24 lbs of butter in Oxford market before the bell was rung.	Fore-stalling	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 labourer	Indicted. True bill. Discharged from his recognizance.
Nov 20 1766 Epiphany and Michaelmas 1767	1 higgler	Oxford	Witney	Buying 6 lbs of butter intending to resell it.	Engrossing	Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 person	Indicted. True bill. Found not guilty.
Dec 1767	1 maltster	Henley	Shiplake	Purchasing 16 quarters of barley at the barn door.			The Mayor of Henley contemplated a prosecution for forestalling.	Outcome unclear.
Oct 8 1795 Spring 1796	1 person	Probably Henley	Henley	Buying 7 quarters of wheat for 85/- per quarter and reselling 3 quarters on the same day for 100/- per quarter; both transactions	Regrating	Henley Quarter Sessions	J.S. Girdler who had paid £20 for information of the offence.	Pleaded guilty. Fined 5/-.
/taking place in Henley Market.								

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
4 Sept 1800	1 victualler	Henley	Henley	Buying 7 pigs from a yeoman of Rotherfield Peppard, as the pigs were being driven to Henley market and before the market bell had been rung.		Henley Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Jury's presentments.
Michaelmas 1800 Epiphany 1801	1 butcher 1 person	Oxford	Oxford		Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably City Committee for not guilty. Effectuating a Reduction in the Price of Corn and other Necessities.	Both found guilty.
Oct 1800; Epiphany and Easter 1801	1 person		Oxford		Regrating	Oxford City Quarter Sessions	Probably City Committee for not guilty. Effectuating a Reduction in the Price of Corn and other Necessities.	Pleaded guilty. Fined 20/- and discharged.

Table IX Table to Display Data on the Enforcement of the Laws on Forestalling, Engrossing and
Regrating and on Attempts to Protect Local Consumers c1660-1824

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Nov 1669	Vice-Chancellor	Orders that no butcher, cook or chandler sell tallow to "foreigners" and that all tallow found at the wharves be seized.
Oct 1755	Vice-Chancellor and Mayor of Oxford	Order that Oxford market should commence every Wednesday and Saturday at 11.00 a.m. when the market bell would be rung.
Jun 17 1757	Mayor and Justices of the Peace of Oxford	Announcement that many persons were guilty of forestalling, engrossing and regrating and that the Mayor and Justices would therefore be willing to receive informations against anyone committing these offences.
Mar 9 1765	Woodstock Borough Council	Purchasing a book of laws against forestalling.
May 11 1765	Bicester. (Authority not given)	Order that for the convenience of graziers and dealers in cattle, all cattle to be sold at the spring markets and fairs were to be pitched for sale by 7.00 a.m.
c Sept 27 1766	Oxford Magistrates	Announcement by J.O.J. that they could assure the public that the magistracy of Oxford intended to prevent forestalling and other illegal marketing practices.
c Oct 6 1766	Magistrates of Oxford and Thame	Order that no poultry should be purchased by any higgler or dealer on market days until the inhabitants had first been served. The inhabitants were given until 4.00 p.m. to make their purchases.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Oct 16 1766	Banbury Magistrates	Taking measures to prevent forestalling, thereby ensuring that there was a large head of cattle at the fair.
Dec 4 1766	Chipping Norton Common Council	Order that no persons except inhabitants and householders of Chipping Norton should be permitted to buy geese, ducks, fowls, butter, cheese and other victuals brought into Chipping Norton for sale, on a market day, before the market bell had been rung. No inhabitant being a higgler, carrier or other person buying to sell again, was to be permitted to buy before the market bell was rung, at 12 noon. This order was made because of complaints that carriers and higgles had been buying geese, ducks, fowls, butter, cheese and other victuals before they had been brought to the market place for sale and before the market bell had been rung.
Jan 1768	Mayor of Henley	Private notice on his determination to prevent forestalling.
Dec 12 1771	Gentlemen of the University and City of Oxford	Announcement of their determination to pay for the prosecution of any one forestalling, engrossing and regrating in Oxford; it being believed that these practices had caused a rise in the price of meat and other provisions.
Jan 31 1772	Vice-Chancellor	Order that any persons buying meat, butter, cheese, poultry or any other commodity in Oxford market before 9.00 a.m. would be prosecuted as forestallers; as would all persons buying any victuals before the same had been brought into the public market. This measure was reported to have been unsuccessful.
Jun 30 1787	Clerks of the Market in Oxford	Announcement that all persons committing the offences of forestalling and regrating in Oxford market would be prosecuted.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
May 7 1795	Oxford Market Committee	Order that public notice be given that every butcher, poulterer, fishmonger or dealer guilty of the Common Law offences of forestalling, engrossing or regrating Oxford market would be prosecuted. Rewards were offered to informers. Order that the market for the sale of butter, eggs, fish, fowls, ducks and rabbits should commence with the ringing of a market bell at 7.00 a.m. in the Summer and 8.00 a.m. in the Winter, and that any person selling before the bell was rung would be prosecuted as a forestaller. This followed complaints that butchers, poulterers and dealers in butter were regrating, forestalling and engrossing.
Jun 30 1795	1 Justice of the Peace	Refusing to allow a baker who had purchased flour in Witney market to remove the same to Woodstock.
Jul 2 1795	Oxford Market Committee	Order that regrating, having caused an actual increase in the price of meat and other commodities in the new market, was to be published. Rewards of 40/- were offered to informers. This followed complaints that the order of May 7 was being ignored; that persons were buying to resell in the same market and that, in particular, butchers were buying and selling carcasses and meat among themselves.
Jul 8 1795	Common Council of Oxford	Order that all persons forestalling, engrossing or regrating any wheat, corn or grain in Oxford were to be prosecuted. Rewards were offered to informers. Recommendation that all farmers should sell their corn to mealmen and bakers only and not to persons buying corn to resell it in a raw state.
Jul 19 1795	W.E. Taunton. Town Clerk of Oxford and Clerk of the Peace	Declaration, in a private capacity, that if farmers sold corn to be resold they would be made to repent their violation of the law.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Sept 3 1800	Common Council of Oxford	Order that a subscription be opened for the prosecution of persons guilty of forestalling, engrossing or regrating. Order that a general meeting of the inhabitants should discuss these subjects and that the Corporation would support any measures entered into for repressing marketing offences. The Mayor was to employ a person to watch the markets and to inform on anyone committing the offences of forestalling, engrossing and regrating. It was reported that in consequence of the orders the magistrates had begun an investigation of the offences committed by forestallers, engrossers and regraters and by persons monopolizing corn and buying it to resell, and that they were determined to continue their enquiries until the offenders had been either punished or forced to give up their practices.
Sept 8 1800	General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Oxford	Agreement that the exorbitant price of corn and other necessities was not justified and was the result, largely of the prevalence of forestalling, engrossing and regrating. Order that a subscription be opened for the prosecution of marketing offences and that a committee be appointed to institute the prosecutions.
Sept 11 1800	Committee appointed by the General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Oxford	Order that a description of the offences of forestalling, engrossing and regrating be published. Agreement that it was illegal for any person to buy merchandise in gross to sell again in gross and that engrossing a commodity in order to sell it at an unreasonable price was an indictable offence, even if the commodity was not in fact resold. Agreement that the Committee would work to detect all marketing practices which tended to enhance prices and would prosecute the offenders.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Sept 17 1800	Mayor and Inhabitants of Henley	Agreement to give information to the magistrates on forestallers, engrossers and regraters; it being felt that their activities were helping to raise prices.
Sept 22 1800	Mayor and Magistrates of Woodstock	Warning that all those frequenting the market should guard themselves against forestalling, engrossing and regrating or they would risk prosecution.
Sept 24 1800	Magistrates of the University and City of Oxford. Vice-Chancellor and Mayor	Announcement that attention would be paid to complaints against persons suspected of forestalling, engrossing, regrating or of any other market offences.
Sept 29 1800	Committee appointed by the General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Oxford	Announcement that the Committee was entering into correspondence with similar institutions in other towns in order to bring about by co-operation the measures best adapted to alleviate distress.
Oct 9 1800	Bailiffs of the Borough of Witney	Warning that all those attending the market should avoid forestalling, engrossing and regrating because the authorities were compelled to enforce the laws against these offences.
Oct 16 1800	Magistrates at the County Quarter Sessions	Agreement that although it was just that corn should be sent to areas of shortage, considerable mischief had arisen from the prevalence of jobbing, forestalling, engrossing and regrating and that it was therefore to be hoped that Parliament would take action to suppress these practices. Agreement that the magistrates would try to prevent these offences in so far as this was possible under existing laws and would start a subscription to cover the cost of prosecutions. Resolution that a law to prohibit the re-sale of corn (except in small quantities) within a certain distance would be desirable.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
May 24 1808	Oxford Market Committee	Order that public notice be given of the Committee's determination to suppress forestalling, regrating, and engrossing. The form which this notice took was exactly the same as that of May 7 1795.
Feb 19 1824	Oxford Market Committee	Order that every butcher, fishmonger, poulterer, higgler, dealer or other person guilty of the Common Law offences of forestalling and regrating would be prosecuted; that a reward of 40/- would be offered for information leading to a conviction, and that any person renting a shop or stall in the market and committing such offence would be given notice to leave his shop and not allowed to rent another. The handbill of 1808 appears to have been reissued with certain alterations, notably it was declared that a bell was rung to announce the opening of the market and persons would be prosecuted for trading before it was rung and that offenders would be evicted. This followed the discovery that forestalling and regrating had much increased.

Table X Table to Show the Prosecution and Punishment of Miscellaneous Marketing Offences c1679-1801

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings. Verdict and Punishment
<u>(1) Failure to Exercise Office</u>								
Oct 1708	2 flesh tasters; 1 ale-taster; 1 leather sealer.	Henley	Henley	Failing to appear at the Court Leet to make their presentments and to notify the Court of their successors.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 3/4 each.
Apr 1712	Member of the Leet Jury	Henley	Henley	Failing to accompany the rest of the Jury to test the weights & measures & make the presentments.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 6/8.
Oct 1712	2 members of the Leet Jury	Henley	Henley	Failing to accompany the rest of the Jury to test the weights & measures & make the presentments.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 6/8 each.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Oct 1713	2 members of the Leet Jury	Henley	Henley	Failing to accompany the rest of the Jury to test the weights & measures & make the presentments.		Henley Court Leet		Fined 6/8 each.
1717	2 persons	Witney	Witney	Failing to exercise the office after having been appointed Clerks of the Market.		Witney Borough Court		The offence was named in the Jury presentments. Fined 5/- each.
Oct 1790	Clerks of the Market for 1789-1790	Chipping Norton	Chipping Norton	Failing to attend the Court with their presentments.		Chipping Norton Court Baron and View of Frankpledge		The offence was named in the Jury presentments.

(2) Offences connected with the Sabbath

Trinity 1715	1 carrier	Bicester		Travelling with his waggon on Sabbath days.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Jury presentments.
Trinity 1715	1 person	Bicester	Probably Bicester	Constantly selling wares on Sabbath days.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		The offence was named in the Jury presentments.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings Verdict and Punishment
Trinity and Michael-mas 1715	1 butcher	Bicester	Probably Bicester	Exercising the trade of a butcher on Sabbath days.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. True bill. Submitted and fined 3/4.

(3) Other

Michael-mas 1699	2 labourers	1 Cowley 1 Headington	Headington	Acting as common dealers in hares and rabbits.		Oxford County Quarter Sessions	1 person	Indicted. True bill.
Oct 1746	4 butchers	1 Woodstock 1 Garsington 1 Cowley 1 Oxford	Oxford	Exposing to sale several calves' skins which had been gashed.		Alderman's Court Leet, Oxford		The offence was named in the presentments.
6 Oct 1749 and Epiphany 1750	1 yeoman	County of Brecon	Bicester	Driving 3 lean oxen & 1 lean cow from Wales to Bicester & offering them for sale in Bicester market without having obtained a certificate demanded under Order in Council for preventing cattle distemper.		The offence was heard before 1 Justice of the Peace. The certificate was lodged among the papers of the County Quarter Sessions.	An information was laid against him by the Constable of Bicester Market End.	Fined £40.

Date of Offence or Prosecution	Occupation of Offender	Place of Residence	Location of Offence	Nature of Offence	Definition of Offence	Court at which case was heard	Persons or Authorities to undertake Prosecution	Legal Proceedings, Verdict and Punishment
Mar 1796	1 person		Oxford	Selling butter on the market day outside the market and "at an advanced price".		Probably (Vice-) Chancellor's Court. Convicted before the Pro Vice-Chancellor.		Fined 40/-.
Aug 26 1800 and Michaelmas 1800	1 person 1 yeoman	Shilton, Berks.	Bampton Fair	1 for offering to enhance 1 load of the price wheat for of wheat. sale for £35 but then being persuaded not to accept less than £40. The other for persuading him not to accept less than £40.	Conspiracy	Oxford County Quarter Sessions		Indicted. Not a true bill.

Table XI Table to Display Data on the Setting of the Assize of Provisions and on Attempts to Influence Price Levels 1670-1800

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Mar 12 1681	Vice-Chancellor	Setting of the prices of provisions, which prices all sellers were required not to exceed. The provisions, the prices of which were fixed in this way were best and second best butter and cheese per pound; eggs per $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen; best and second best capons, chickens and rabbits per couple; pullets, pigeons, ducks, geese and turkies per couple; fat pigs; best and second best beef per stone; best and second best wether mutton and veal per pound; lamb, bacon and rib bacon per pound and tallow and cotton candles per pound. The maximum prices which might be charged by keepers of inns and livery stables for hay and litter, and oats and beans per bushel were also fixed.
1688	Vice-Chancellor	Setting of the prices of provisions, as March 12 1681. The actual prices were written in on a printed form, which may suggest that the fixing of prices in this way took place regularly. It is possible, although not certain, that one of these maximum price lists was issued in 1722.
1699	"Water Bailly" Oxford	Order on the size in inches of 8 types of freshwater fish to be sold in the market.
1714	Included in a book of regulations made or enforced by the University authorities but it is not clear if this particular regulation was enforced.	Setting of the Assize of Fish, that is order on the size in inches which all freshwater and sea fish sold in markets were required to exceed.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Oct 7 1766	County Quarter Sessions	Recommendation that all persons thresh out and take their corn to market and sell it at a reasonable price.
Mar 28 1772	Mayor of Oxford	Announcement of a public meeting to consider what measures might be taken to reduce the exorbitant price of provisions.
Oct 30 1795	Common Council of Oxford	Appointment of a Committee to draw up and send instructions to the City's Members of Parliament on the high price of corn.
Nov 27 1797	Oxford Market Committee	Order that, as the butchers with stalls in the new market were selling their meat at a higher price than it bore anywhere else in the neighbourhood and there was no reason for this, they should reduce their prices. The Committee declared that they expected the reduction to take place on the following Saturday.
Sept 3 1800	Common Council of Oxford	Order that the inhabitants of Oxford be recommended to abstain from the use of butter while its price remained high.
Sept 11 1800	Mayor of Banbury	Order that a meeting of the inhabitants of Banbury and neighbouring farmers be held to take into consideration the high prices of provisions and to propose legal methods of reducing them.
Sept 15 1800	Meeting of the Inhabitants of Banbury	Agreement that neighbouring farmers be requested to bring their corn and other produce to market on a regular basis and at as reasonable prices as they could afford.
Sept 15 1800	Farmers in the neighbourhood of Banbury	Agreement to sell wheat in Banbury at 10/- per bushel.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Sept 17 1800	Mayor and Inhabitants of Henley	Agreement to abstain from purchasing butter until it had fallen to 13d or under in price.
c Sept 22 1800	Magistrates of Witney, acting on the instructions of rioters	Order that the farmers meet together in order to think of a method of reducing the price of corn.
Sept 24 1800	Magistrates of the University and City of Oxford. Vice-Chancellor and Mayor.	Recommendation that farmers, who would be protected when attending the market, should attend with as ample a supply of corn as they could bring and which they should offer on as reasonable terms as they could afford.
Oct 16 1800	Magistrates at County Quarter Sessions	Agreement that if tenant farmers continued to require very high prices for corn it might prove necessary to introduce corn rents.

Table XII Table to Display Data on the Setting of the Assizes of Ale and Wine c1670-1800

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Feb 1674	Vice-Chancellor	Order that the price of Canary and certain other wines be reduced from 2/2 to 2/- per quart and French wines from 1/1 to 1/- per quart.
Jun 1676	Vice-Chancellor	Order that brewers should obey the Assize of Ale, which would be set periodically.
Mar 1683	Vice-Chancellor	Order that the price of ale be reduced from its present price of 3d per quart.
Jan 9 1693	Vice-Chancellor	Setting of the Assize of Ale. Malt was selling at approximately 24/- per quarter; therefore the price of double beer was to be 10/- per barrel and ale 5/4 per quarter. The price of middle beer remained as before.
May 7 1700	Vice-Chancellor	Setting of the Assize of Ale. Malt was selling at approximately 28/- per quarter but prices were to be as Jan. 9 1693.
Jul 7 1701	Vice-Chancellor	Setting of the Assize of Wine. Order that no French wines be sold before they had been tested by the Vice-Chancellor or his deputy. Orders that no brewer was to sell double beer or ale for more than 10/- per barrel and that no victualler, alehouse-keeper or retailer of ale or beer was to sell double beer or ale for more than 2d per quart.
Nov 1701	Vice-Chancellor	The Order of July 1701 had been evaded; therefore new regulations were issued. The Assize of Wine was set again and an order made that any vintner wishing to sell wines, not mentioned, should have them tested first, and a price for them fixed. The regulations on beer and ale were repeated; it being claimed that they were designed to reduce the strength of the beer.

Date	Authority, Group or Individual to make Regulation	Nature of Order
Jun 1676	Vice-Chancellor	Order that brewers should produce good and wholesome beer and ale. The order was made after complaints had been received that the brewers were producing beer and ale of inferior quality.
Nov 18 1766	Woodstock Town Council	Order that any butcher urinating in the shambles would be fined 2/6.
Sept 12 1800	Committee appointed by Agreement to prosecute any baker selling bread unfit for use and the General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Oxford	containing improper ingredients.
(3) Other		
Feb 1663	Vice-Chancellor	Grant to a butcher of a licence to kill and sell "flesh" to persons licensed to eat meat during Lent.
May 6 1693 & other Wednesdays including Sept 15 1694	Vice-Chancellor	Announcement that by royal proclamation fasts were to be observed every second Wednesday of every month and that in the weeks in which the fasts took place the market was to be held on Tuesdays.
Apr 8 1795	Mayor of Woodstock	Announcement of a reward of 2 guineas to anyone offering for sale and selling in Woodstock market on June 30 in quantities not exceeding 1 bushel per purchaser, 4 quarters of potatoes. Smaller rewards were offered to those selling potatoes in later weeks.

Chapter VII The Oxfordshire Food Riots 1693-1800

Throughout this thesis it has been indicated that the details of food riots, that is riots brought about by high prices⁽¹⁾, food shortages and hunger⁽²⁾ and crowd antagonism towards illegal or antisocial marketing practices⁽³⁾ can be used to illustrate many aspects of marketing history and that, while such disturbances tended to occur in periods when the food supply and marketing situation was abnormal, an analysis of the actions and attitudes of the crowd can nevertheless provide much evidence on normal dietary habits and marketing practices. Thus, the growth of crowd interest in corn derivatives has been used as evidence of the transition from wheat to bread purchasing by the consumer and an examination of the other commodities appropriated in riots might be used to indicate the role of such foodstuffs as meat and butter in the diet of the labouring classes and hence provide data on changes in the standard of living and dietary expectations of the poor.⁽⁴⁾ Again, it has been shown that an analysis of the location of riots may provide

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- (1) The relationship between grain prices and rioting has been discussed very fully in other works. See, for example, J.H. Bohstedt Op.cit. Pp.80-92, 131-141. Graphs have been produced to illustrate the relationship between price trends and riots in Oxfordshire.
 - (2) For a discussion of the role of hunger as a cause of rioting see D.E. Williams, "Were 'Hunger' Rioters Really Hungry? Some Demographic Evidence" in P. and P. No.71 (May 1976). No attempt has been made to examine this subject for Oxfordshire.
 - (3) The possibility that this may have been the sole cause of rioting is discussed in relation to the Burford riot of 1713.
 - (4) An examination of the different commodities seized in the riots of the second half of the eighteenth century may also provide evidence on the relative severity of the various late eighteenth century dearths. Thus, it would seem likely that the poor were experiencing a greater degree of suffering in years in which they seized corn alone than in those in which they seized groceries also, and this may suggest the dearth of 1795 to have been relatively more severe than those of 1766 and 1800.

much evidence on the centres of private marketing, inns and wharves, for example. Moreover, as it would appear likely that the period of transition from one mode of conducting business, for example bulk selling to another, in this case sample selling, would have been the period during which most opposition to the new development would have revealed itself, a study of the particular grievances of the crowd in the various riot years, may help to date the introduction of new marketing techniques. Finally, a study of the crowd's demands for the enforcement of consumer orientated regulations, given that rioters tended to make demands which it was, in fact, possible for the authorities to realize, can enable one to build up a picture of the regulations which were still being enforced in the eighteenth century or the enforcement of which had ceased relatively recently and which were still, to some degree at least, enforceable. Here, therefore, we shall offer a descriptive account of the Oxfordshire food riots, both to provide the details of the incidents which have been used to illustrate points made throughout this study, and to use as a framework in which to place other conclusions on marketing and the attitude of the public to markets and trade.

The first Oxfordshire food riot in the period under discussion occurred in Oxford in 1693. Thus, on 29 April 1693 Anthony Wood recorded in his diary that,

"the poore in Oxford by clamoring
brought the price of corn from
9s to 6s 2d,"

and that the following Saturday the Mayor had to quiet a crowd of poor women in the market who were,

"clamoring again at the price of
corne; pelting millers, mealmen,
bakers etc with stones." (5)

In November of the same year corn being moved through Banbury and Chipping Norton was seized and distributed among the rioters⁽⁶⁾ and Anthony Wood reporting a similar incident at Charlbury, added that the crowd in all 3 towns took the corn,

"as it was carrying away by the
ingrossers, saying they were resolved
to put the law in execution since the
magistrates neglected it." (7)

Although shortages of food and high prices were a recurring problem during the 2 decades following 1693, no further riot occurred in Oxfordshire until 1713, when an isolated disturbance took place at Burford. The exact chronology of this riot is difficult to establish, but rioting would seem to have broken out in late July in response to the apparently illegal purchase of a large quantity of corn by George Sperinke, a maltster. On July 30 Henry Watts was said to have beaten a drum to call together

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- (5) Ed. A. Clark, "The Life and Times of Anthony Wood"... Vol.III Pp.421, 422. Of those recorded to have been purchasing wheat in Oxford market on April 29 and May 6, 6 were bakers, 1 a baker and badger, 1 a mealman and badger and another, in view of the fact that he was presented for engrossing in 1699, was probably also a badger. 2 persons were mentioned to have attended the market on both days, suggesting that they were not greatly intimidated by the crowd.
- (6) Ed. W.J. Hardy Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series Of the Reign of William and Mary, 1693 (1903) P.397.
- (7) Ed. A. Clark, "The Life and Times of Anthony Wood"... Vol.III P.434.

a riotous assembly and rioting occurred on 2 and 3 August when Sperinke's wife was assaulted and 5 loads of wheat purchased by Sperinke were seized and distributed among the rioters.⁽⁸⁾

This disturbance is possibly unique among the Oxfordshire riots in that it is the only one which may actually not have been price-related. Thus, although W.G. Hoskins suggests that the harvest of 1713 was bad⁽⁹⁾, that of 1712 had apparently been average⁽¹⁰⁾ and at Lady Day 1713 the price of wheat in Oxford was only 4/8 per bushel. If, as is possible, the prices in Burford in July were rising in anticipation of the poor harvest⁽¹¹⁾ then this riot might be price-related. However, one can say, albeit with an important reservation⁽¹²⁾ that Sperinke had apparently paid

(8) Q.S. Bundles Michaelmas 1713.

(9) It was not, however, as bad as the harvests preceding the crises of 1727-28, 1740 and 1756-57.

(10) W.G. Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History 1620-1759," in A.H.R. Vol.16 (1968) P.16.

(11) Thus, in Letters from Stewards of Estates I 1713-1764 Ms North d 2 P.1 we find a letter written in April 1713 suggesting that the bad spring was causing an advance in corn prices.

(12) The reservation is that the value of the wheat is recorded only in the indictment of the rioters and there is evidence that the value of corn taken in a riot might not be stated accurately in indictments. Thus, in 1757, the Oxford rioters were charged with stealing wheat valued at 5/- per bushel; the alleged theft having taken place on a day on which we know that wheat in Oxford market was, in fact, costing in excess of 9/- per bushel.

a mere 4/5 per bushel for the wheat which must lead one to question whether an interpretation of this riot in terms of high prices could be valid. The riot would therefore appear to suggest 1 of 2 things: Firstly that the presence of one large-scale purchaser in a small market town might have led to serious supply difficulties and that the disturbance may therefore have been precipitated by fears of local shortages and the effect which this would have upon prices⁽¹³⁾, or alternatively that the crowd might actually have been sufficiently concerned about marketing practices to have rioted simply in response to the fact that Sperinke was thought to be an unlicensed badger and a forestaller. Evidence to support the latter hypothesis can perhaps be found in the relatively high status of a number of those reported to have taken part in this riot.⁽¹⁴⁾

The next outbreak of rioting in Oxfordshire, for which evidence has been found, occurred in a year of indisputably high wheat prices, 1757. On April 23 J.O.J. reported that the previous Saturday 2 loads of wheat, believed to have been illegally bought up, had been appropriated by a crowd in Bicester and distributed in the market place.⁽¹⁵⁾ Arrests followed and on April 28 2 men and 2 women were taken to the County Gaol charged with rioting and feloniously taking away 11 or 12 quarters of wheat from the kiln house of Mary

(13) R.B. Westerfield Op.cit. P.149 mentions the way in which the large-scale purchases of the engrosser meant he was able almost to fix prices.

(14) See Table I.

(15) J.O.J. Apr. 23 1757 No.208.

Table I Recorded Occupations of Food Rioters 1693-1800.

A number indicates that a specific number of persons of a particular occupational group were mentioned for their involvement in a riot.

A ✓ indicates that an occupational group was mentioned.

Occupation	Date					
	1693	1713	1757	1766	1795	1800
Bargeman			1			✓
Blacksmith					1	
Blanketweaver				✓	3	✓
Carpenter					1	✓
Clothier		1				
Fuller					1	
Gardener		1				
Glover		1				
Labourer			2		6	
Mason			1		2	1
Ostler		1				
Plumber/Glazier		1				
Sawyer					1	
Servant					1	
Shag worker						✓
Stocking weaver						✓
Tailor		2				1
Victualler						1
Weaver		4				
Woolcomber						1
Yeoman(1)						1
Widow		1				
Wife of fisherman		1				
Wife of labourer						4
Wife of victualler						1
Women	✓		✓	✓		2

- (1) The recognizance from which this occupation is taken is a little unclear, in that, although it refers to a John Capel, yeoman, being indebted in the sum of £80 and the condition of the recognizance being that a John Capel answer an indictment for riot, in a note written underneath reference is made to both John Capel the elder and the younger. It seems, therefore, possible that John Capel, the yeoman, was the father of the rioter, especially in view of the fact that it would have been exceptionally unusual for a yeoman to have been involved in food rioting. Assi 5:121 Oxfordshire Lent Assizes 1801.

Lambourne of Bicester and 31 bushels of beans from the waggon of Christopher Cook on Wroxton Heath.⁽¹⁶⁾ An attempt was made by the still disturbed population to rescue the prisoners⁽¹⁷⁾ but it failed and by the time of the Trinity Quarter Sessions 4 men and 4 women were apparently awaiting trial for taking part in the riots.⁽¹⁸⁾ At the Oxfordshire Summer Assizes Elizabeth Rolph and Richard Hardbeard were sentenced to transportation for 7 years and Richard Grimsley sentenced to be whipped for seizing wheat belonging to Nathan Myrry, miller of Aynho, Northamptonshire, from Mary Lambourne's kiln house and Thomas Tompkins and Thomas Margets were transported for 7 years and Mary Adams branded for the seizure of Cook's beans.⁽¹⁹⁾ The incident was not closed until 1759, when John Freeman, who had absconded after the Bicester riots, was captured.⁽²⁰⁾ At the Oxfordshire Lent Assizes he was found not guilty of cooperating with 40 other persons in the theft of 88 bushels of Myrry's wheat.⁽²¹⁾

(16) J.O.J. Apr. 30 1757 No.209.

(17) N.M. May 2 1757 Vol.XXXVIII No.5.

(18) Q.S. Bundles Trinity 1757. The spelling of the names of prisoners has been taken from these records.

(19) J.O.J. Jul. 23 1757 No.221. The report in J.O.J. of the trial of the Bicester rioters also mentions the seizure of pease from Cook but no reference to pease occurs elsewhere.

(20) J.O.J. Jan. 20 1759 No.299.

(21) Assi 5:79 Oxfordshire Lent Assizes. Indictment of John Freeman. It was the wife of John Freeman who, in December 1757, was responsible for bringing about a conviction for an assize of bread offence. It is perhaps not coincidental that there was an upsurge in prosecutions under the assize of bread in Ploughley Hundred, of which Bicester was a part, after these riots.

Returning to 1757, rioting erupted again in June. On June 13 wheat destined for London was seized from a barge at Abingdon⁽²²⁾ and comments made by an inhabitant of Dorchester in Oxfordshire suggest that the entire area adjacent to the Thames may have been experiencing disturbances:

"There has been great rioting with us, particularly at Abingdon six miles from us. It began on Monday last by the mob taking away wheat and flour and continued until Thursday, when the military power were obliged to be called in from Wallingford to suppress the rioters."⁽²³⁾

Rioting in Oxford flared up on June 15, in response to the fact that the markets held on both that day and the previous Saturday had witnessed heavy purchasing by dealers, suspected to have made secret agreements with the farmers. The first move made by the crowd was to stop a waggon outside Trinity College and, alleging that the wheat the waggon contained had been illegally bought by sample, to share out the contents. They then seized 2 more loads of wheat from the King's Head Inn and, at the sound of a horn, went on firstly to the Star and secondly to the Mitre, at both of which inns they obtained agreements from the landlords that no grain would be removed unless the owners were able to prove that they had stored it legally. When the Mayor came

(22) J.O.J. Jun. 18 1757 No.216.

(23) O.G.R.M. Jun. 27 1757 No.608.

to disperse the crowd, the leaders agreed to accompany him to the Town Clerk's Office to discuss their grievances. While there, however, they heard that a large quantity of wheat, presumably destined ultimately for London, was at the wharf and going there they seized 15 loads, the property of different dealers. Similar action at the wharf the following day led to the arrest of several of the rioters. William Best, on being taken, gave evidence against 28 of those involved but, in spite of this, he and another prisoner were rescued by the crowd. (24)

Although no new disturbances were to occur in Oxford the repercussions of these riots were to be felt for many months. On June 25 it was reported that John Green (alias Gunstone) had been taken to the County Gaol accused of leading the riots and that a paper had been found at Carfax on June 22 threatening that David Collins, one of the City Bailiffs, would be killed and his house burnt down if Green were not released. (25) In fact, John Green and another rioter, James Carter, were taken to be tried with the Abingdon rioters, at the Berkshire Summer Assizes in Reading. There both were found guilty on several indictments for feloniously stealing wheat from the granary of Sarah Panting, spinster and sentenced to transportation for 7 years. The prosecutions were instigated by the mealmen, whose wheat had been stored at the granary, notably Aaron Wooster of High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire; Samuel Harding of Taplow,

(24) J.O.J. Jun. 18 1757 No.216.

(25) J.O.J. Jun. 25 1757 No.217.

Buckinghamshire; and Thomas Willats of Caversham, Oxfordshire, all of whom, given their places of residence, were likely to have been engaged in the London trade. (26)

J.O.J., concerned that the prosecutions were being carried on by the dealers, believed that Scraggy Parker, Charles Bossom, 2 or more of the Bests and 2 more Carters, against whom evidence appeared at the trial,

"will be wise enough to abscond; whereby they may have an Opportunity of of (sic) chusing their own Travels, and thereby escape the Efforts of all future Resentment." (27)

From the fact that Charles Bossom, a bargeman, was apprehended in London it would appear that this is what they did. (28) At the Berkshire Lent Assizes in 1758 he was found not guilty of stealing wheat. (29)

The only other known disturbance of 1757, a price-fixing riot, occurred at Thame where "the country people" refused to

(26) J.O.J. Jul. 16 1757 No.220.
Assi 5:77 Berkshire Summer Assizes 1757 Recognizances of Aaron Wooster and Samuel Harding. Indictments of John Green and James Carter.

(27) J.O.J. Jul. 23 1757 No.221.

(28) J.O.J. Feb. 11 1758 No.250.

(29) In J.O.J. it was declared that Bossom was charged, upon the oaths of Thomas Willats and John Cade, with stealing 20 quarters of wheat, their property. However, according to the recognizance of Thomas Willats, it appears that Bossom was to be charged with stealing 20 quarters of wheat from Willats alone. In fact, he was indicted solely for stealing 20 bushels of wheat from Sarah Panting.
Assi 5:78 Berkshire Lent Assizes 1758.

give more than 4/- per bushel for wheat offered to them at 6/-.⁽³⁰⁾ There were also rumours in July that a "mob" had gathered at or near Witney with the intention of seizing all the corn and butter to be brought to the town's market for sale. These rumours were, however, denied strenuously.⁽³¹⁾

During the next year of very high wheat prices, 1766, rioting was even more widespread.

In the following account of the disturbances only those which actually occurred in Oxfordshire will be discussed. However, it should be pointed out that the Oxfordshire riots did not occur in isolation. In particular, the parts of Berkshire adjacent to Oxford were greatly disturbed and there is evidence of involvement by people from Oxfordshire in the activities of the Regulators, whose price-fixing movement took place in the Thames Valley. Thus, in April 1768, William Morris, formerly of Oxford, who was well known,

"by being at the Head of the Mob who
called themselves the Regulators,"

was reported to have drowned while drunk.⁽³²⁾ His body was recovered, by accident, a fortnight later, his relations being

"in very indigent Circumstances,"

and therefore unable to afford to look for it.⁽³³⁾ Not only does this establish a link between Oxford and Berkshire rioting⁽³⁴⁾

(30) J. Dunkin Collection for Oxfordshire Vol.IV P.211 Dep.d.74.

(31) J.O.J. Jul. 2 1757 No.218.

(32) J.O.J. Apr. 23 1768 No.782.

(33) J.O.J. May 7 1768 No.784.

(34) A full account of the Thames Valley riots is given by D.E. Williams Op.cit. Pp.226-240. Williams also suggests a link between rioting in Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, indicating that the Oxford riots may have been instigated in part by individuals who had taken part in the "great march" from Minchinhampton to Lechlade. Ibid. P.59.

but offers an example of continuity between the 1757 and 1766 riots: Morris was known as Young Gunstone after John Green who had acquired the nickname Gunstone in 1757.

The first incident to occur in Oxfordshire in 1766 was on September 13 when an "insurrection" over the high price of corn was apparently threatened by the Witney blanket weavers. A disturbance was averted by the farmers agreeing to lower prices⁽³⁵⁾ and serious rioting did not occur until September 23 and then at Oxford, where fears over the continued exportation of grain at a time of rising prices provided the background.

On the evening of the twentythird a waggon, being sent secretly, late at night from Holywell Mill, was stopped and some of the bags of flour it contained cut open. The following evening men, women and children visited Holywell Mill, removed 120 sacks of flour and distributed it at Carfax. The Castle Mills were also visited but finding little grain the crowd left quietly and at Osney Mill too no damage was done as the owner agreed that the wheat there would be carried to the market place the following morning and sold at 5/- per bushel. After the sale of this wheat had been completed, wheat and flour found at the City's inns were also sold for 5/- per bushel; the poor being served first and then the bakers, who had to agree, however, that they would then sell 12 pounds of household bread for 1/-.⁽³⁶⁾ Dealers in groceries were the next to be compelled to reduce

(35) Aris's Birmingham Gazette Sept. 15 1766 Vol.XXV No.1295.

(36) This provides another illustration of the preparedness of the Oxford poor to eat brown bread.

their prices; the crowd insisting on a reduction in the price of bacon from 8d or 9d per pound to 6d; butter from 8d or 9d to 6d; cheese from 4½d to 2½d; candles from 7½d to 6d, and soap from 6½d to 6d. The following day the price of butter, brought into Oxford market for sale, was fixed at 6d per pound, but roll butter belonging to Mr. Butler, a London waggoner, was sold at 4d per pound; the lower price presumably determined by the fact that the removal of commodities from the County in a period of dearth was considered to have been more reprehensible than the mere charging of high prices. It was, in fact, reported that no provisions were to be permitted to be sent to London. From butter, the crowd turned their attention to other commodities - the price of ducks and chickens being fixed at 16d per couple and that of freshwater fish being reduced. At this stage the magistrates warned the rioters of the illegality of their actions and, although the warning did not prevent a crowd awaiting the return of cheese waggons from Burford fair and compelling the owners to sell the cheese at 2½d per pound⁽³⁷⁾, this was to be the last incident in the Oxford riots.⁽³⁸⁾ The severity of the rioting attracted the attention of the Earl of Shelburne, who requested that the Mayor of Oxford send him details of the examinations of those committed for the disturbances in order that they might be

(37) This allowed no profit to the purchasers of the cheese, most of whom had paid between 2½d and 3d per pound for it.

(38) The account of the riots is from J.O.J. Sept. 27 1766 No. 700.

laid before the king. (39)

Two important points emerge from this study of the Oxford riots. Firstly, it is possible that those who regulated the price of groceries in the City may have been influenced by the fact that the Vice-Chancellor had, in the 1680's, issued lists of maximum commodity prices. Thus, the only groceries regulated in price by the crowd but not on the Vice-Chancellor's lists were soap and fish and, over fish, one may note that there is a possibility that an assize of fish had been in operation in the City in the early eighteenth century. Moreover, Table II illustrates the existence of a partial correlation between the prices fixed by the Vice-Chancellor and the crowd.

Commodity	Table II	
	Prices fixed by the Vice-Chancellor 1680	Prices fixed by the Crowd 1766
Butter per pound	Best 6d	6d
Cheese per pound	2d	2½d
Bacon per pound	Rib Bacon 6d	6d
Couple of chickens	1/4	1/4
Candles	4d	6d

This may suggest that former regulations did very often live on in popular memory, although it is actually possible that in this particular case popular memory may have been aided by the fact that copies of the Vice-Chancellor's lists were extant in the City. (40) Secondly, it would appear that the rioters may have

(39) Ed. J. Redington Calendar of Home Office Papers 1766-1769 (1879) P.85.

In fact, although a special commission at Reading tried the Berkshire rioters, no commission was established to try the Oxfordshire rioters.

D.E. Williams Op.cit. Pp.78-79.

See Ibid P.251 for details on the punishment of the Oxfordshire rioters.

(40) Thus, we know that Viscount Torrington saw one of the lists on a visit to Oxford in 1785.

Ed. C. Bruyn Andrews Op.cit. Vol.I P.209.

been instrumental in bringing about a reduction in price levels. Thus, on October 4 J.O.J. reported,

"Since our last no material Disturbances have happened here (Oxford) on Account of the Price of Provisions which in general sell at more reasonable Rates than for some Time past. The current Price of Mutton is at present Three Pence Halfpenny a pound; Butter Sixpence; and Wheat Five Shillings the Bushel; two Loads of which were brought to our Market on Wednesday last and immediately offered at that Price." (41)

It would seem significant that the prices given for wheat and butter are those which were demanded by the crowd. (42)

At the time of the Oxford riot it is probable that rioting was also occurring at Woodstock, for, in a letter from Secretary Conway to the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, we find...

"his Majesty having received repeated Advices of the Riots and Disorders committed in different Parts of the County of Oxford, particularly in the Towns of Oxford and Woodstock..." (43)

A little additional information on this is given by John Dunkin, who recorded that the Woodstock cheese fair on

(41) J.O.J. Oct. 4 1766 No.701.

(42) Fear of the crowd may also have determined that the wheat was sold in bulk not by sample.

(43) J.O.J. Oct. 11 1766 No.702.

October 3 was very small because many people were too afraid of tumults to be willing to pitch their cheese. The dozen rioters who appeared on this occasion, however, presented no real problem, which may suggest that this was only one of a series of disturbances in the town. (44)

The remaining disturbance centres were Thame and Henley. At Thame the crowd regulated the price of bread, cheese, butter and bacon, and at Henley they rose but dispersed after the reading of the Riot Act. (45)

Although rioting was thus confined to a short period of time in September and October, restlessness over high prices and marketing abuses continued, revealing itself in a series of anonymous letters. The first of these to be recorded was found, in November, in the cellar of William Myers, one of the Justices of the Peace for Chipping Norton. It declared,

"This is to give notice to the justices, constables, tythingmen and to the honourable Clerks of the Market, That if the (sic) do not ring the market bell by 11 a clock and let folks bring in Their butter as usual (sic) to serve the Towns people you certainly shall have your Houses burnt down if not prevented as above no more notice will be given but fire will certainly follow if you refuse this request." (46)

(44) J. Dunkin Collection for Oxfordshire... P.224.
The only other possible evidence on the Woodstock riots occurs in the Woodstock Chamberlain's Accounts 1738-1834... P.161. Under disbursements for December 2 1766 we find a sum mentioned for "fire when the rioters were taken."

(45) G.M. Vol.XXXV 1766 P.493.

(46) J.O.J. Nov. 15 1766 No.707.

Although the letter is clearly rather muddled, it would seem likely that it was requesting that the inhabitants of Chipping Norton should be allowed to make their purchases before the dealers who were buying in order to supply other areas. This interpretation is suggested forcibly by the fact that the following month the Common Council of Chipping Norton issued an order giving local people priority over dealers in the town's market.⁽⁴⁷⁾ If it is correct to make a connection between the anonymous letter and the order of the Common Council then this provides a very informative illustration of the way in which riots and threats did have an impact on the attitude of the local authorities to the regulation of marketing. - This was apparently the only occasion on which such an order was issued in Chipping Norton.

In January 1767 it was the turn of Thomas Howell of Holywell Mill to be the recipient of an incendiary letter, threatening him with "Flames" if he failed to withdraw the warrants he had agreed to for the arrest of those involved in the attack on the mill.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The final threat of disturbance in the crisis of 1766-1768 came in November 1767, when a letter was sent to John Shorter, dyer, a bailiff of Witney. The letter, concerning the assize of bread⁽⁴⁹⁾ commenced,

(47) See Chapter VI P.452.

(48) J.O.J. Jan. 31 1767 No.718.
Given in full in D.E. Williams Op.cit. P.361.

(49) The assize of bread had been set at Witney in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries but there is no evidence that it was ever set during the eighteenth century.
Collections Made in the Nineteenth Century by W. Langford...
Pp.97, 111.

"I hope that (you - omitted) will be so good in a week or two's time to oblige the Bakers to make the Bread according as the Price of Wheat is As they do at Oxford, Abingdon and many other Places....,"

and ended with an attack on the rich in general and the Bailiffs in particular. (50) This letter shows a not inconsiderable awareness of the level of regulation which existed in other areas and also suggests that the setting of the assize of bread in Oxford was believed to be meaningful and of advantage to the consumer.

Before the next outbreak of rioting in 1795 there was, however, to be one more literary attack on the problem of high prices, and that was in 1773, a year in which food riots did actually occur in other parts of the country. On the night of 16 and 17 April an inflammatory paper was affixed to Carfax Conduit in Oxford,

"subscribed One Hundred of the Oxford Lads, requiring the Price of Provisions to be lowered and threatening in failure thereof to meet by Sound of Drum and to rob, murder, fire, drown and hang all who dare to oppose; with other Threats equally wicked and insolent." (51)

This was apparently not the prelude to violence.

Turning to the high price years at the close of the century, we find that the rioting which occurred in 1795 and 1800 was very much more extensive than at any other period.

(50) J.O.J. Nov. 14 1767 No.759.

(51) J.O.J. Apr. 24 1773 No.1043.

The first incident in 1795 appears to have occurred on April 22, when a handbill, which stated that the high price of provisions was a grievance bearing upon the lower orders and ought not to be accepted, was found in Oxford. It is unclear whether any serious disturbance occurred as a result of this but we may note that on April 23 the Mayor found it necessary to issue a proclamation of the terms of the Riot Act. (52)

After this Oxfordshire appears to have been quiet until July and August when rioting was widespread throughout the County.

The first riot of the summer probably took place at Oxford on July 15. No detailed account of this riot exists. However, a number of short references enable one to build up a fairly clear picture of the disturbance. Thus, in J.O.J., among a set of resolutions entered into by Oxford City Council we find,

"that the seizure of some Flour on
Wednesday last by a Mob within this
City was as disgraceful as it was
ungrateful." (53)

Again, statements made by W.E. Taunton, the Town Clerk, in a short pamphlet designed to demonstrate to the crowd the inefficacy of food rioting, reveal that the initial disturbance was the work of "a few turbulent Women," (54) and that all the

- (52) "A Calm Address to the People of Oxford"... P.81.
The Birch May 1 1795 No.1 P.3.
Miscellaneous Papers about Oxford Loyal Volunteers 1795-1809
 G.A. Oxon c 232 P.1.
- (53) J.O.J. Jul. 18 1795 No.2203.
Council Book 1788-1813... Pp.80-81.
- (54) W.E. Taunton Op.cit. P.2.

rioters achieved was,

"to get an apron or a hat-full of flour at the expence of a considerable waste to the public." (55)

Finally, other sources enable one to postulate that at least a part of the riot must have taken place at the canal wharf. Thus, the records of the County Quarter Sessions for Michaelmas 1795 and the Oxford City Sessions for Epiphany 1796 reveal the existence of 2 cases which may have arisen out of food rioting at the canal; William Cutland being charged with the theft of 2 pecks of flour from the wharf on July 15⁽⁵⁶⁾ and Susannah Gray being sentenced to 12 months in prison for assisting in a riot at the coal wharf in July 1795 and for assaulting William Marsh.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Moreover, a letter written by Dr. Durrell, Chairman of the Oxford Canal Proprietors on July 17, suggests clearly that the wharf must have been a target:

"since the disturbance of Wednesday evening has intimidated those who used to supply the neighbourhood of Birmingham and Dudley, it is not probable that either Corn or flour should be sent from this country." (58)

(55) Ibid. P.7.

(56) J.O.J. Oct. 17 1795 No.2216.
The flour was valued at 2/- and belonged to Francis Joule.

(57) Quarter Sessions Minutes. City of Oxford. 1791-1807 O.2.11
Pp.58, 61. J.O.J. Jan. 16 1796 No.2229.

(58) RAiL 855:4 The Committee Book of the Oxford Canal Company 1787-1797 Pp.429-30.
We may also note the comment made by Francis Lye, a Canal Company employee, in September 1795: "I have been very unfortunate since I have been here, as soon after I came my wife was thrown ill by the effects of the Riot."
RAiL 855:104 Loose Inward Letters to the Oxford Canal Company 1795.

Finally, although W.E. Taunton declared that an anonymous, incendiary paper had been found, encouraging acts of violence, it is not clear whether any rioting took place in Oxford after July 15. (59)

The next disturbance to take place in fact occurred on the evening of July 16, at Burford, where a crowd stopped a load of flour belonging to John Moulder, which had been sold to James Hewitt, a baker of Smallbrook Street, Birmingham. The following day, the crowd having insisted that the flour

"should not be carried off to feed our

Enemies whilst themselves were starving,"

and all efforts by the "Gentlemen then in the place," having failed to disperse them, Moulder assented to the flour being sold at 8/- the bushel. The authorities expressed considerable anxiety both that the local crowd would rise if flour were to be moved out of Burford and that an attack from Birmingham might take place if it were not. (60) This incident reveals clearly the very real clash of interests between consumers in the producing counties and in the big urban centres in 1795; a clash which was certainly reflected in the differing responses of the magistrates of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire to the dearth conditions - a letter written from Birmingham in July declaring,

"I cannot believe the Country Gentlemen in Oxfordshire will act heartily in protecting Corn or Flour sending out of their neighbourhood whilst the price is so high as very much to distress their own Poor..." (61)

(59) W.E. Taunton Op.cit. P.7.

(60) P.C. 1:27 A56 Fras. Knollis to Portland 20 July 1795.

(61) P.C. 1:29 A64 Garbett to Legge 29 July 1795.

Although this, in fact, turned out to be the only riot at Burford, a series of disturbances, also motivated by antagonism towards the movement of grain from Oxfordshire, ensued in other parts of the County.

On July 24 at Bloxham, a village 3 miles from Banbury, John Wyatt and a dozen others, stopped a waggon laden with 22 sacks of wheat, belonging to William Atkins of Chipping Norton, mealman, took 9 of the sacks, divided out the wheat and while so doing apparently assaulted William Beale of Grimsbury, Atkins's servant.⁽⁶²⁾ The wheat, like Moulder's flour, was almost certainly on its way to the West Midlands.

Two further riots occurred in this area in late July. Thus, we learn from F.M. Eden that at Banbury,

"some slight attempts to prevent the removal of corn, which have lately been made...are certainly ascribable to the pinching wants of the people: the arrival of the military prevented more serious consequences taking place;"

and that at Deddington,

"A boat laden with flour was lately seized by the populace; but was restored on the miller's promising to sell it at a reduced price."⁽⁶³⁾

(62) Assi 5:116 Oxfordshire Lent Assizes 1796. Indictment of John Wyatt.

(63) F.M. Eden Op.cit. Vol.II - Parochial Reports - England Pp.587, 591. J. Stevenson in "Food Riots in England 1792-1818," in Eds J. Stevenson and R. Quinault Popular Protest and Public Order. Six Studies in British History 1790-1920 (1974) P.65 claims that a riot over butter also took place in Deddington.

Although no other direct evidence on the Deddington riot has been found, it is possible that an apology by Richard Augar, yeoman, printed in J.O.J. might relate to it. Augar declared,

"Having from false Information, encouraged a Report that Mr. Rose, Miller of Lower Heyford did send, at the Time of the Greatest Scarcity, a Quantity of Flour down the Navigation; I do hereby acknowledge the said Report to be totally without Foundation, as has been proved from the Ticket Books at the Wharf of the said Navigation." (64)

Lower Heyford is a village on the canal approximately 5 miles below Deddington and this type of rumour might very easily have led the Deddington crowd to halt a barge.

At the beginning of August another area was the scene of disturbances - the town of Witney and Long Hanborough, a village between Witney and Woodstock. The riot at Long Hanborough took place on August 4, when a large number of people, variously described as from 150 to 300, stopped a waggon carrying 20 sacks of wheat flour and 5 quarters of wheat; the property of Thomas Higgins of Chipping Norton, given as a woolstapler and a yeoman, and Thomas Sheldon of Burmington, Warwickshire, gentleman; as it was on its way from Witney to Chipping Norton. A number of women in the crowd, some of whom had followed the waggon from Witney, began to unload it and Thomas Higgins in a deposition maintained that, at this point, he was assaulted. In spite

(64) J.O.J. Nov. 21 1795 No.2221.

of this, however, the incident seems to have passed off relatively peaceably: Higgins agreed to sell the flour to the crowd at their proffered price of 40/- per sack and the sale of the sacks of flour was then conducted by the parish constable, the tithing-man and other respectable persons. After the completion of the sale the crowd apparently dispersed in an orderly manner. (65)

It is possibly this riot to which Sir Christopher Willoughby was referring when in a letter, dated August 7, he wrote,

"On Wednesday (August 5) the inhabitants of Witney seized some grain as it was going out of the country, brought it back to Witney and sold it a low price." (66)

However, Witney itself was certainly the scene of disturbances. Thus, on August 16, Thomas Hudson, a mealman of Wood Green, near Witney, claimed that he had,

"these last three weeks born the Threats and experienced the Violence of an incorrigible mob." (67)

(65) Assi 5:116 Oxfordshire Lent Assizes 1796. Indictment of Long Hanborough Corn Rioters; Depositions of Robert Prior, constable; John Townsend; Thomas Hudson; Thomas Higgins and James Stevens, tithing-man. See also, E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. P.112 where Thompson discusses the orderliness of much eighteenth century food rioting, using the Long Hanborough riot as an example.

(66) H.O. 42:35 Document 367 Willoughby to Thomas Carter 7 Aug.1795.

(67) P.C. 1:A64 Thomas Hudson to Portland 16 Aug. 1795.

There appear to have been 3 basic reasons why Hudson was a riot victim. Firstly, it was rumoured that he had been involved in the exportation of corn:

"a false and wicked Report hath been industriously propagated in the Neighbourhood of Witney, that I have been concerned in Selling Flour and Meal to Factors or Agents for Exportation, and have refused to sell Flour to Mr. Lane, a Baker, for Home Consumption." (68)

Secondly, it would appear to have been Hudson who had sold the flour to Thomas Higgins⁽⁶⁹⁾ and thirdly, and presumably arising from this, in a deposition dated August 10 he described the involvement in the crowd action at Hanborough of 3 men from Witney and a woman from Hailey. Certainly his role in the prosecution of the Hanborough rioters must have been a significant factor in the crowd's antagonism towards him, for in a letter he wrote to Portland to request troops for his protection he declared,

"...at night they surrounded my House Broke my Windows & threatned total destruction to myself & Family & in Consequence of the Ringleaders being brought to Justice & (recd.?) Punishment I assure your Grace I labor under the most dreadful apprehensions from their threats, of feeling again their outrages." (70)

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- (68) J.O.J. Aug. 8 1795 No.2206.
He continued, "in Consequence of which Reports I have sustained considerable Damage by a deluded Mob attacking me in my House, breaking the Windows and who even presumed to threaten my Life," and denied that he was involved in exportation.
- (69) P.C. 1:29 A64 Hudson to Portland 16 Aug. 1795.
"...my Business is intirely stop'd & my Life in danger in consequence my Lord of having sold a Load of Flour to a person of Chipping norton about twelve miles Distant which Flour was seized & taken away by the Mob."
- (70) P.C. 1:29 A64 Hudson to Portland 16 Aug. 1795.

As the major disturbances around Witney were dying down, attention shifted to Henley in the south of the County, where a riot was expected to take place on August 10, after a handbill had appeared in the town on August 9 calling for a meeting of the poor to take place over the Oxfordshire border in Berkshire. However, as the only information to be found on this occurrence is contained in a series of letters concerned with the preparations to be made to meet the rioters, and, as a large force of volunteers and regulars was available to combat them, it seems likely that no disturbance actually took place. ⁽⁷¹⁾ This was the last event of the 1795 riots.

A mere 5 years later, however, the County was again disrupted by extensive food riots.

In spite of the fact that rioting did not break out until September 1800 disturbances were feared for several months before, after a series of anonymous, threatening letters came into the hands of magistrates in March and April. At the end of March an anonymous letter was discovered at Bicester, threatening farmers, millers and bakers over high prices; complaining that

"the Shopkeepers pinch the poor
of their Weight"

and that

"Hogkillers be Rascals,"

(71) Bundle of twenty Papers relating to the High Price of Bread and Provisions, 1795, 1799 and 1800. Ms.D.D. Henley C IV 7/2-8.

buying hogs at 12/- a score and selling them at 20/- (72) and expressing anger at poor pay and enclosures. (73) At the same time incendiary letters were claimed to have been found at Weston-on-the-Green, a village between Bicester and Oxford. (74) Also in March, the Mayor of Henley was in correspondence with the Duke of Portland over publishing in the Gazette, a letter which carried a threat that the town would be burnt,

"If the Bread...is not fallen two assizes this week." (75)

Finally, at the end of April, 3 incendiary letters came into the possession of William Walford, the Mayor of Banbury, one threatening an attack on his person should he raise the price of bread fixed under the assize, and in the same town "cheap Bread or no King" was found chalked on the church door and a labourer, overheard saying

- (72) A similar complaint about the conduct of hogkillers was voiced in J.O.J. Oct. 28 1797 No.2322. It was, in fact, suggested in 1800 that the high price of pork and bacon was as "much a subject of complaint with the labourers as the dearness of bread." H.O. 42:52 Replies to the Queries sent to the Bishop of Oxford.
- (73) This letter is given in full in Eds. D. Hay, P. Linebaugh and E.P. Thompson Op.cit. Pp.331-332.
- (74) H.O. 42:49 Henry Walford to Portland 27 Mar. 1800.
- (75) H.O. 43:11 Pp.422-423 Portland to Mayor of Henley 29 Mar. 1800. This letter is given in full in L.G. No.15246 Tues. Apr. 8 - Sat. Apr. 12 1800 P.345. This letter contained threats against named individuals, 1 of whom may have been a builder, 1 a grocer and 1 an attorney or a grocer.

"some Blood should be shed before
the week is out,"

was required to find sureties for his good behaviour. (76)

After a quiet period from the beginning of May to the end of August fears that threats would lead to violence were eventually realized in early September. On September 2 handbills appeared in different parts of Oxford inciting the poor to take steps to lower the market before Saturday; (77) and on Saturday September 6 the first riot occurred in the City. The rioters forced the butter-sellers to lower the price of butter from 1/5 to 1/-; (78) "roughly handled" Thomas Jones, an Abingdon mealman and regular purchaser of wheat in Oxford market and bargained with him for a reduction in the price of his meal, which was finally sold at a compromise price of 12/6 per bushel; (79) and then forced 4 butchers to

(76) H.O. 42:49 William Walford to Burton Morrice 27 Apr. 1800.
Inclosure in a letter from Burton Morrice to Home Office.
H.O. 42:49 Richard Williams to Portland 28 Apr. 1800.

(77) H.O. 42:51 Document 36-37 David Hughes to Portland 4 Sept. 1800.

(78) Although Hughes reported to Portland "I mis-informed your Grace when I told you, that the Buttermen had recd. their Shillings for their Pounds of Butter - Our Buttermen had only 20 shillings for 34 lbs...
H.O. 42:51 Document 155 Hughes to Portland 15 Sept. 1800.

(79) The dispute with Jones illustrates the bargaining situation which frequently arose in riots. Jones had asked 15/- for his meal; the crowd offered 10/- and 12/6 was thus a compromise. Jones threatened to prosecute the Mayor for failing to protect him.
H.O. 42:51 Document 154 Hughes to Portland 15 Sept. 1800.

reduce the price of meat by 2d to 5d per pound. On the same day inflammatory notices were affixed to Carfax church, one threatening farmers and forestallers and the other inviting journeymen carpenters to make a guillotine for the destruction of mealmen, farmers and higglers. (80)

Dr. John Cooke, Pro Vice-Chancellor, reported to Portland that similar irregularities took place in the market on the following Saturday also. (81)

On September 11,

"some excesses (were) committed at
the market at Witney" (82)

but the rioting which took place at Banbury on that day was more serious. Butter and meat were taken and sold at reduced prices; the windows of the house of William Pratt, who owned the Red Lion Inn, were broken; someone, presumably an unpopular trader, was ducked and 1 baker's shop was broken into. The crowd also requested the Mayor, William Walford, to call an immediate meeting of farmers and inhabitants to consider ways by which prices might be reduced. Walford refused to agree to this, but, while owning that he did not

"like to call Meetings where it can be said
a Mob has any influence,"

(80) H.O. 42:51 Document 59-60 Hughes to Portland 7 Sept. 1800.

(81) H.O. 42:51 Document 319-320 John Cooke to Portland
21 Sept. 1800.

(82) H.O. 42:51 Document 180-141 Hughes to Portland 14 Sept. 1800.

as

"the general Opinion of the well
disposed is against the summary
(Price) of the Necessaries of Life,
and the sufferings of the Poor have
been great beyond comparison,"

he did agree that a meeting should be held on September 15. (83)
This move did not, however, succeed in averting further
disturbances. (84) Thus, on the fourteenth the Red Lion
was set on fire by

"a Mob of (the) Town joined by
Boatmen of the Canal,"

and the crowd then turned their attention to the local mills,
although they apparently did little damage. (85) On the
fifteenth the Banbury crowd assembled again but was dispersed
after the reading of the Riot Act was followed by charges by
the Light Dragoons. One child was reported to have been
killed, the only recorded fatality in the Oxfordshire riots (86)

(83) H.O. 42:51 Document 116-120 William Walford to Portland
12 Sept. 1800.

(84) One reason for this may have been that there was a genuine
shortage of food in Banbury. Thus, Hughes suggested to
Portland that there was no bread in the town for a day or
2 before the riot on the fourteenth.
H.O. 42:51 Document 154-155 Hughes to Portland 15 Sept. 1800.

(85) Ibid.

(86) H.O. 42:51 Document 229-230 R. Bignell to Charles Butler
16 Sept. 1800.
Inclosure in George Isted to J. King 17 Sept. 1800.
Although, see H.O. 42:51 Document 440 William Walford to
Portland 24 Sept. 1800, where the Mayor denies that any
lives were lost.

and Thomas Whitmore, who was regarded as a local leader and 2 others were seized and taken, under an escort of the Banbury constables and a troop of yeomanry, to the County Gaol at Oxford. The arrival of the prisoners precipitated a further outbreak of rioting in Oxford itself. Thus, as the prisoners were brought into the City around 9 in the evening, it was reported that Whitmore shouted out,

"a loaf for a shilling"

and a crowd of 3000 people instantly tried to rescue him. (87)

The figure of 3000 would seem to have been a considerable exaggeration but there is no doubt that a crowd of from 2 to 300 assembled at the Castle Gaol and having failed in the general confusion to rescue the prisoners, spent a couple of hours at the Gaol, breaking windows, threatening the turnkeys and throwing stones at the yeomanry. (88)

On the same evening, a crowd, again of from 2 to 300,

(87) H.O. 42:51 Document 229-230 R. Bignell to Butler 16 Sept. 1800. Inclosure in Isted to J. King 17 Sept. 1800.

(88) H.O. 48:9 P.234 Daniel Harris to J. King 16 Sept. 1800. H.O. 48:9 Pp.236-260 Examinations and Depositions of Witnesses Oct. 1800.

Daniel Harris recorded that as the crowd left the Gaol they shouted out "to Holleys, Holleys, Headington." In this context we may note a report which appeared in J.O.J. Mar. 7 1801 No.2487: "On Thursday evening last as Mr. Smith, of this city, was executing a search warrant in the house of John Goslin, in the parish of St. Clement, for some wheat belonging to Mr. Holly of Headington, he discovered a large quantity of oats, pease, and barley, together with several sacks, not at present identified." This may suggest that part of the crowd moved on from the Gaol to Headington.

assembled on the other side of the City, and attacked the house of the corn-dealer William Brookes, breaking the windows. The Mayor of Oxford, Richard Cox, finding that the reason for the attack was a belief among the crowd that Brookes was storing flour at the canal wharf, intending to send it out of the County, accompanied them to the wharf, where finding the rumour to be incorrect they dispersed. (89)

In the week which saw the rioting at Oxford and Banbury another form of crowd action was also taking place. From September 13, each night a crowd of from 50 to 200 assembled in the centre of Oxford and then going from the City to adjacent villages obtained agreements from local farmers and millers that they would bring their wheat and flour to Oxford market and sell it at £20 per load. On the sixteenth the target was the mill at Sandford, about 4 miles south of Carfax⁽⁹⁰⁾ and on the seventeenth it was Eynsham, another Thameside village, 7 miles north west of Oxford.⁽⁹¹⁾ Otherwise one assumes that the crowd visited any village known to produce wheat or to possess a substantial mill. This form of crowd action appears to have been particularly orderly and successful. Thus, as Christopher Willoughby reported:

(89) H.O. 48:9 P.264 W.E. Taunton to J. King 23 Sept. 1800.

(90) H.O. 42:51 Document 194-195 Willoughby to Portland 17 Sept. 1800.
H.O. 42:51 Document 338-340 Willoughby to Portland 21 Sept. 1800.

(91) H.O. 48:9 P.260 The Further Examination of Richard Bayley one of the Turnkeys of the Castle Gaol 16 Oct. 1800.
Inclosure in Marlborough to Portland 19 Oct. 1800.

"On the farmers promising to comply,
no act of violence was committed, but
they returned regularly and in order
to Oxford, under some person or leader
who gave the word of command to march
and disperse." (92)

Moreover, it was actually suggested that the farmers had
been required

"to sign papers for the sale of their
corn at a reduced price," (93)

and that they felt that they had entered into almost legally
binding contracts with the crowd - as a farmer declared to
John Cooke

"they were called upon to make this promise"

"they considered themselves bound by it"

and

"they could not go from it." (94)

Certainly the influence of the crowd was sufficient to ensure
that over a period of 3 consecutive Saturdays 33 transactions
took place in Oxford market at £20 per load or under and as
we have seen the assize of bread was set on the unrealistically
low prices.

The Oxford riots outlined above are important in that
they reveal the existence of both an unusually complex but

(92) H.O. 42:51 Document 338 Willoughby to Portland 21 Sept. 1800.

(93) H.O. 43:12 P.159 Portland to Marlborough 22 Sept. 1800.

(94) H.O. 42:51 Document 319 John Cooke to Portland 21 Sept. 1800.

nevertheless close relationship between the response to dearth and marketing of the City authorities in conjunction with the "respectable" inhabitants, and that of the crowd, and also the very considerable gulf between their attitudes and that of central government and, to some extent, the University hierarchy.

Thus, David Hughes, fellow of Jesus College, in a report to Portland on the riots in Oxford, claimed that the responsibility for the disturbances rested at least in part on the shoulders of the Mayor and a Committee of the Inhabitants who had had published in the September 13 issue of J.O.J. an announcement which stated that the high price of necessities was not justified and resulted in a great degree from the prevalence of forestalling, engrossing and regrating. (95)

Hughes wrote,

"When I saw, Saturday Morning, in Jackson's Paper, the Advertisement I sent to Your Grace last Night, it struck me instantly, that some serious Mischief would occur in four & twenty Hours in some Place out of the Reach of the Dragoons. On Saturday Nights, you know, my Lord, the poor indulge themselves with their ale, and when a little warmed, the Language of our Mayor & his Committee must have raised in them a Spirit of Madness to be laid only by the Sword of a Dragoon." (96)

Moreover, and supporting Hughes's view that the crowd was influenced by the attitude of the authorities, on September 6

(95) J.O.J. Sept. 13 1800 No.2472.

(96) H.O. 42:51 Document 154 Hughes to Portland 15 Sept. 1800.

J.O.J. had contained a recommendation by the Common Council that the inhabitants abstain from the use of butter until its price was reduced to a reasonable level⁽⁹⁷⁾ - apparently seen as 10d or 1/- per pound⁽⁹⁸⁾ - and in the riot which occurred on that day the crowd insisted on a reduction in the price of butter to 1/-. However, the handbills which called on the poor to regulate the markets had been issued on September 2 and as the first resolutions by the City Council were not drawn up until September 3 it might be argued that the attack on market abuses and high prices by City authorities and respectable inhabitants was actually a response to the threats of the crowd and was made in an attempt to avert disturbances. W.E. Taunton, the Town Clerk, certainly regarded the suppression of market offences as a means of averting rioting:

"from the exertion of the magistrates in suppressing, as far as they are able what they conceive to be one of the principal causes of the dearness, the offences of forestalling, ingrossing and regrating...they direct me to communicate to you their decided opinion and belief that there will be no occasion in this city for the presence of a regular soldiery."⁽⁹⁹⁾

(97) J.O.J. Sept. 6 1800 No.2471.

(98) Letter from W.E. Taunton to Mr. John Cooper, Henley
Ms.D.D. Henley CIV 7/11.

(99) W.O. 40:17 W.E. Taunton to War Office 6 Sept. 1800.

Nevertheless, it is as difficult to see the measures taken by the magistrates and respectable inhabitants of Oxford solely as a response to the threats of the crowd as it is to see the actions of the crowd as determined solely by the measures and attitudes of the authorities. Thus, there is no doubt that the effects of the crisis of 1800, probably to a greater extent than any previous dearth,⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ were felt at all levels of urban society. As W.E. Taunton reported,

"a spirit of disquietude and discontent is manifest in persons of every description"

because of

"the unheard of price of every necessary of life."⁽¹⁰¹⁾

(100) Malthus seems to provide an explanation for this. He recorded that, in 1800, the very poor had been enabled to continue purchasing wheat by means of parish allowances and subsidies; this had resulted in prices running even higher than might normally have been expected in a year of crop failures, and consequently caused, "the distress to be divided among five or six millions, perhaps, instead of two or three, and to be by no means unfelt by the remainder of the population." An Investigation of the Cause of the Present High Price of Provisions. By the Author of the Essay on the Principle of Population (1st Ed. 1800) Pp.19-20.

(101) W.O. 40:17 W.E. Taunton to War Office 6 Sept. 1800.

Under these circumstances it would seem likely that the attack on marketing abuses may have been not a measure to appease the crowd but at least in part a genuine attempt to bring about price reductions to the benefit of all. Support for this view can be found firstly in the fact that from the 1770's high grocery prices in Oxford had always been greeted by attacks on marketing offences and that in 1797 high meat prices had actually led to the issue of an order requesting butchers to institute reductions⁽¹⁰²⁾, and, secondly, in the response of the middle strata of urban society to the riots themselves. Thus, it would seem that the respectable inhabitants of Oxford were not, in fact, strongly motivated by a desire to suppress the rioting. As Thomas Molland, an unbeneficed clergyman from nearby Thame, declared to Portland:

"if by seasonable and prudent interference by the Military, mischief could be prevented, some imagine, a little stir of the populace would have produced permanent beneficial effects, in over-aweing the farmers, who seem to be the great oppressors of the Land."⁽¹⁰³⁾

Moreover, David Hughes expressed the fear that

(102) See Chapter VI P.462.

(103) H.O. 42:82 Document 386 Rev. Thomas Molland to Portland
23 Oct. 1800.

"the City Volunteers would scarcely exert themselves against a Mob, whose Cry was for lowering the Price of Provisions," (104)

and it seems likely that his fears were justified for in the riot on the sixth it was found that one of those removing butter from a cart was a member of the City Association. (105) Finally, we may note that while in 1795 the edition of J.O.J. published 3 days after the riot of July 15 had contained a commitment by the Jury of the City Quarter Sessions to help suppress riots, agreed upon on the sixteenth and a condemnation of the disturbances by the Common Council agreed upon on the seventeenth (106), in 1800 it was not until September 27, over 3 weeks after the first threat of disturbances that the paper carried an announcement of the magistrates' determination to suppress riots. (107)

(104) H.O. 42:51 Document 36 Hughes to Portland 4 Sept. 1800.

(105) H.O. 42:51 Document 59 Hughes to Portland 7 Sept. 1800. It should be noted, however, that several of the Oxford Loyal Volunteers were labourers and artisans and therefore indistinguishable in occupational status from the crowd. Pamphlets: O.L.V. (c 1805) G.A. Oxon 8° 461 (14). The volunteers were unreliable in other towns also. Thus, a druggist, a baker, a grocer, a coal-merchant and a wheelwright were expelled from the Banbury Military Association for withholding their services during the Banbury food riots. N.M. Oct. 25 1800 Vol.LXXIX No.34. The involvement of the volunteers in food rioting is discussed in detail by J.H. Bohstedt Op.cit. Pp.209-264.

(106) J.O.J. Jul. 18 1795 No.2203.

(107) J.O.J. Sept. 27 1800 No.2474. The order was dated September 24.

If, however, the responses of the local authorities and the crowd to the dearth of 1800 were not dissimilar, the attitudes and actions of the City leaders brought them into serious conflict with the central government.

Firstly, the liberal view which the City authorities took of the butter price-fixing incident, illustrated by a comment of W.E. Taunton's -

"It is with great pleasure I inform you that the people of Oxford have hitherto shown no disposition to be riotous except the bringing into the market of some hampers of butter and selling it at a shilling a pound and accounting for the money to the owner of the butter be reckoned of that description" (108)

... brought down a stinging rebuke from the Duke of Portland.

In a letter from James King to Taunton it was declared,

"so far from considering the circumstances in the trivial light in which it is represented in your letter... His Grace sees it in the view of a violent and unjustifiable attack on property, pregnant with the most fatal consequences to the City of Oxford, and to its inhabitants of every description, and which His Grace takes it for granted the Mayor and Magistrates must have thought it their bounden duty to suppress and punish..." (109)

(108) W.O. 40:17 W.E. Taunton to War Office 6 Sept. 1800.

(109) H.O. 43:12 P.107 J. King to W.E. Taunton 8 Sept. 1800. Moreover, in a letter to Hughes, Portland referred to "the unjust and injudicious proceedings of your foolish Corporation in the instance of yr butterman..." "Portland to Hughes 12 Sept. 1800," in 3rd Duke of Portland - Copies of Private Letters July 1797 to January 1801 PWV III.

Secondly, the apparent failure of the City authorities to prevent the rioting at the Gaol; the subject of a complaint by the governor -

"Notwithstanding the Mob were assembled... for at least two hours I am sorry to have to observe that no attempt was made to disperse them, either by the Magistrates of the City, their officers or the association" (110)

- led Portland to contemplate proceeding against the Mayor, "by indictment or information, for neglect of his duty." (111)

A very careful investigation of the incident was made and it was not until November 6 that the Lord Chancellor was able to declare,

"I think there is no sufficient ground for a prosecution against the Mayor of Oxford." (112)

Thirdly, the attitude of the Mayor to the disturbance at the wharf on the evening the Gaol was attacked also troubled Portland. On receipt of a letter from David Durrell informing him

"of the manner in which the canal wharf at Oxford (had) been entered for the purpose of searching for corn,"

(110) H.O. 48:9 P.234 D. Harris to J. King 16 Sept. 1800.

(111) H.O. 48:9 P.228 J. Mitford and W. Grant to Portland 30 Oct. 1800.

(112) H.O. 48:9 P.266.

he wrote,

"I cannot but be much surprised at the conduct of the Mayor upon this occasion whose duty it was to have protected the free progress of grain and other provisions, from one part of the country to the other, and to have had recourse to the military, if necessary, for that purpose." (113)

Fourthly, the opinion of the City Council and respectable inhabitants of Oxford that the scarcity was artificial and was to be attributed to the prevalence of the offences of forestalling, engrossing and regrating was alien to the government. As Portland declared to the Vice-Chancellor after the rioting had died down,

"I incline to hope...that the people in general begin to be convinced that perfect security of property and the discouragement of those pernicious and destructive opinions which attribute the dearness of Provisions to engrossers and forestallers etc. are absolutely and indispensably necessary to ensure a tolerable supply of the Markets..." (114)

Moreover, he was so angered by the fact that the Mayor and Town Clerk had allowed advertisements condemning marketing abuses to be issued in their names that he suggested to Marlborough, who was Custos Rotulorum, that Taunton should be dismissed from his post as Clerk of the Peace, an office he

(113) H.O. 43:12 P.144 Portland to D. Durrell '19 Sept. 1800.

(114) "Portland to Vice-Chancellor 4 Oct. 1800," in 3rd Duke of Portland... The letter continued with a lengthy justification of the activities of the engrosser.

held in addition to that of Town Clerk, in case it should be thought that his views were representative of those of the County magistrates. (115)

Nevertheless, while the City Council found itself so very deeply in disgrace with the government, it is in fact possible that the attitude of the Council to both the riots and the dearth was the more realistic.

Firstly, it would seem that the central government took an exaggerated view of the severity of the riots. Thus, Portland reported to the vice-Chancellor that the accounts of

"the transactions which took place at your Gaol at the time of the commitment of the Banbury rioters...created a very considerable degree of sensation among the sober and thinking part of the community even in this place," (116)

and there is no doubt that the early reports sent to Portland did suggest a riot of considerable violence and also one which may have been politically motivated. Thus, an account of the disturbance by R. Bignell suggested that the crowd had been 3000 strong and had,

(115) H.O. 43:11 P.204 Portland to Marlborough 29 Sept. 1800.

(116) "Portland to Vice-Chancellor 4 Oct. 1800," in 3rd Duke of Portland...

"determined to pull down the goal;"

Thomas Whitmore⁽¹¹⁷⁾, whose rescue was attempted, had been found on his capture in Banbury to be carrying seditious letters from Nottingham⁽¹¹⁸⁾ and the Mayor of Banbury certainly believed that the inhabitants of his town were being

"sadly misled by designing villains

who have more in view than lowering

the price of bread."⁽¹¹⁹⁾

- (117) The fate of Thomas Whitmore is unclear. Thus, at the Oxfordshire Lent Assizes for 1801 Thomas Whitmore "being a person of evil and tumultuous disposition and maliciously intending and endeavouring to disturb the tranquillity good order and Government of this realm" was indicted for riot and for inciting to riot. However, the case was respited until the summer, Whitmore was released on bail, set at £150 and, as no evidence has been found that his case ever came to trial, it is possible that he absconded. Assi 5:121 Oxfordshire Lent Assizes 1801. H.O. 49:3 Law Officers' Letter Book Pp.385-386. The only other Oxfordshire rioter who appears to have been suspected of being politically motivated was a mason "of suspicious character" discovered during the attack on Sandford Mill going round "to the Cottages of a neighbouring Village, threatening to set fire to the houses unless the Inhabitants wou. get up immediately and go with him to join the other Mob..." H.O. 42:51 Document 194 Willoughby to Portland 17 Sept. 1800.
- (118) H.O. 42:51 Document 229-230 R. Bignell to Butler 16 Sept. 1800. Inclosure in Isted to J. King 17 Sept. 1800. Whitmore, who was actually from Middleton Cheney, thus provides a link between the riot centres of Nottingham, Banbury and Oxford, which suggests that in 1800, in contrast to 1795, when as we have seen, very parochial attitudes were displayed by food rioters, a greater spirit of co-operation was in evidence. On this we may note that it was also suspected that colliers from Warwick intended to join the rioters at Banbury. H.O. 42:51 Document 115 William Walford to High Sheriff of Oxfordshire 11 Sept. 1800. Inclosure in Richard Williams to Home Office 12 Sept. 1800.
- (119) W.O. 40:17 William Walford to War Office 18 Sept. 1800.

However, later reports make it clear that the number of rioters was, in fact, 2 to 300; by the time the Mayor was able to investigate the disturbance only

"a parcel of boys" (120)

was left at the Gaol, and, and perhaps most revealing, the cost of the damage done during the riot was estimated at a mere £6/14/6. (121) Moreover, the authorities in Oxford, knowing the composition of the crowds, appear to have had little doubt about their motivation. Thus, even Hughes, discussing the riot on the sixth, was prepared to declare:

"I firmly believe all these noisy fellows (with very few exceptions) are loyal - their cry was merely against those, who deprived them of provisions." (122)

Secondly, it would appear that the central government failed to produce a policy towards marketing in dearth, which was intelligible and acceptable to consumers, particularly in the producing counties. Thus, it is clear from a statement overheard by David Hughes in Oxford that there was confusion in the public mind over what the

- (120) H.O. 48:9 P.238 The Examination and Deposition of Mr. D. Harris the Governor of the Castle Gaol 8 Oct. 1800. Inclosure in Marlborough to Portland 12 Oct. 1800.
- (121) The damage was to the windows, the gates, the stone work; to china and glasses in the Lodge and also to the watch belonging to one George Eeles, the gaol porter; broken when Eeles was "assaulted by the mob."
Estimate of the Damage done at the Castle Gates etc
Sept. 15 1800.
Q.S. Bundles Epiphany 1801.
- (122) H.O. 42:51 Document 60 Hughes to Portland 7 Sept. 1800.

government did, in fact, believe:

"the House of Commons despaired of
doing any good with the farmers -
so we must do it ourselves - Mr.
Pitt had said so - Mr. Pitt had
said everything must be left to
find its own level." (123)

Moreover, Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, actually
complained that,

"Government is strongly remiss in
informing the publick mind,"

and that,

"They seem to me not given to
know the importance of doing so." (124)

Finally, we may note that it was not until November 1 that
a major statement of Portland's views - that the scarcity
was the result of harvest failure; that all attempts to
influence price levels were unjust, foolish or illegal and
that only if the farmers had complete freedom to do as they
wished with their property would markets be supplied - was
published in J.O.J. (125)

(123) Ibid.

(124) H.O. 42:52 Document 202 Cyril Jackson to Home Office
21 Oct. 1800.

(125) J.O.J. Nov. 1 1800 No.2479.
The statement was contained in a letter from Portland to
Marlborough. The letter had, in fact, been dispatched on
29 September 1800 and it appears to have been largely the
fault of Marlborough that publication was delayed.
H.O. 43:12 Pp.197-207 Portland to Marlborough 29 Sept. 1800.
H.O. 42:52 Document 201-202 Cyril Jackson to Home Office
21 Oct. 1800.

However, even when government views were known it was most unlikely that they could help to appease riotous crowds. Thus, riots were in part about adequate food supplies and an insistence on the free movement of grain and that the activities of the engrosser were essential if markets were to be supplied could not be acceptable in a county like Oxfordshire where the implementation of such a policy in dearth would ensure that corn needed by the local community would be sent away to feed distant consumers. As Christopher Willoughby had declared very simply in 1795,

"If Government had wished to have had corn from this country, care should have (been) taken in the beginning to satisfy the inhabitants that sufficient was left for their own consumption." (126)

Secondly, riots were about prices and the right of the poor to be able to afford to buy sufficient food to avoid hunger or starvation. Under these circumstances it cannot be supposed that the view that the farmer should be allowed to charge whatever he wished for his corn would have been comprehensible to the crowd. The central government appears to have failed to understand that even if a move to enforce pro-consumer regulations or establish the "just price" might achieve no practical end it was important in persuading the poor that the authorities were actively concerned to protect their interests⁽¹²⁷⁾ and if the authorities failed to

(126) H.O. 42:35 Document 368-369 Willoughby to Carter 7 Aug. 1795.

(127) This point is made by E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. Pp.88, 96.

try to suppress market "abuses" no alternative philosophy on marketing would persuade the crowd not to "regulate" the markets for themselves. Ultimately, in fact, even the University authorities and County magistrates, who were certainly conversant with central government thinking, did concur in the issue of declarations on the protection of local consumers and against forestalling, engrossing and regrating. (128) Furthermore, even in Banbury, where Portland's

"gentle censure to the Mayor...had the most beneficial effect,"

leading him to reject plans for

"forcing the farmers into voluntary agreements to sell at a specified price"

and to become instead

"the advocate for firm and steady measures...for the protection and security of the markets," (129)

rioting did not actually cease until the free market economy had ceased to operate and farmers had agreed to sell their wheat at 10/- per bushel. (130)

(128) J.O.J. Sept. 27 1800 No.2474.
J.O.J. Oct. 18 1800 No.2477.

(129) H.O. 42:51 Document 256 Carter to Portland 18 Sept. 1800.

(130) H.O. 42:51 Document 230 R. Bignell to Butler 16 Sept. 1800.
Inclosure in Isted to King 17 Sept. 1800.

Finally a major question is raised and that is, setting aside that the enforcement of traditional consumer orientated legislation may have been necessary to appease the crowd, is it, in fact, possible that it was a more appropriate response to dearth anyway? Thus, we have suggested that marketing practices may, in fact, have altered during periods of dearth⁽¹³¹⁾ and there is certainly evidence that high price years witnessed an upsurge in speculation and profiteering.⁽¹³²⁾ In addition, many of the riots were about groceries, and these products which were not, in fact, marketed in the complex way which was appropriate for corn may well have been enhanced in price by forestalling, engrossing and regrating.⁽¹³³⁾ Certainly the Oxford Market Committee was so little convinced by government policies that

(131) See Chapter IV Pp. 274-7; 309-10; 312.

(132) This point is made by several writers. See, for example:- M.W. Beresford, "The Common Informer, the Penal Statutes and Economic Regulation," in E.H.R. 2nd ser. Vol.X (1957) P.230.
 "Review by P. Linebaugh of W.J. Shelton's 'English Hunger and Industrial Disorders...'" in Society for the Study of Labour History. Bulletin No. 28 (Spring 1974) P.58.
 J. Stevenson, "Food Riots in England 1792-1818," in Eds. J. Stevenson and R. Quinault Op.cit. Pp.53-54.
 For an Oxfordshire example of the type of profiteering which was believed to take place see Indictment for conspiracy to enhance the price of wheat at Bampton. Q.S. Bundles Michaelmas 1800.

(133) Thus, in 1795 the Oxford Market Committee stated categorically that regrating was responsible for an increase in the price of meat.
The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835...
 Pp.99-100.

they issued condemnations of these market abuses as late as 1808 - signed by an unrepentant W.E. Taunton - and 1824. Much more research would be necessary before one could attempt to establish definitely the relative appropriateness of the responses of central and local government. However, it is certainly true that while the approach of the traditionalist Oxford magistrates, may rarely have brought about price reductions and, as in 1772⁽¹³⁴⁾ failure had to be admitted and resort made to the charitable provision of foodstuffs⁽¹³⁵⁾, their attitude did, at least, take account of the needs of the consumer; acknowledge that dearth conditions may have required the implementation of special policies and, while this cannot be proved, possibly helped, if not to reduce prices, at least to moderate their rise. Furthermore, it would seem likely that central government may have greatly overestimated the damage which might be caused by both rioting and the enforcement of protectionist regulations - thus claims that they discouraged agricultural

(134) Rev. Sir J. Peshall Op.cit. P.334.

(135) All dearth periods, in fact, witnessed the institution of major relief programmes. As such programmes often appear to have been instituted in order to avert or terminate outbreaks of rioting, they are frequently regarded as the most important gain achieved by food rioters. This point is made by, for example, A.W. Coats Loc.cit. P.110.
J.H. Bohstedt Op.cit. P.430.

investment⁽¹³⁶⁾ seem to have been quite inaccurate - and may perhaps have been mistaken not to have evolved a comprehensive policy for internal trade⁽¹³⁷⁾ and marketing, designed specifically for periods of dearth.⁽¹³⁸⁾

To return to our descriptive account of the riots of September 1800: At the same time that the Oxford crowd was making its excursions into the countryside to obtain agreements from the occupants of farms and mills that they would bring their corn and flour to market, groups of from 3 to 400 were reported to have been leaving Witney for the same purpose.⁽¹³⁹⁾

- (136) This claim was made in, for example, the letter from Portland to Marlborough published in J.O.J. Nov. 1 1800 No.2479. The inaccuracy of such a view may be demonstrated from the fact that in the Autumn of 1795, the Privy Council reported that there was a much increased demand for seed wheat; the farmers apparently being more keen to take advantage of the higher grain prices than discouraged from farming enterprise by the rioting and the enforcement of protectionist regulations which had taken place over the summer.
G.M. Vol.LXV Part II 1795 P.1003.
- (137) The Corn Laws, of course, ensured that the external trade in corn operated along different lines in years of dearth and plenty.
- (138) An important discussion of the new political economy and its validity is by E.P. Thompson Loc.cit. Pp.89-94.
- (139) H.O. 42:51 Document 468 John Cobb to Portland 26 Sept. 1800.

The most detailed account of these visitations concerns an attack on Fawler Mill. On September 19, Edward Bolton, a farmer of Blandford Park near Charlbury, and Jonathan Paine of Fawler Mill, reported to John Cobb, Vicar of Charlbury and a Justice of the Peace, that they believed themselves to be in danger of being attacked by the Witney poor, and would need protection.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ On the afternoon of the twenty-second Cobb was informed that a riotous assembly was at Wilcote, a hamlet bordering Wychwood Forest, taking agreements from the farmers and was expected to move on to Fawler Mill. In fact, only 20 people eventually arrived at the mill, saying that they were a detachment from a body of 500 and requesting that Paine should enter into an agreement to sell his meal at a reduced price. They were also aware that the miller had foreign wheat and expressed a wish that he would provide meal for the Witney bakers. However, while they were negotiating with Paine, they were informed that the larger body had returned home and, on hearing this, dispersed quietly.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

(140) When Cobb attempted to discover what assistance would be available he found that "no assistance from the inferior classes, servants or otherwise could be relied on"; probably an informative illustration of the degree of sympathy which existed for the aims of the rioters at all levels of society, in 1800. Ibid.

(141) H.O. 42:51 Document 469 Information of Jonathan Paine of Fawler Mill 23 Sept. 1800. Inclosure in Cobb to Portland 26 Sept. 1800.

This appears to have been the last excursion of the Witney crowd, although in Witney itself there seems to have been a disturbance on the twenty-third, when local magistrates finally brought the rioting under control by agreeing to call a meeting of the farmers to consider ways by which prices might be reduced. ⁽¹⁴²⁾ On September 24 the Duke of Marlborough was able to report to Portland that all was quiet ⁽¹⁴³⁾, although, on the same day, the following seditious words were found written up in Banbury Market Place,

"No. 45, Liberty or Death.

A Second Oliver Cromwell." ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

There was, however, to be no more rioting in the town.

In addition to the major riots outlined above, several minor disturbances also seem to have taken place in September, about which only incidental information has survived. Thus, in a paper, dated September 15, concerning an agreement by farmers and landowners to provide cheap wheat for the poor of Henley, we find:

"We declare that we will discontinue
it on the reappearance of any
Tumult or Riot," ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

and, in Proposed Resolut'ns respecting forestalling and not using Butter etc issued in Henley on September 17:

(142) H.O. 42:51 Document 399 Marlborough to Portland
23 Sept. 1800.

(143) H.O. 42:51 Document 442 Marlborough to Portland
24 Sept. 1800.

(144) H.O. 42:51 Document 440 William Walford to Portland
24 Sept. 1800.

(145) Agreement as to Supply of Corn for the Poor at Reduced Rate.

"observing a disposition to riot
& disturb the public Tranquillity
showing itself in the minds of
the people..." (146)

Both of these references indicate that there had been a
disturbance or at least the threat of it in the town.

Again, in a letter from Christopher Willoughby to Portland
on September 17, it is declared,

"Your Grace, has, I presume been
informed of riots at Banbury,
Charlbury and other places in
this county." (147)

No other evidence has been found on the riot at Charlbury.
Finally, we may note that on September 22, the Duke of Marl-
borough referred to tumults around Burford⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ and the Mayor
of Woodstock found it necessary to reassure farmers and dealers
that additional constables would be appointed,

"to prevent any Disturbance that may
happen from the Conduct of misguided
People, unhappily inclined to promote
Disorder and Confusion," (149)

and, revealing his own concern, tried to obtain a detachment
of dragoons for the town. (150)

(146) Ms.D.D. Henley C IV 7/14.

(147) H.O. 42:51 Document 92-93 Willoughby to Portland 17 Sept. 1800.

(148) H.O. 42:51 Document 386 Marlborough to Portland 22 Sept. 1800.

(149) J.O.J. Sept. 27 1800 No.2474.

(150) H.O. 42:51 Document 469 C.R. Barrett, Lieutenant Eleventh
Dragoons to John Cobb 22 Sept. 1800. Inclosure in Cobb to
Portland 26 Sept. 1800.

After September 24 all rioting seems to have died down and on October 3 Marlborough was able to inform Portland:

"I have the satisfaction to say
that all is very quiet in this
neighbourhood." (151)

However, one further riot was to occur in Oxford, before peace was finally restored. Thus, on the evening of Wednesday October 8 "a great concourse of people" went up High Street, breaking lamps and windows, and assembled outside Corpus Christi College. There Thomas Robinson, an attorney, tried to pacify the crowd, firstly by informing them that a petition from Oxford had been sent to the King requesting that Parliament be recalled in order to consider ways by which the distress caused by the high price of bread might be relieved, and secondly by claiming that the price of bread was, in fact, lower in Oxford than in "the neighbouring places" because it was being subsidized by University and City. Although Robinson quieted the crowd, on the arrival of Dr. John Cooke, President of Corpus Christi and Pro Vice-Chancellor, violence broke out again. More lamps and windows were broken and one stone hit Cooke's cap, knocking it off. Cooke,

"very much alarmed for his safety,"

hid in his house; the crowd returned to their usual place of assembly, Carfax, and then, apparently convinced by Robinson's arguments, dispersed. (152)

(151) H.O. 42:52 Document 66 Marlborough to Portland 3 Oct. 1800.

(152) H.O. 42:52 Document 84 The Examination of Thomas Robinson.
Inclosure in Dr. Marlow to Portland 17 Oct. 1800.

From this date the County returned to the situation of March and April, with threats and anonymous letters, but no actual riots. Thus an anonymous letter was written on October 29 containing the suggestion that incendiary attacks were planned against estates belonging to Oxford Colleges, in consequence of an even greater increase in wheat prices, believed to have been caused by a letter supposed to have been sent by Portland to the Vice-Chancellor, directing him to provide protection for the farmers whatever price they should ask for corn.⁽¹⁵³⁾ It is unclear whether the suggestion had any basis in reality but the Royal Exchange Assurance, Sun Fire Office and Phoenix did take the threat sufficiently seriously to send handbills to Oxfordshire explaining that incendiarism ultimately harmed only the insurance companies,

"who would rejoice to assist in relieving (those displeased over high prices) could they discover the means."⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

The final incident of 1800 occurred when a handbill, presumably calling a meeting to lower prices was found affixed to walls in different parts of Oxford, but precautions were taken and no

(153) H.O. 42:53 Document 12 Anonymous Letter to the Proprietors of the Sun Fire Insurance Office, London 29 Oct. 1800. Inclosure in Mr. Watts to J. King 1 Nov. 1800. The letter concluded, "I have given you this information in order that your office be aware of insuring collidg farmers for the villins car it on in great secret."

(154) H.O. 42:53 Document 14 Printed Handbill. Inclosure in Mr. Watts to J. King 1 Nov. 1800.

meeting took place. (155)

Having established the chronology of the Oxfordshire food riots, we may now examine the extent to which decisions to enforce pro-consumer regulations; the details of which are included on the tables in Chapter VI; were taken in response to consumer action and demand.

Before doing so, however, it should be pointed out that, as was suggested in the examination of the relationship between crowd action and the suppression of market abuses in Oxford in 1800, it is not possible to state that the enforcement of pro-consumer regulations was the result of disturbances or threatened disturbances solely because the actions taken by the authorities followed in the wake of the crowd action. In fact, one may suggest that 1 of 3 conditions need to be satisfied before the relationship can be definitely established. Firstly, and most obviously, it is clear that the authorities were motivated by a desire to appease riotous crowds when they actually admitted that

(155) H.O. 42:53 Document 377-378 Portland to Cooke 31 Dec. 1800. The disturbances of 1800 were not the final food riots to occur in Oxfordshire. In November 1867 Oxford witnessed a major bread riot, which, while in some respects dissimilar to the earlier outbreaks of rioting also displayed some striking similarities. Thus, as in the earlier riots, when the wharves were a usual target, in 1867 it was feared that there would be an attack on the grain stores belonging to the Great Western Railway. The riot also included attacks on the bakers' shops; complaints about monopolies and hoarding and an agreement between the Mayor and the bakers that the price of bread should be lowered.
A Scrap Book on Oxford "Bread Riots" in 1867...

pro-consumer regulations were to be enforced because of riots, as, for example, in October 1766, when it was reported that the magistrates of Oxford, Thame and Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire were intending to permit local people the privilege of purchasing poultry before the dealers, on account of the disturbances of the populace.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Secondly, it would seem likely that the attempted suppression of marketing abuses was a concession to the crowd when one finds orders that farmers and dealers moderate price demands or obey particular marketing laws coupled with condemnations of rioting or announcements that those attending markets would be protected. Table III shows the occasions upon which the 2 types of order were issued simultaneously.

Table III

Table to show the Issue of Orders on the Prevention of Riots and the Protection of those using Markets.

Date of Order	Authority, Group or Individual to make Order	A tick in this column indicates that this order was accompanied by an announcement of measures to protect the consumer.
Jun. 17 1757	Mayor and Justices of the Peace of Oxford.	✓
Jun. 24 1757	Principal Inhabitants of Witney	
c Oct. 4 1766	Principal Inhabitants of Witney	
Oct. 7 1766	County Quarter Sessions	✓
Oct. 9 1766	Oxford Magistrates	
Jul. 16 1795	Jury at Oxford City Quarter Sessions	
Jul. 17 1795	Common Council of Oxford	
Sept. 15 1800	Meeting of the Inhabitants of Banbury	✓
Sept. 17 1800	Mayor and Inhabitants of Henley	✓
Sept. 22 1800	Mayor and Magistrates of Woodstock	✓
Sept. 24 1800	Magistrates of the University and City of Oxford. Vice-Chancellor and Mayor.	✓
Oct. 7 1800	Chairman of the County Quarter Sessions	
Oct. 9 1800	Vice-Chancellor and Town Clerk of Oxford	
Oct. 9 1800	Bailiffs of the Borough of Witney	✓
Oct. 16 1800	Magistrates at the County Quarter Sessions.	✓

(156) Aris's Birmingham Gazette Oct. 6 1766 Vol.XXV No.1298.

Thirdly, it would seem that when an attack on marketing abuses was suddenly issued, after an outbreak of rioting, in an area in which it was very exceptional for marketing to be regulated, then one can almost certainly attribute the attempt to protect the consumer to the actions of the crowd.

Having established when these conditions are satisfied the following points emerge. Firstly, from 1757 onwards almost all announcements that the authorities were intending to suppress speculative dealings in corn or to restrict the trade in corn to the market place appear to have been made in response to outbreaks of rioting.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Secondly, the 2 attempts which were made in 1766 to protect the interests of local consumers and the supplies of the local community seem to have been made in response to crowd demands.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Thirdly, except perhaps in Oxford, the attacks made in 1800 on forestalling, regmating and engrossing as problems affecting the price and supply of all provisions, seem to have resulted from the disturbances.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Fourthly, all announcements of

(157) For details of these announcements see Chapter VI Tables VII, IX. It is also the case that 2 of the 3 prosecutions for unlicensed dealing which took place in the eighteenth century seem to have occurred in the wake of riots and the third as the product of a situation in which it was feared that a riot would occur.

(158) For details of these announcements see Chapter VI Table IX. The decisions which were made to prevent the movement of corn in 1795 do not seem to have been related to rioting in the same way, although it is certainly possible that they were taken in an attempt to avert threatened disturbances.

(159) For details of these announcements see Chapter VI Table IX.

measures to reduce prices made in 1766, 1795 and 1800; almost the only years in the eighteenth century which witnessed attempts to bring about price reductions; appear to have been made very largely at the instigation of food rioters.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Fifthly, and perhaps most unexpectedly, given that we have suggested that certain minimum standards of honesty were required from dealers and farmers throughout the period, the move to ensure that correct weights and measures were employed in Woodstock and Witney in 1800 seem to have been a concession to the crowd.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Finally, it has been suggested that the upsurge in prosecutions for assize of bread offences in 1757 may have been, if not a direct response to rioting, at least influenced by the disturbances in Bicester, and it is likely that the pro-consumer slant given to the assize of bread in dearth years was partly an attempt to appease riotous crowds.

In conclusion it would seem that, except in Oxford, the attempted enforcement of pro-consumer measures in the second half of the eighteenth century was very largely a response to consumer action.⁽¹⁶²⁾ Furthermore, it would appear that the influence of the consumer probably increased in the final

(160) For details of these announcements see Chapter VI Table XI.

(161) For details of these announcements see Chapter VI Table III.

(162) The suggestion that the reassertion of traditional market regulation was usually a direct response to popular violence has been made in relation to another county, Devon. J. Bohstedt, "Devon Food Riots and the Politics of Community Conflict ca 1800." P.7.

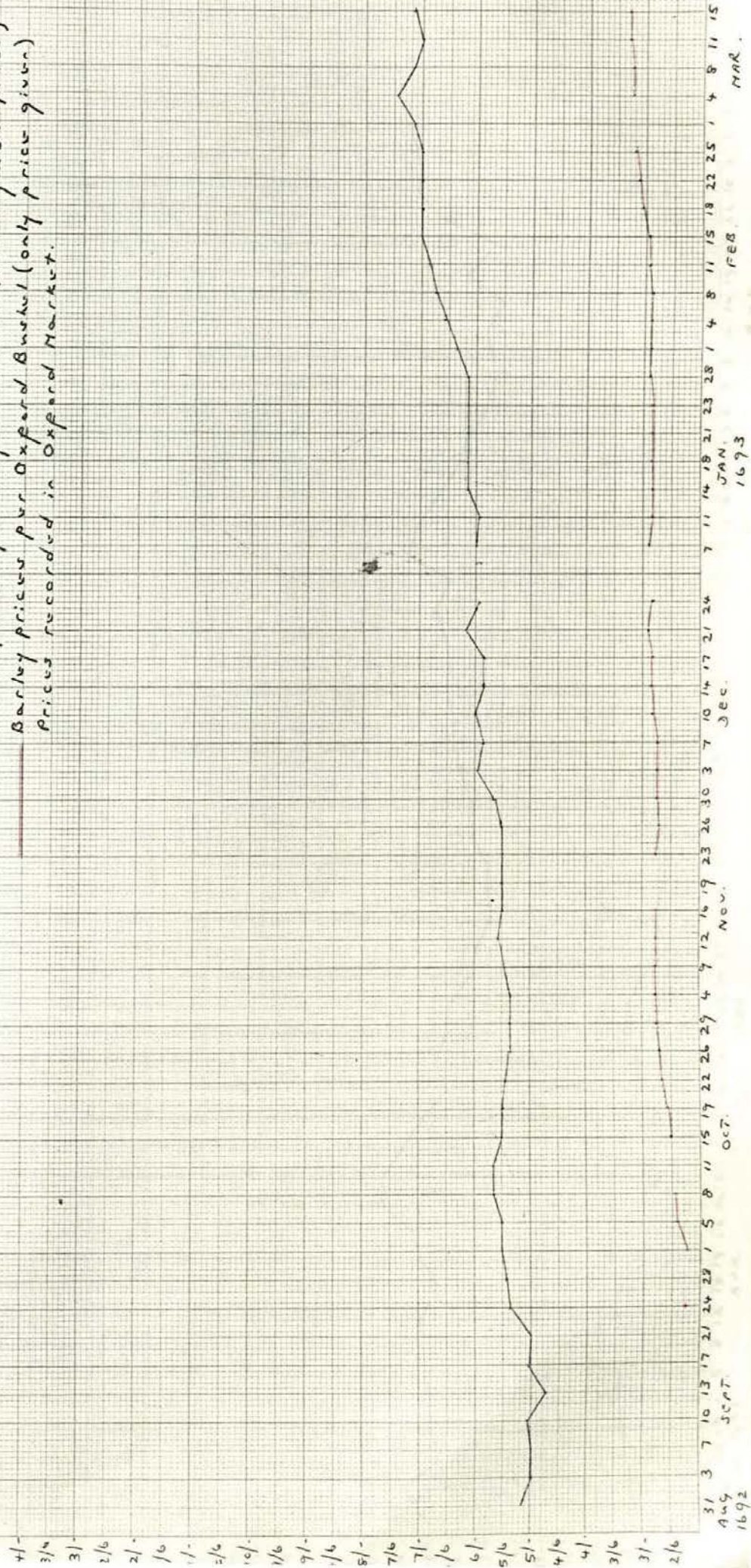
decade of the century, with the crowd, especially in 1800, apparently able to pressure the authorities into making, in defiance of the wishes of central government, a comprehensive series of pro-consumer statements and policy decisions. Oxford does appear to have presented an exceptional case, not merely, as we have seen, in 1800, but in 1795 also. Thus, in 1795 the issue of law enforcement decisions in the City took place between the apparently trivial incident in April and the very much more serious disturbance in July; the latter being followed by no significant increase in the level of regulation, merely the issue of condemnations of rioting. Under these circumstances it is difficult to view the actions of the authorities as determined by the disturbances.

Finally, we may note that the existence of a close relationship between disturbances and the attempts of the authorities to ensure that pro-consumer regulations were enforced might then explain the absence of any increase in the level of regulation in 1740; in spite of the high prices prevailing in that year, Oxfordshire apparently witnessing no outbreak of food rioting. Moreover, it would also help partially to explain why, except in Oxford, there appears to have been little attempt to restrict the activities of middlemen, or bring about price reductions in 1795, while numerous measures were taken in 1800. If the authorities made announcements of their intention to suppress marketing abuses or advocate price reductions principally at the instigation of the consumer, the fact that in 1795 the crowd would seem to have been largely interested not in the enforcement of traditional market regulations but simply in the prevention of the removal of local

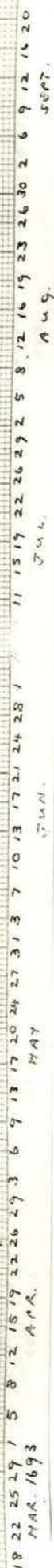
corn supplies from the County, may have meant that the authorities felt under less pressure to bring in pro-consumer measures.

Graph I

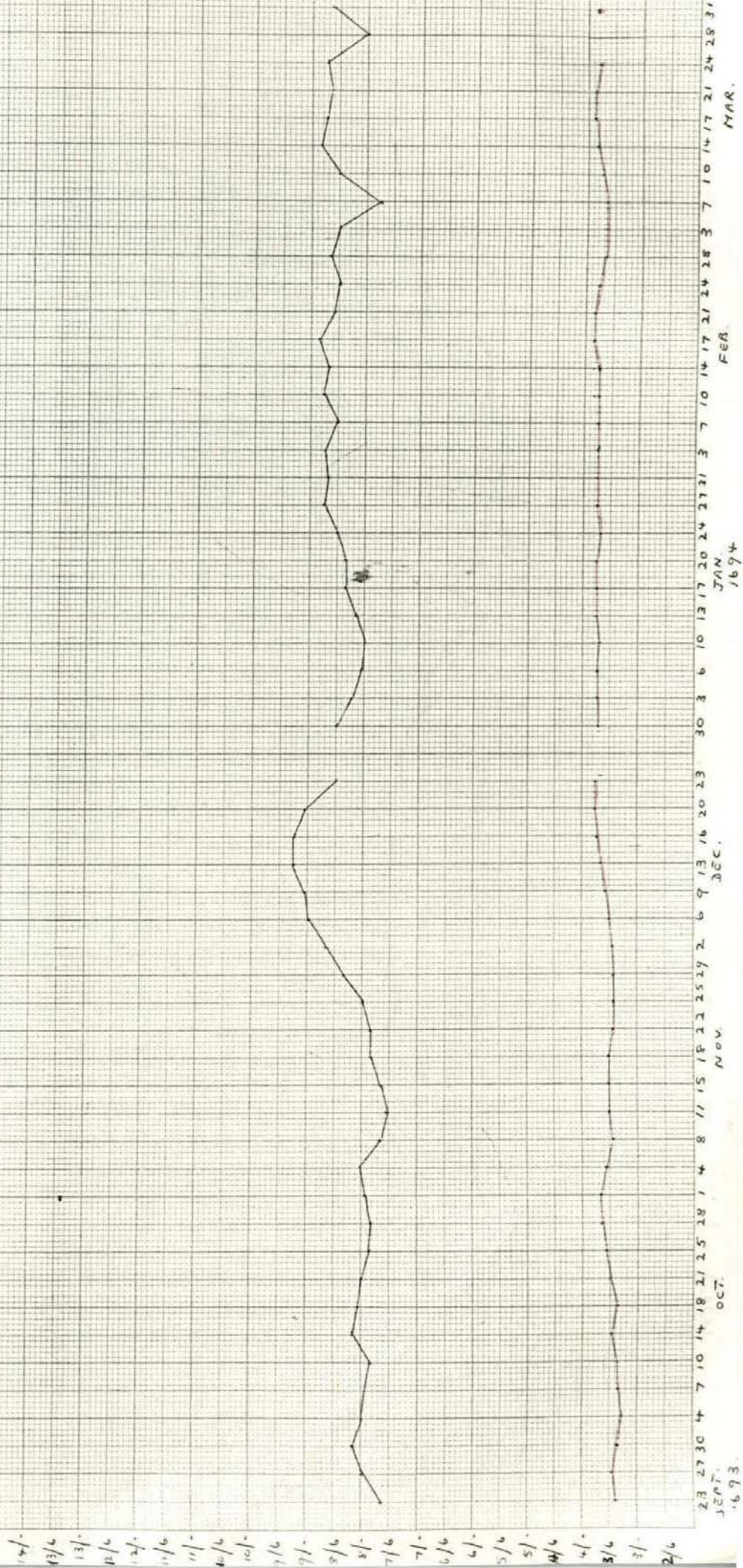
1. Graph to show the Movement of Wheat and Barley Prices during the Crisis of 1692-1694.
August 1692 - March 1693
 — wheat prices per Oxford Bushel. (2nd highest price)
 — Barley prices per Oxford Bushel (only price given)
 Prices recorded in Oxford Market.



2. March 1693 - September 1693 -



3. September 1693 - March 1694



4. April 1694 - August 1694

14.
13/6
13/1
12/6
12/1
11/6
11/1
10/6
10/1
9/6
9/1
8/6
8/1
7/6
7/1
6/6
6/1
5/6
5/1
4/6
4/1
3/6
3/1
2/6

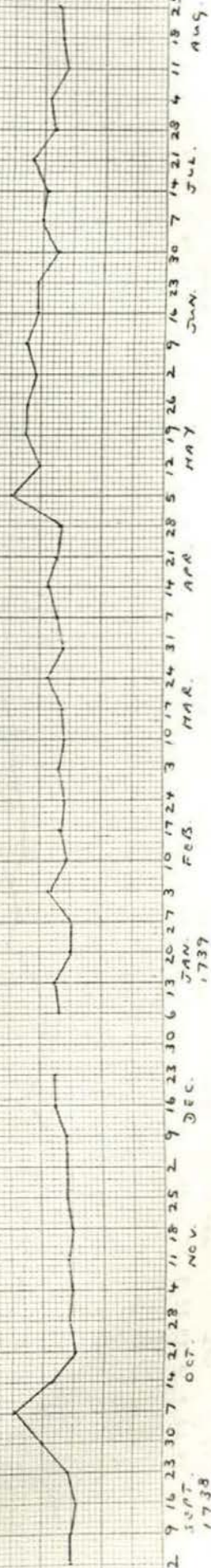


4 7 11 14 15 21 25 28 2 5 7 12 16 19 23 26 30 2 6 9 12 16 20 23 27 30 4 7 11 14 18 21 25 28 1 4 8 11 15 18 22 25 29
APR 1694 MAY JUN JUL AUG

-Graph II-

-Graph to show the Movement of Wheat Prices in
Oxford Market in 1738-39 and during the crisis of 1740-41.
1. SEPT. 1738 - SEPT. 1739 -

Wheat prices per Oxford bushel (2nd highest price)

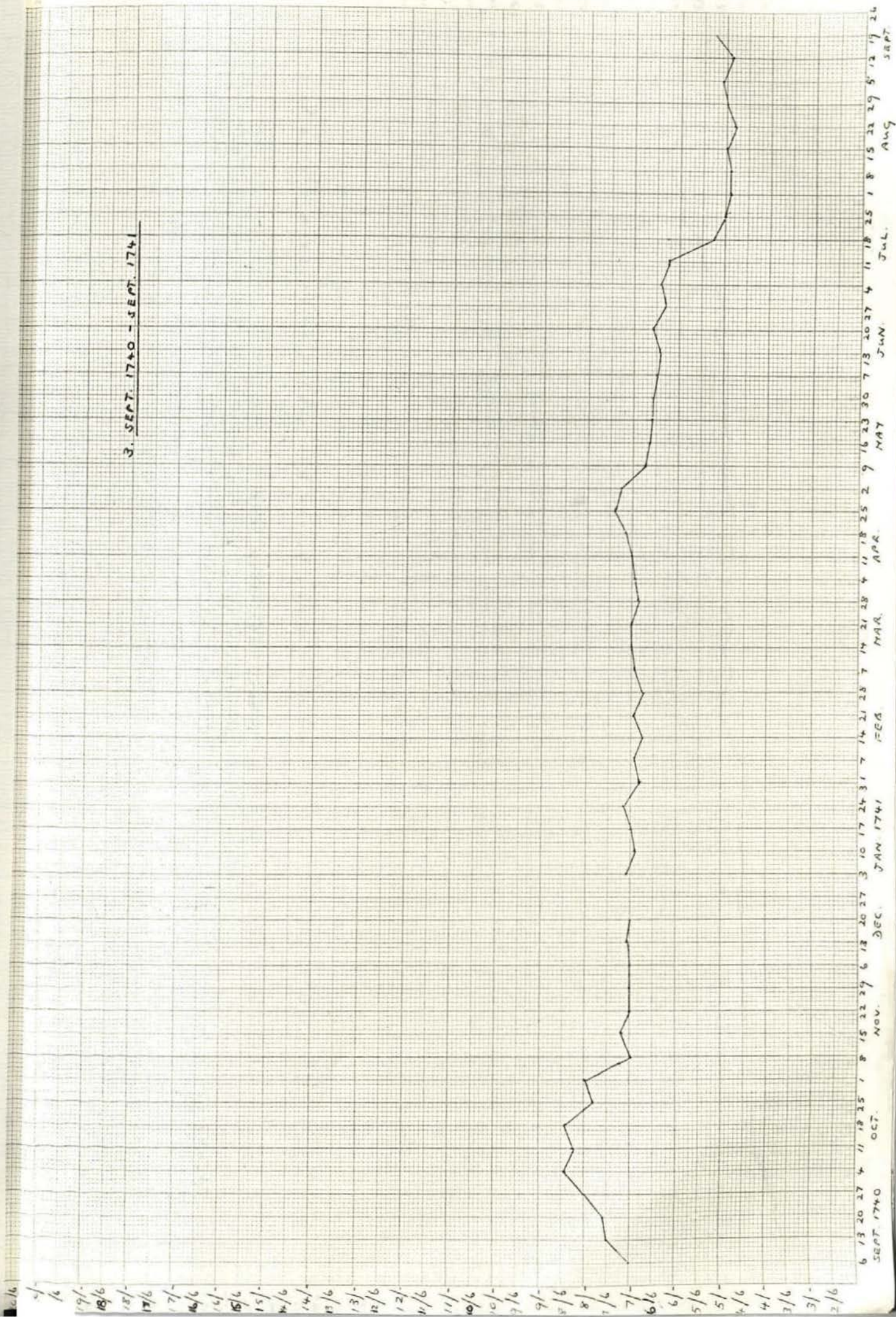


2. SEPT. 1739 - SEPT. 1740

1/6
0/-
1/6
17/-
15/-
17/6
17/-
16/6
16/-
15/6
15/-
14/6
14/-
13/6
13/-
12/6
12/-
11/6
11/-
10/6
10/-
9/6
9/-
8/6
8/-
7/6
7/-
6/6
6/-
5/6
5/-
4/6
4/-
3/6
3/-
2/6

1 8 15 22 29 6 13 20 27 3 10 17 24 1 8 15 22 29 5 12 19 26 2 9 16 23 1 8 15 22 29 5 12 19 26 3 10 17 24 31 7 14 21 28 5 12 19 26 2 9 16 23 30
SEPT. 1739 OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. 1740 FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUN. JUL. AUG.

3. SEPT. 1740 - SEPT. 1741



Graph III

Graph to show the Movement of Wheat Prices in Oxford Market in 1755-56 and During the Crisis of 1756-57.

1. SEPT. 1755 - SEPT. 1756

Wheat prices per Oxford bushel (2nd highest price)

15/6
15/-
17/6
17/-
16/6
16/-
15/6
15/-
14/6
14/-
13/6
13/-
12/6
12/-
11/6
11/-
10/6
10/-
9/6
9/-
8/6
8/-
7/6
7/-
6/6
6/-
5/6
5/-
4/6
4/-
3/6
3/-
2/6

18/6
15/-
17/6
17/-
16/6
16/-
15/6
15/-
14/6
14/-
13/6
13/-
12/6
12/-
11/6
11/-
10/6
10/-
9/6
9/-
8/6
8/-
7/6
7/-
6/6
6/-
5/6
5/-
4/6
4/-
3/6
3/-
2/6

6 13 20 27 4 11 18 25 1 8 15 22 29 6 13 20 27 3 10 17 24 31 7 14 21 28
SEPT OCT NOV DEC JAN FEB MAR APR MAY JUN JUL AUG
1755 1756

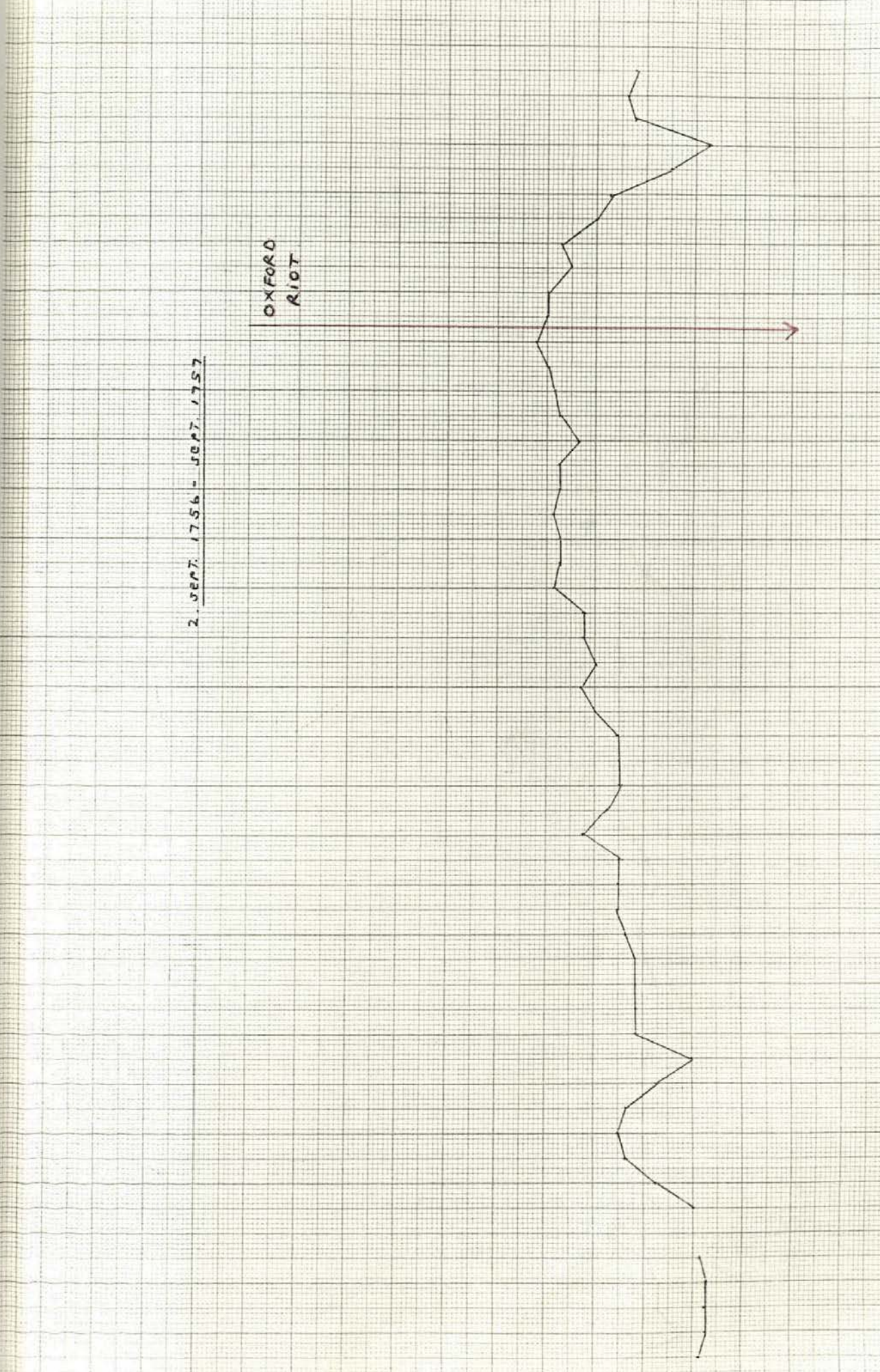
19/6
19/6
18/6
18/6
17/6
17/6
16/6
16/6
15/6
15/6
14/6
14/6
13/6
13/6
12/6
12/6
11/6
11/6
10/6
10/6
9/6
9/6
8/6
8/6
7/6
7/6
6/6
6/6
5/6
5/6
4/6
4/6
3/6
3/6
2/6

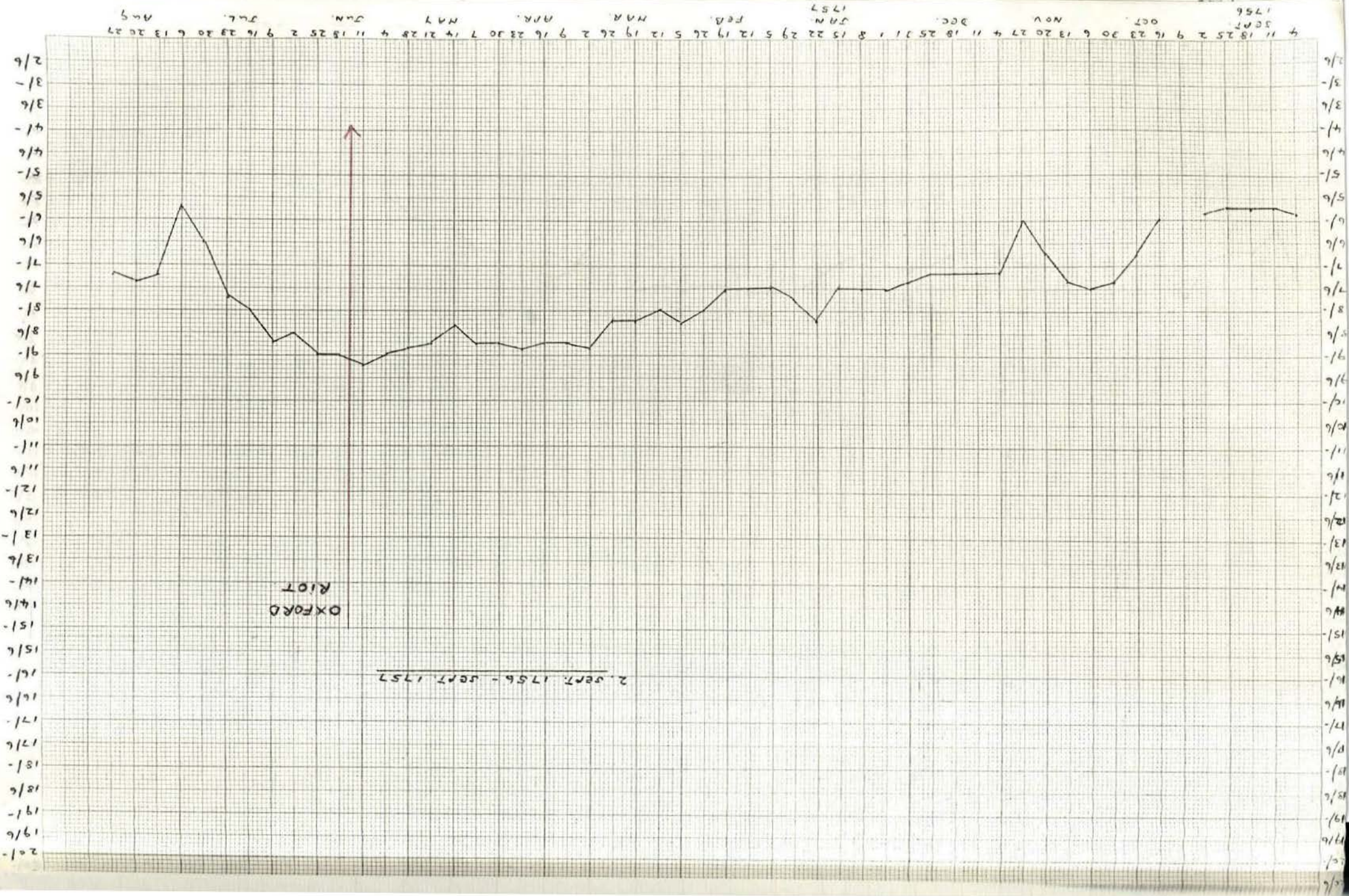
2. SEPT. 1756 - SEPT. 1757

OXFORD
RIOT

19/6
19/6
18/6
18/6
17/6
17/6
16/6
16/6
15/6
15/6
14/6
14/6
13/6
13/6
12/6
12/6
11/6
11/6
10/6
10/6
9/6
9/6
8/6
8/6
7/6
7/6
6/6
6/6
5/6
5/6
4/6
4/6
3/6
3/6
2/6

4 11 18 25 2 9 16 23 30 6 13 20 27
SEPT. OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUN. JUL. AUG.
1756 1757





-Graph IV-

-Graph to show the Movement of Wheat Prices in
Oxford Market during the crisis of 1766-1768.

1. SEPT. 1765 - Aug. 1766

Wheat prices per Oxford bushel (2nd highest price)

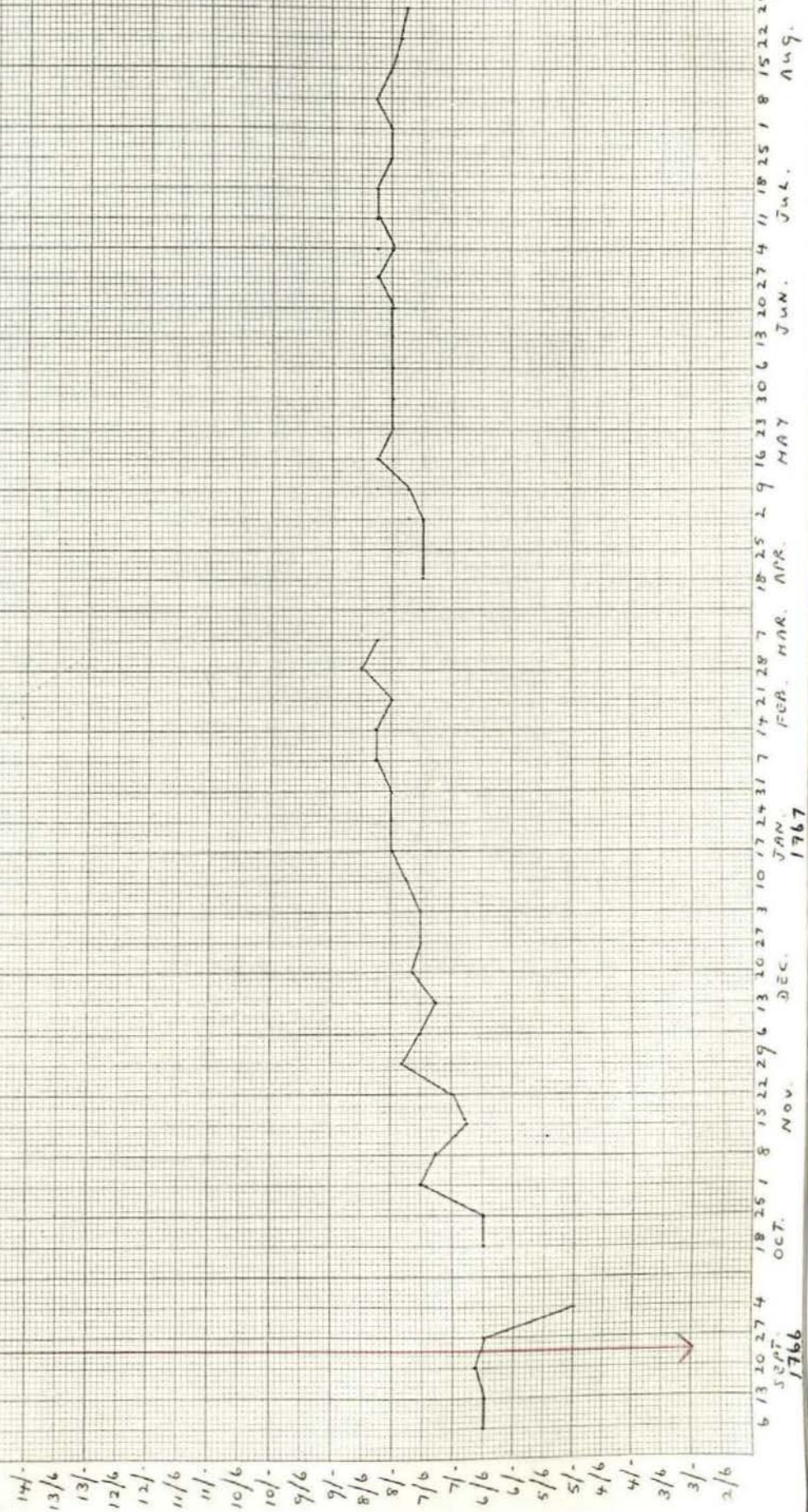
14/-
13/6
13/-
12/6
12/-
11/6
11/-
10/6
10/-
9/6
9/-
8/6
8/-
7/6
7/-
6/6
6/-
5/6
5/-
4/6
4/-
3/6
3/-
2/6



7 14 21 28 5 12 19 26 2 9 16 23 30 7 14 21 28 4 11 18 25 1 8 15 22 5 12 19 26 2 9 16 23 31 7 14 21 28 5 12 19 26 2 9 16 23 30
SEPT. 1765 OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. 1766 FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUN. JUL. AUG.

OXFORD RIOT.

2. SEPT. 1766 - AUG. 1767



3. SEPT. 1767 - AUG. 1768.

14/-
13/6
13/-
12/6
12/-
11/6
11/-
10/6
10/-
9/6
9/-
8/6
8/-
7/6
7/-
6/6
6/-
5/6
5/-
4/6
4/-
3/6
3/-
2/6

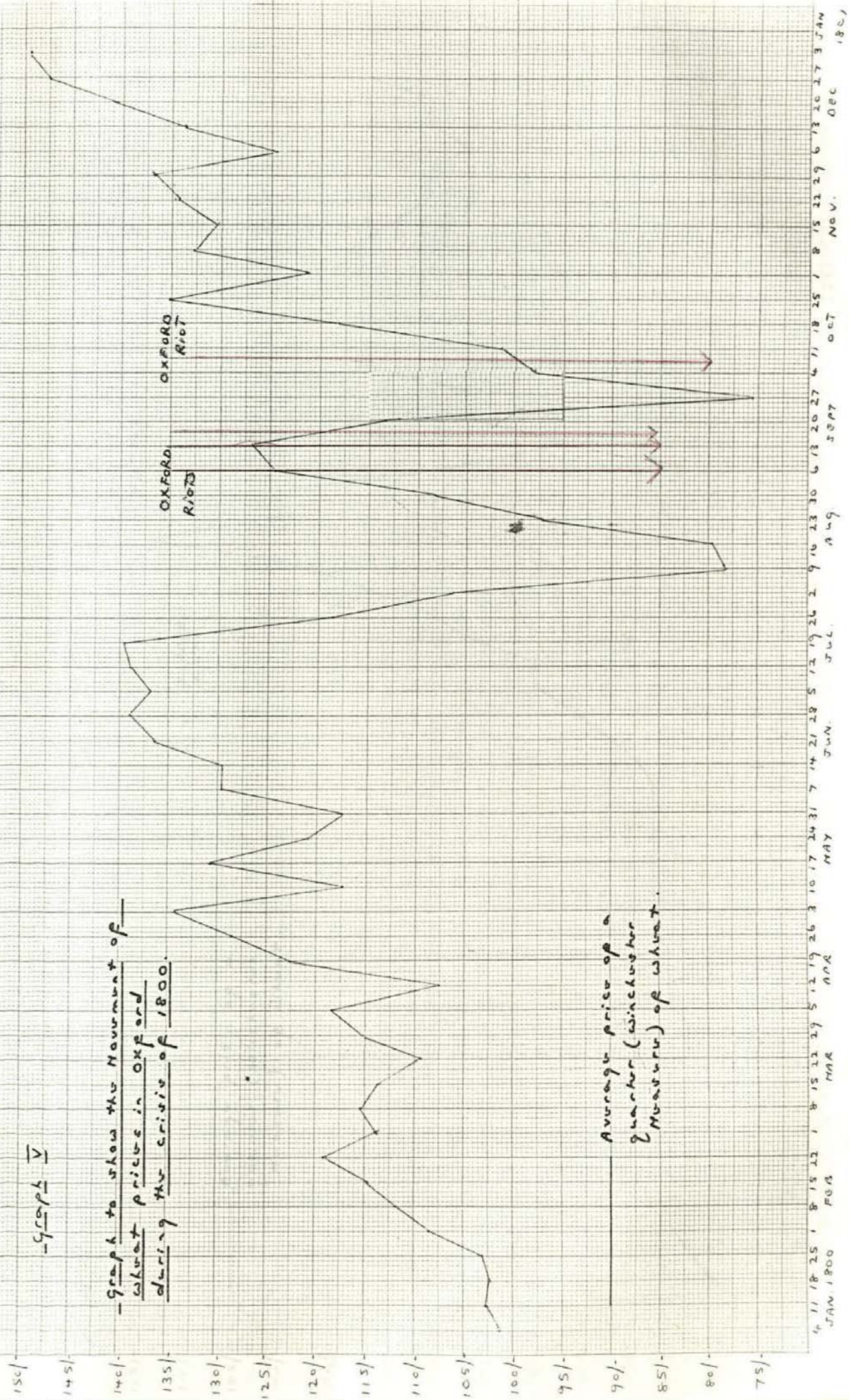


5 12 19 26 3 10 17 24 31 7 14 21 28 6 13 20 27 3 10 17 24 30 6 13 20 27 5 12 19 26 9 16 23 30 7 15 22 29 4 10 17 24 2 9 16 23 30 6 13 20 27
SEPT. OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUN. JUL. AUG.
1767 1768

-Graph V-

-Graph to show the Movement of
wheat prices in Oxford
during the crisis of 1800.

Average price of a
quarter (winchester
Measure) of wheat.



Graph VI

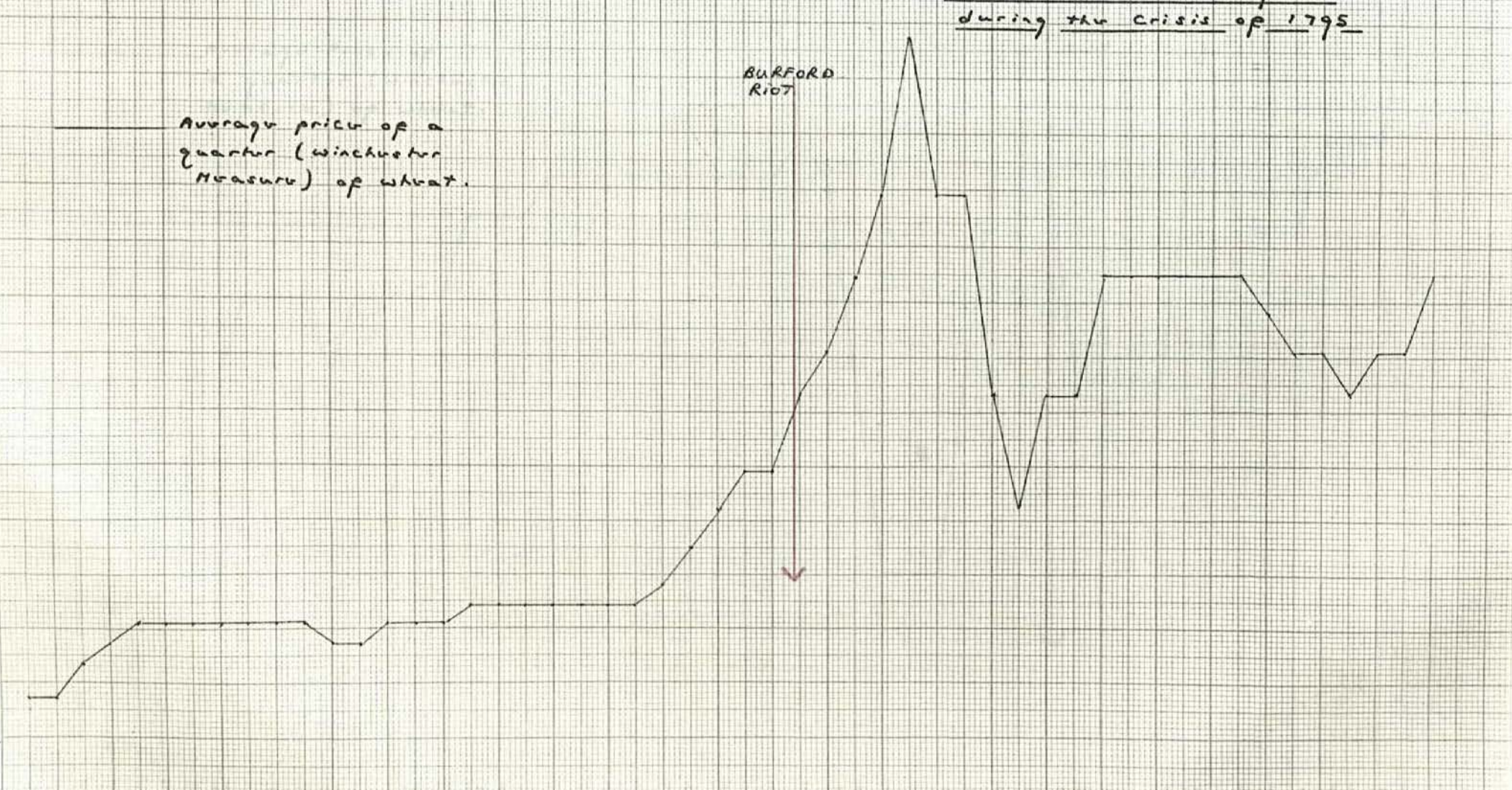
115/-
110/-
105/-
100/-
95/-
90/-
85/-
80/-
75/-
70/-
65/-
60/-
55/-
50/-

Average price of a
quarter (winchester
Measure) of wheat.

BURFORD
RIOT

Graph to show the Movement of
Wheat Prices in Burford
during the Crisis of 1795

3 10 17 24 31 7 14 21 28 7 14 21 28 4 11 18 25 2 9 16 23 30 6 13 20 27 4 11 18 25 1 8 15 22 29 5 12 19 26 3 10 17 24 31 7 14 21 28 5 12 19 26
JAN. 1795 FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUN. JUL. AUG. SEPT. OCT. NOV. DEC.

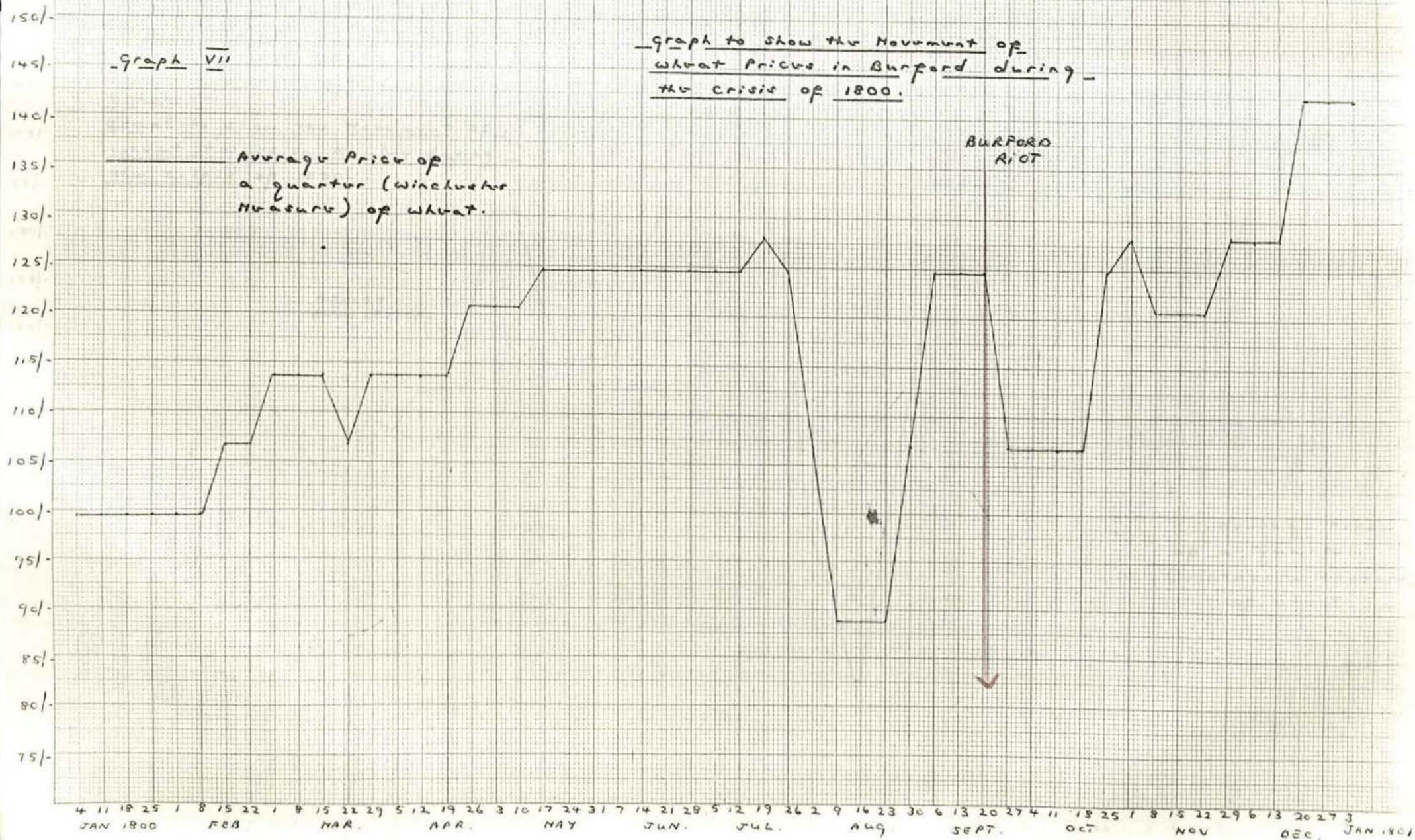


-graph VII

graph to show the Movement of
wheat Prices in Burford during
the crisis of 1800.

Average Price of
a quarter (Winchester
Measure) of wheat.

BURFORD
RIOT



Graph VIII
Graph to show the Movement of
Wheat Prices in Henley during
the crisis of 1800.

150/-
 145/-
 140/-
 135/-
 130/-
 125/-
 120/-
 115/-
 110/-
 105/-
 100/-
 95/-
 90/-
 85/-
 80/-
 75/-

HENLEY
 ANSWER LETTER.

HENLEY
 RIOT.

Average price
 of a quarter
 (winchester measure)
 of wheat.

4 11 18 25 1 8 15 22 27 5 12 17 26 3 10 17 24 31 7 14 21 28 5 12 19 26 2 9 16 23 30 6 13 20 27 4 11 18 25 1 8 15 22 29 6 13 20 27 3 JAN
 JAN 1800 FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUN. JUL. AUG. SEPT. OCT. NOV. DEC. 1801

Chapter VIII Explanations and Analysis

In Chapter IV we provided a detailed discussion of the marketing of corn in the eighteenth century, noting that the traditional open market still had a not insignificant role to play, particularly in the short-distance corn trade, but also suggesting that sale in the open market was only one of a great number of different ways by which the farmer might dispose of his produce. In addition it was noted that the system was flexible, that changes could and did occur, both within the open market - as, for example, when sample-selling began to replace bulk-selling - and within private marketing, with many shifts in the relative importance of the different outlets. Further, it was observed that it was largely neither market authorities nor consuming public which determined the nature and rate of change but the farming and commercial communities. Thus, when the farmers desired that new marketing techniques should be introduced they very largely were; where they wished for the preservation of the traditional pitched market, as at Henley, it was preserved and perhaps moulded to suit their convenience and when they were opposed to a new development, as, for example, the introduction of standard measures, the adoption of the new development was long delayed.

Again, although no detailed discussion of the marketing of other products has been included, evidence in Chapters II, III and particularly V suggests that a similar pattern prevailed over other commodities. Thus, it was noted that public marketing institutions, the market in the case of meat and vegetables and the fair in the case of livestock retained an important role throughout the eighteenth century. However, it was also noted that alternative methods of marketing the

of dearth the authorities came under considerable pressure from the consumer and particularly from the threat to public order which the crowd presented if the demands they made for the enforcement of traditional protectionist measures were not met. However, even in crisis periods, as the tables in Chapter VI illustrate, certainly by the last decade of the eighteenth century it was very largely informal methods, for example the calling of meetings to discuss with farmers whether they would be prepared to institute price reductions or the exerting of such non-legal pressures as boycotting the use of commodities until they had become less expensive, which were employed to control marketing. Frequently decisions to enforce the laws were followed by inaction; prosecutions for evasion of the open market and speculative trading were rare; convictions even more rare and prosecutions of major dealers, with the possible exception of Willats in 1757, non-existent. On the whole, only in Oxford and particularly in the covered provisions market can this pattern be said not to have held; the activities of traders there being subject to much more rigorous control.

In this conclusion we shall offer a brief and preliminary account of some of the factors which determined the pattern described above, and most particularly the response of authorities and consuming public to the regulation of marketing and trade.

The first element in any explanation would seem to be covered by the term TRADITION. Thus, A. Everitt suggests that even in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in times of plenty little restraint was imposed on the

activities of private traders⁽¹⁾ and N.S.B. Gras⁽²⁾, J. Chartres⁽³⁾ and J. Walter and K. Wrightson⁽⁴⁾ have all shown that the introduction and enforcement of regulations to control marketing and internal trade in the Tudor period and seventeenth century were primarily a response to dearth. Thus, the way in which the local authorities in the eighteenth century confined attempts to control marketing to periods of dearth would seem to have been very much in line with the approach evolved during the previous two centuries.

The second element in any explanation would appear to be covered by the term PRACTICALITY. Thus, there is no doubt that any group of local authorities wishing to regulate marketing was faced with a series of practical problems connected with the interpretation and enforcement of the law and the complexity and purposes of marketing which militated against intervention.

Thus, firstly it is clear that both statute and common law were difficult to understand and were probably not understood by the authorities; a point suggested by, for example, the purchase by the Woodstock Borough Council of a book explaining the anti-forestalling laws. Secondly, contemporaries

(1) A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce," in Ed. J. Thirsk Op.cit. Pp.579; 581.

(2) N.S.B. Gras Op.cit. P.229.

(3) J. Chartres Op.cit. Pp.60-64.

(4) J. Walter and K. Wrightson, "Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England," in P. and P. No.71 (May 1976) Pp.37-42.

appear to have found it very difficult to establish whether new marketing practices, as, for example, sample selling, could be prevented under existing laws. Thirdly, as the eighteenth century progressed, it would seem that it became increasingly difficult for the authorities to distinguish between public and private marketing facilities and, for example, establish whether the inn market at Watlington or the wharf market at Shillingford were public markets or examples of large-scale forestalling and therefore illegal. Finally, the legal process was such that prosecutions could not be undertaken lightly. Thus, before a prosecution could be considered information that an offence had been committed was required and as informing was a socially unacceptable activity it is likely that persons would often engage in it in dearth alone when high commodity prices rendered it financially remunerative and the climate of public opinion was less hostile towards it. Moreover, the bringing of a prosecution was expensive and therefore not something which magistrates could afford to consider unless reasonably sure of a conviction.

The legal problems described above must account, at least in part, both for the low-level of regulation which existed and also for certain of the shifts in approach to regulation which occurred. For example, they may account for the move away from attempts directly to enforce statute and common law to the policy of applying informal pressures on farmers and dealers in the hope of "persuading" them to moderate price demands or act in the interests of local consumers. They may also account, at least partially, for the development of consumer-led regulation - the wealthier urban consumers acting in committees could afford to meet the costs of prosecution

and both they and the crowd were perhaps less aware than the local authorities of the difficulties involved in interpreting marketing laws. Moreover, the absence of these practical legal problems might help to explain why the authorities in Oxford persisted with the regulation of the marketing of provisions: the covered market was established by an Act of Parliament which provided the authorities with an intelligible legal framework within which they were able to work; selling outside the market was clearly against the law and as the market place was enclosed it was possible for the activities of traders to be closely supervised and for it to become very evident if, for example, offences like forestalling were being committed.

A second practical problem which militated against intervention was that not merely was the law complex and difficult to understand but so was marketing itself, and particularly the marketing of corn. Thus, while the remark of Edmund Burke that citizens were

"in a state of utter ignorance of the
means by which they are to be fed"⁽⁵⁾

was not wholly justified, it was probably true that the urban authorities had only an inadequate grasp of the way in which marketing and trade operated and this may account certainly for their reluctance to interfere in the conduct of the corn trade. In addition the fact that Oxford's covered market

(5) E. Burke Op.cit. P.14.

existed for the dispersal of meat, fruit and vegetables which were marketed in an uncomplicated way, being sold by local producers and food processors largely to local retail customers and being unsuitable for dispatch to distant consumers or for dispersal via many outlets other than the open market, may provide another part of the explanation for the willingness of the authorities to pursue a policy of strict regulation.

A final practical consideration was that it was certainly recognised and of course stressed by local farmers and the inhabitants and authorities in the consumption centres that foodstuffs, particularly corn, butter and cheese, produced in Oxfordshire were needed in and should be forwarded from the County to other areas and this acceptance inevitably necessitated that tolerance be shown towards middleman activities and probably to such technically illegal practices as pre-harvest contractual sales. Furthermore, for the rural magistracy there must have been the consideration that if they really placed severe restrictions on the conduct of internal trade they and their tenants would then have been unable to engage in convenient and advantageous methods of dealing, which were otherwise available to them.

The third and fourth factors which influenced the pattern can be covered by the terms NECESSITY and EFFECTIVENESS.

On the first point it is certainly possible that only in dearth was intervention in marketing actually necessary. Thus we have suggested that marketing and trade may have operated differently in dearth; there being a definite upsurge in speculative trading; an increased likelihood of farmers being able to keep produce from the market and a very considerable upsurge in purchasing by middlemen for the supply of the consumption centres and therefore pressure on

the resources which would normally have been available for the local community. Moreover, at such times the consumer faced with high prices, food shortages and the altered marketing situation was likely to become dissatisfied and as the only alternative to meeting crowd demands for the adoption of pro-consumer measures was to employ force, and the forces of law and order available were inadequate and their presence generally seen as damaging⁽⁶⁾ it is possible that the authorities felt that intervention in marketing and trade became necessary in dearth periods, both to maintain public order and to prevent the profiteering and speculation which dearth conditions permitted to arise.

On the second point it would seem likely that a significant question with magistrates must have been, would their attempts to regulate marketing have any effect upon either the immediate or the future trading and marketing situation? Certainly it would seem likely that, in dearth, the piecemeal measures taken by the authorities; the announcements that marketing laws were to be enforced coupled with the subsidizing of provisions; were probably reasonably successful both in ensuring that the local population was fed and therefore that public order was restored and that exploitation of the dearth conditions by producers and dealers was, at least, reduced.

(6) A valuable discussion of the forces available to meet riot situations is by D.G.D. Isaac, A Study of the Popular Disturbances in Britain 1714-1754. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Edinburgh (1953) Pp.241-337.

Furthermore, if the moves of the authorities to pursue pro-consumer policies were stimulated to a very considerable degree by the actions of the crowd then one can also say that the food riot was a not inefficient means of affecting marketing and trade, in the short-term. The actions of the crowd and the magistrates in Oxford may, of course, have had a detrimental effect upon consumers in other areas and have shown insufficient concern for national as opposed to local needs or policies. However, this would be both difficult to demonstrate and, given that the immediate local crisis did require a solution, not perhaps very relevant.

A much more difficult question to answer is whether the authorities or the crowd were able to influence marketing and trading practices in the longer-term by their intervention during dearth. However, it is certainly possible that they were able to do so, as a consequence of the unusual conditions which prevailed in dearth periods. Thus, we have indicated both that dearth may have precipitated changes in marketing techniques and also that changes, which were perhaps detrimental to the local consumer, which had taken place prior to the dearth and which had been hidden by the fact that supplies were available and prices reasonable, became evident in a crisis period. Thus, dearth was perhaps a point at which intervention might actually have been able to result in a slowing down, if not the prevention of change. Certainly it would seem that the crises of 1757 and 1766 probably brought the growth of sample selling to the attention of the crowd and authorities in Oxford and their actions then may have caused the final adoption of sale by sample to be delayed. In addition it is likely that the dearths of the second half of the eighteenth

century brought the decline of the open market to the attention of the public and thereby created a climate favourable to the attempts to re-establish Charlbury and Rampton markets. Conversely, of course, if dearth was the time at which intervention was most likely to be effective, the very lengthy period from the start of the eighteenth century until 1756 with very few years in which the harvest really failed probably allowed changes in marketing practice to occur and to become too well-established to be eradicated when the authorities recommenced serious regulation as a succession of harvest failures occurred.

Finally, we may raise the question of whether in non-dearth periods regulation was so rarely attempted because it was believed it would not make any lasting impact on the conduct of marketing and internal trade. No satisfactory answer can, however, be given to this because there is no way of assessing whether intervention would have been successful if it was largely not tried. Nevertheless, we may note that the strict supervision of the provisions market in Oxford undoubtedly slowed down the development of alternative marketing outlets and led the trade in meat and vegetables to be confined very largely within the open market setting. Two points should be made on this, however: Firstly it is difficult to say whether regulation was continued in Oxford because there it could be effective or whether the fact that regulation was able to have an impact in Oxford indicates that it was possibly not the effectiveness of intervention which determined the failure of the authorities elsewhere to undertake regulation. Secondly, it is, of course, another problem, for which an analysis cannot yet be attempted, whether the strict super-

vision of marketing in Oxford was, by the late eighteenth century, in the best interests of the consumer.

A fifth factor which certainly influenced the pattern in regulation might be covered by the term POLITICS. Thus, there seems little doubt that the relatively high level of regulation and the resilience of public marketing institutions in Oxford was determined at least in part by factors relating to the structure of power within the City. For example, it would seem likely that the constant setting of the assize of bread was partly a product of the rivalry between University and City - the University, which had the right to set the assize, being probably keen to exercise all the privileges it had in relation to the City's tradesmen, in case a failure to exercise its rights resulted in the erosion of its overall power vis-a-vis the City authorities. Moreover, turning from the broad pattern which emerges from the tables in Chapter VI to the minutiae, one can frequently find explanations, which might be termed political, for the occasional prosecutions or sudden upsurges in law enforcement decisions. Thus it would seem likely that a spate of prosecutions in one rural area, while offences were presumably going unchecked in others, may indicate the presence of a particularly conscientious magistrate, as, for example, Sir Christopher Willoughby. Again, there seems a strong possibility that some of the attempts to regulate marketing in Oxford were the product of rivalry between different groups of tradesmen. Thus, attempts to restrict sales of meat to the market place and to market days were undoubtedly sometimes a result of pressure from the City's free butchers anxious to limit the competition they would otherwise face from non-free butchers or from hawkers. Moreover, the very considerable number of prosecutions for engrossing and

regrating in Oxford in 1679-80; 1684 and 1696 may have been not an expression of anti-middleman feeling by the authorities but an attempt to establish whether bakers were entitled to buy bread for resale perhaps because of conflict between chandlers and bakers over their respective roles.⁽⁷⁾ When, as here, the motivation behind the enforcement of traditional "pro-consumer" measures was a desire to reduce competition and perpetuate monopolies, it is, of course, possible that the consumer, far from benefiting from what occurred, was actually harmed by it.

The final factor which one might expect to have influenced the pattern is IDEOLOGY. However, as no detailed discussion on eighteenth century beliefs on marketing and trade has been included in this thesis, and it is a subject which requires separate treatment, here we shall offer only a very superficial evaluation of whether the authorities and the crowd held any consistent views on how marketing and trade should operate and whether they were actually motivated by those beliefs in their approach to regulation.

The role of ideology is, in fact, very difficult to assess for two basic reasons. Firstly, it is necessary to look at the problem in two sections and ask whether the magistrates or the crowd held and acted upon any firm and constant beliefs

(7) There would also seem little doubt that a number of the prosecutions may have been the result of personal antagonism between dealers, as, for example, the prosecution for dealing in Oxford market contrary to law brought at the County Quarter Sessions, Trinity 1758. In addition, others would seem to have been the result of a simple desire to profit from informing, as, for example, the attempted prosecution for an assize of bread offence in November 1768.

motivated to act by fixed beliefs in traditional protectionist values. For example, there are clear indications of an active commitment by urban magistrates to the retention of the open market. Thus, attempts to suppress sample selling if motivated in part by the self-interest of market owners, anxious to safeguard revenue, also reveal a concern for the rights of the small consumer and the preservation of open marketing, and the fact that the authorities were prepared to offer inducements to farmers and tradespeople to use the open market; toll abolition, the construction of new market buildings or premiums for those offering certain products for sale, for example; is also suggestive of this concern. Moreover, over the covered market in Oxford, the authorities displayed and appear to have been motivated by a total commitment to public marketing institutions⁽⁹⁾; antagonism towards speculation and even an acceptance that the concept of the "just price" was not an outdated notion. Furthermore, as in the City, the regulation of marketing did not present the same practical problems as in other centres, this response may suggest that it was principally practical considerations, rather than a belief by the County's other urban authorities that they should not intervene in marketing and trade, which determined their reluctance to act.

(9) However, we may note that even the members of the Oxford Market Committee were constrained to recognize that they could not, and indeed perhaps did not always want to, prevent changes in marketing techniques which undermined the open market principle. Thus, in December 1795 the Committee decided that once butter had been lodged in the market, it might then be delivered to the Colleges and houses of the inhabitants, where it had been previously contracted for. The Book of the Oxford Market Committee 1771-1835...P.101.

Turning to the crowd, one again finds a little evidence to suggest constantly-held beliefs, which possibly motivated action. Thus, continuity in the attitudes of the public is suggested by the fact that while the relative importance to the crowd of the different types of market regulation may have altered during the course of the eighteenth century, in each successive dearth period they always tended to demand the enforcement of the same range of pro-consumer measures. Moreover, the possibility that they may even have been motivated to act by their beliefs - for example, that speculation was immoral - alone, is suggested by the fact that the riot of 1713 may have occurred without the stimulus of dearth conditions.

An examination of whether ideological considerations lay behind the response of authorities and crowd to dearth reveals another complex situation. Thus, it is certainly possible to detect a series of firm attitudes behind the response of both urban and rural authorities in Oxfordshire to dearth. Firstly, it would appear to have been accepted that the poor should be able to obtain sufficient food to enable them not to starve. Secondly, it seems to have been thought that locally produced supplies should be retained within the area if needed by local people. Thirdly, it appears to have been believed that the farmers should be prepared to sacrifice their interests and profits to the interests of the wider public; a sacrifice which it seems largely to have been felt would not cause any long-term damage to the farming community. However, while the authorities certainly appear to have subscribed to these beliefs it would seem that their reasons for doing so were largely practical, and based on a realization that, as J. Bohstedt suggests,

"social peace required a durable
solution of popular grievances." (10)

In other words, the authorities were interested in the restoration of law and order under circumstances which would not destroy harmonious relationships within local society. This interpretation is suggested forcibly by two factors. Firstly, the attitudes of Oxfordshire magistrates appear to have been at variance with those of the authorities in Warwickshire, yet the only difference between the magistrates would appear to have been that the one group was resident within an exporting county and the other in an importing county and therefore different marketing and trading conditions were required in order to permit their poor to be fed. Secondly, the farmers, and, to some extent, even the commercial community, whom one would imagine did not actually subscribe to the principle that their profits and activities should be restricted, seem also to have been prepared in dearth to accept that prices should be reduced or that their produce should be dispersed via local markets.

Turning to the crowd, one can find more evidence that their actions were motivated by genuine beliefs as to how marketing and trade should operate in periods of dearth. Thus, several of the actions of the crowd cannot be accounted for in terms of hunger or consumer self-interest alone. For example, the crowd appears to have acted differently when shortages and high prices were believed to have been arti-

(10) J. Bohstedt, "Devon Food Riots and the Politics of Community Conflict ca 1800..." P.48.

ficially contrived than when they were believed to have resulted from natural causes. Thus, in 1795, when the existence of genuine crop failures seems largely to have been accepted the crowd seems to have concentrated on preventing the removal of supplies from the County, while in 1766 and 1800 when speculation was believed to be responsible for the difficulties, there was considerable demand for the control of middlemen and the reduction of price levels.⁽¹¹⁾ Moreover, the action of price-fixing seems to have involved an awareness that dearth conditions did warrant prices at higher than usual levels; prices often being fixed by the crowd well in excess of those prevailing in years of average harvests. These points would certainly suggest that what frequently motivated crowd action was a belief that no one should be able to exploit or profit from conditions of harvest failure.

Finally, we may note that alone among Oxfordshire's authorities the City Council in Oxford appears to have been seriously motivated by similar beliefs to the crowd and this brings us to the final part of the explanation of why the

(11) This would appear to contradict the view of W.J. Shelton who suggests that natural shortages were usually stoically endured by the poor; it being when it was believed that the shortages were artificial that disturbances occurred. W.J. Shelton Op.cit. P.101.
We would suggest that disturbances might occur on both types of occasion but that the demands of the crowd would vary according to their view of the crisis.

level of regulation may have been higher in Oxford than in other parts of the County: In Oxford, more than anywhere else, one finds, in this basically agricultural County, a body of persons in a position of power who were principally purchasers and consumers of foodstuffs⁽¹²⁾ and were not producers or closely connected with the agricultural community.

(12) An Oxfordshire farmer, in fact, suggested that the Common Council was only one step removed from the crowd; declaring that most of them, "had formerly wielded the labouring oar." An Oxfordshire Farmer Op.cit. P.10.

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OXFORDSHIRE CORN PRICE MATERIAL

Key to Tables A - H

Bush = Bushel
Qtr = Quarter

Measure

In Oxford there were 9 gallons to the bushel
8 bushels to the quarter
5 quarters to the load

Winchester measure means 8 gallons to the bushel
8 bushels to the quarter
5 quarters to the load

Thus the Oxford measure was $9/8$ of the Winchester measure.

Assize of Bread

A price in a column headed assize of bread is the price on which the assize was set on the given date.

N. indicates that the assize was set for New College.

Assize of beer next to a malt price indicates that this was the price of malt on which the assize of beer was set.

Price Day

P.D. indicates that the prices were recorded for the purpose of setting corn rents. These initials are not included on Table H where almost all the price material shown was recorded on the price days.

W. or Wed. indicates that the price was recorded at the Wednesday market.

All dates indicate the actual market day except for those recorded on Tables E and F, where the dates refer to the last day of the week in which the returns were received.

TABLE A

1

Table to show Prices of Wheat sold in Oxford Market between
August 1692 and August 1702

<u>Date</u>	Highest Price of Bushel of Wheat (Oxford 9-gall.bushel)	2nd Highest Price	Highest Price of Quarter of Wheat (Winchester Quarter)	2nd Highest Price	Assize of Bread
Wed 31 Aug 1692	5/6	5/2	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/9	5/-
Sat 3 Sep	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 7	5/4	5/-	37/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 10	5/2	5/1	36/9	36/2	
Tues 13	4/11	4/9	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 17	5/2	5/1	36/9	36/2	
Wed 21	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 24	5/4	5/4	37/11	37/11	
Wed 28	5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Sat 1 Oct	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 5	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/7
Sat 8	5/10	5/8	41/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tues 11	5/10	5/8	41/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 15	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 19	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 22	5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Wed 26	5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 29	5/5	5/4	38/6	37/11	
Fri 4 Nov	5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 9	5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Sat 12	5/8	5/7	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/-
Wed 16	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 19	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 23	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 26	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 30	5/8	5/8	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 3 Dec	6/4	5/11	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/1	
Wed 7	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Sat 10	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Wed 14	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Sat 17	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	6/6
Wed 21	6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Sat 24	6/-	5/11	42/8	42/1	
Sat 7 Jan 1693	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Wed 11	6/-	5/11	42/8	42/1	
Sat 14	6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Wed 18	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Sat 21	6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Wed 25	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Sat 28	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Wed 1 Feb	6/7	6/4	46/10	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/6
Sat 4	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10	
Wed 8	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Sat 11	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Wed 15 Feb 1693	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 18	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 22	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 25	7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 1 Mar	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/2
Sat 4	7/6	7/5	53/4	52/9	
Wed 8	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 11	7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 15	7/2	7/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 18	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 22	7/6	7/5	53/4	52/9	
Sat 25	7/4	6/10	52/2	48/7	
Wed 29	7/3	7/-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 1 Apr	7/3	7/-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 5	7/3	7/1	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 8	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 12	7/4	7/2	52/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 15	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 19	7/4	7/2	52/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 22	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Wed 26	7/11	7/10	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 29	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 3 May	7/6	7/6	53/4	53/4	
Sat 6	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tues 9	6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5	
Sat 13	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2	
Wed 17	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Sat 20	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Wed 24	6/5	6/4	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/4
Sat 27	6/6	6/3	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 31	6/1	6/-	43/3	42/8	
Sat 3 Jun	6/2	6/1	43/10	43/3	
Wed 7	6/1	6/1	43/3	43/3	
Sat 10	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tues 13	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 17	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 21	6/8	6/8	47/5	47/5	
Sat 24	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Wed 28	6/11	6/10	49/2	48/7	
Sat 1 Jul	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Wed 5	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 8	7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tues 11	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	
Sat 15	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	7/6
Wed 19	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 22	7/10	7/-	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 26	7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	
Sat 29	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 2 Aug	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	6/2
Sat 5	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Tues 8	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Sat 12	Aug 1693	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Wed 16		6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Sat 19		6/9	6/6	48/-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 23		6/4	6/-	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Sat 26		7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 30		7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 2	Sep	7/4	7/4	52/2	52/2	7/2
Wed 6		7/7	7/6	53/11	53/4	
Sat 9		7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Tues 12		7/11	7/10	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 16		7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Wed 20		7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 23		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 27		8/4	8/-	59/3	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 30		8/2	8/2	58/1	58/1	
Wed 4	Oct	8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/-
Sat 7		8/-	7/11	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tues 10		8/1	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 14		8/6	8/2	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/1	
Wed 18		8/4	8/1	59/3	57/6	
Sat 21		8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 25		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 28		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 1	Nov	8/-	7/11	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 4		8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 8		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat 11		7/10	7/7	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/11	
Wed 15		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat 18		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 22		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 25		8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 29		8/5	8/4	59/10	59/3	
Sat 2	Dec	8/10	8/8	62/10	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 6		9/2	9/-	65/2	64/-	
Sat 9		9/3	9/1	65/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	64/7	
Wed 13		9/6	9/3	67/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	65/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 16		9/4	9/3	66/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	65/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 20		9/3	9/1	65/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	64/7	
Sat 23		8/8	8/6	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 30		8/9	8/6	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 3	Jan 1694	8/7	8/3	61/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8	
Sat 6		8/3	8/1	58/8	57/6	
Wed 10		8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 13		8/4	8/2	59/3	58/1	
Wed 17		8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Sat 20		8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Wed 24		8/8	8/6	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 27		8/10	8/9	62/10	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 31		8/10	8/8	62/10	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 3	Feb	8/11	8/9	63/5	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 7		8/8	8/6	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Sat	10 Feb 1694	8/10	8/9	62/10	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	14	8/10	8/8	62/10	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	17	9/-	8/10	64/-	62/10	
Wed	21	8/10	8/7	62/10	61/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	24	8/9	8/6	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	28	8/10	8/8	62/10	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	3 Mar	8/8	8/6	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	7	8/10	7/9	62/10	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	10	8/10	8/6	62/10	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	14	8/11	8/10	63/5	62/10	
Sat	17	8/10	8/9	62/10	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	21	8/9	8/8	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	24	8/10	8/9	62/10	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	28	8/8	8/-	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	31	8/10	8/8	62/10	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/8
Wed	4 Apr	8/6	8/6	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	7	8/7	8/7	61/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	61/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	11	8/2	7/4	58/1	52/2	
Sat	14	8/7	8/4	61/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Wed	18	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	21	8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	25	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Sat	28	7/9	7/-	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	4 May	7/3	7/1	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/1
Sat	8	7/8	7/3	54/6	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	9	7/7	7/6	53/11	53/4	
Sat	12	7/6	7/6	53/4	53/4	
Wed	16	7/7	7/5	53/11	52/9	
Sat	19	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	23	8/1	7/10	57/6	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	26	8/-	7/11	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	30	7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat	2 Jun	7/11	7/9	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	6	7/7	7/6	53/11	53/4	
Sat	9	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tue	12	7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	7/8
Sat	16	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	20	8/4	8/-	59/3	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	23	8/1	7/8	57/6	54/6	
Wed	27	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat	30	8/1	8/-	57/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	4 Jul	7/9	7/5	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	52/9	
Sat	7	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	11	7/5	7/4	52/9	52/2	
Sat	14	7/1	6/10	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed	18	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2	
Sat	21	6/8	6/8	47/5	47/5	
Wed	25	6/6	5/11	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/1	5/11
Sat	28	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Wed	1 Aug	6/6	6/-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Sat	4	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Wed	8	6/-	5/11	42/8	42/1	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Sat	11 Aug 1694	6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	15	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	18	5/10	5/9	41/6	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	22	6/-	5/11	42/8	42/1	
Sat	25	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Wed	29	6/-	5/11	42/8	42/1	
Sat	1 Sep	6/4	6/-	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Wed	5	5/10	5/8	41/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	8	5/6	4/9	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	12	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	15	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tue	18	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	22	5/-	4/8	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Wed	26	5/6	5/6	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	29	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	3 Oct	5/5	5/3	38/6	37/4	
Sat	6	5/4	5/3	37/11	37/4	5/3
Wed	10	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	13	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	17	4/11	4/8	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Sat	20	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	24	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Sat	27	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	31	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat	3 Nov	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Wed	7	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Sat	10	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	4/6
Wed	14	4/5	4/4	31/5	30/10	
Sat	17	4/11	4/4	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/10	
Wed	21	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5	
Sat	24	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5	
Wed	28	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Sat	1 Dec	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Wed	5	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7	
Sat	8	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Wed	12	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat	15	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Wed	19	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Sat	22	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	26	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat	29	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	2 Jan 1695	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5	
Sat	5	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5	
Wed	9	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat	12	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Wed	16	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Sat	19	4/10	4/7	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7	
Wed	23	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Sat	27	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Tue	29	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Sat	22 Feb 1695	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	6	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Sat	9	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Wed	13	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10	
Sat	16	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	
Wed	20	4/6	4/6	32/-	32/-	
Sat	23	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	27	4/8	4/4	33/2	30/10	
Sat	2 Mar	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	6	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat	9	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	13	4/7	4/4	32/7	30/10	
Sat	16	4/9	4/8	33/9 ¹ / ₂	33/2	
Wed	20	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat	23	4/6	4/6	32/-	32/-	
Wed	27	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10	
Sat	30	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10	
Wed	3 Apr	4/4	4/4	30/10	30/10	
Sat	6	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10	
Wed	10	4/4	4/2	30/10	29/7 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	13	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 ¹ / ₂	
Wed	17	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	20	4/3	4/2	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/7 ¹ / ₂	
Wed	24	4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	27	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	4/-
Wed	1 May	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3	
Sat	4	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3	
Wed	8	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3	
Sat	11	4/4	4/2	30/10	29/7 ¹ / ₂	
Wed	15	4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	18	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 ¹ / ₂	
Wed	22	5/-	4/10	35/6 ¹ / ₂	34/4 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	25	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	
Tue	28	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10	
Sat	1 Jun	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3	
Wed	5	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	8	4/4	4/2	30/10	29/7 ¹ / ₂	
Wed	12	4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	15	4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	
Tue	18	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	22	4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂	
Wed	26	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	29	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 ¹ / ₂	
Wed	3 Jul	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10	
Sat	6	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	10	4/10	4/10	34/4 ¹ / ₂	34/4 ¹ / ₂	
Sat	13	4/10	4/10	34/4 ¹ / ₂	34/4 ¹ / ₂	4/8
Wed	17	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat	20	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Wed	24	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat	27	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7	
Wed	31	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Sat	3 Aug 1695	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Wed	7	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Sat	10	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	14	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	17	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	21	5/4	5/3	37/11	37/4	
Sat	24	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	28	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	31	5/10	5/8	41/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	4 Sep	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	5/10
Sat	7	7/-	6/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	11	6/4	6/-	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Sat	14	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	18	6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5	
Sat	21	7/4	7/3	52/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/3
Wed	25	7/3	7/1	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	28	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	2 Oct	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat	5	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	9	7/10	7/6	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Sat	12	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed	16	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Sat	19	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	23	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat	26	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Wed	30	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat	2 Nov	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Wed	6	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Fri	8	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Wed	13	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	16	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	20	7/6	7/6	53/4	53/4	
Sat	23	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	27	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	30	8/-	7/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed	4 Dec	7/10	7/6	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Sat	7	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	11	7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	
Sat	14	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Tue	17	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Sat	21	8/6	8/-	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tue	24	7/6	6/6	53/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	28	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Tue	31	8/2	6/3	58/1	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	4 Jan 1696	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	8	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Sat	11	8/-	7/4	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	52/2	
Wed	15	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	
Sat	18	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed	22	7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Sat	25 Jan 1696	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	29	7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	
Sat	1 Feb	7/3	7/-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	5	7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	8	7/4	7/-	52/2	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	12	7/3	7/-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	15	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Wed	19	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat	22	7/4	7/-	52/2	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	26	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	29	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Wed	4 Mar	8/-	7/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat	7	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Wed	11	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/4	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	52/2	
Sat	14	7/6	7/2	53/4	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	18	7/2	6/8	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	
Sat	21	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Wed	25	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	28	7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	
Wed	1 Apr	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	4	7/4	7/-	52/2	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	8	7/3	7/-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	11	6/9	6/6	48/-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	15	6/2	5/10	43/10	41/6	
Sat	18	7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	6/8
Wed	22	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	25	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	29	6/6	6/6	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	2 May	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Wed	6	6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Sat	9	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Wed	13	5/4	5/3	37/11	37/4	
Sat	16	6/-	5/8	42/8	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/8
Wed	20	5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9	
Sat	23	5/3	5/1	37/4	36/2	
Wed	27	5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9	
Sat	30	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	3 Jun	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	6	5/7	5/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	10	5/6	4/9	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	13	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	17	5/6	5/3	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4	
Sat	20	6/2	5/6	43/10	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	24	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Sat	27	6/10	6/7	48/7	46/10	
Wed	1 Jul	5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat	4	6/-	5/6	42/8	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	8	6/-	5/6	42/8	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	11	5/6	5/3	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4	
Wed	15	6/-	5/6	42/8	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	18	6/11	6/6	49/2	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Wed 22	Jul 1696	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Sat 25		6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 29		6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 1	Aug	6/4	6/-	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Wed 5		5/10	5/6	41/6	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 8		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 12		6/-	5/6	42/8	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 15		6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 19		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 22		5/6	5/1	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/2	
Sat 29		5/6	5/3	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4	
Wed 2	Sep	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 5		5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 9		5/2	5/2	37/4	36/9	
Sat 12		5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 16		5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 19		5/3	5/2	37/4	36/9	
Wed 23		5/6	5/2	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/9	
Sat 26		5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Wed 30		5/6	5/3	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4	
Sat 3	Oct	5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 7		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 10		5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Wed 14		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 17		5/10	5/6	41/6	39/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 21		5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 24		5/8	5/4	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 28		5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 31		5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 4	Nov	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 7		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 11		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 14		5/6	5/2	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4	
Wed 18		5/4	5/2	37/4	36/9	
Sat 21		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 25		5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 28		5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 2	Dec	5/9	5/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 5		6/1	5/8	43/3	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 9		6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Sat 12		6/-	6/-	42/8	42/8	
Wed 16		6/1	6/-	43/3	42/8	
Sat 19		6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Wed 23		6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Sat 26		No corne in Market				
Wed 30		6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Sat 2	Jan 1697	6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Wed 6		6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Sat 9		6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assise</u>
Wed 13 Jan 1697	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Sat 16	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Wed 20	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 23	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/4
Wed 27	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Fri 29	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 3 Feb	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 6	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 10	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 13	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Wed 17	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 20	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10	
Wed 24	6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5	
Sat 27	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 3 Mar	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Sat 6	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 10	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10	
Sat 13	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 17	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 20	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 24	7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	
Sat 27	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	
Wed 31	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 3 Apr	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 7	6/11	6/10	49/2	48/7	
Sat 10	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2	
Wed 14	6/11	6/10	49/2	48/7	6/10
Sat 17	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 21	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Sat 24	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Wed 28	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Sat 1 May	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Wed 5	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Wed 19	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 22	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Wed 26	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Fri 28	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 2 Jun	6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5	
Sat 5	7/-	7/-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 9	7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 12	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 16	6/9	6/7	48/-	46/10	
Sat 19	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	
Wed 23	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 26	7/4	7/2	52/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 30	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 3 Jul	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed 7	8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 10	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	8/2
Wed 14	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 17	8/-	7/11	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Wed 21	Jul 1697	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Sat 24		7/10	7/6	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Wed 28		7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 31		7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed 4	Aug	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 7		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 11		8/4	8/-	59/3	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 14		8/9	8/8	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 18		8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 21		8/-	7/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 25		7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat 28		7/8	7/8	54/6	54/6	
Wed 1	Sep	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	7/6
Sat 4		7/2	7/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 8		7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 11		7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 15		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 18		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 22		7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 25		8/2	7/10	58/1	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 29		7/8	7/4	54/6	52/2	
Sat 2	Oct	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Wed 6		7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 9		7/4	7/2	52/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 13		7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/-
Sat 16		7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 20		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 23		7/-	7/-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 27		7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2	
Sat 30		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 3	Nov	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2	
Sat 6		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 10		7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 13		7/4	7/2	52/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 17		7/7	7/6	53/11	53/4	
Sat 20		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 24		8/1	7/10	57/6	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/10
Sat 27		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 1	Dec	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 4		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 8		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 11		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 15		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 18		8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 22		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Fri 24		7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 29		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Fri 31		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 5	Jan 1698	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat 8		7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 12		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Sat 15	Jan 1698	8/3	8/1	58/8	57/6	
Wed 19		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 22		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 26		8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 29		8/-	8/-	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 2	Feb	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 5		8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 9		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 12		8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 16		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 19		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 23		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 26		8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 2	Mar	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 5		8/4	8/-	59/3	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 9		8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 12		8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 16		8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	
Sat 19		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 23		8/2	8/1	58/1	57/6	
Sat 26		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 30		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 2	Apr	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 6		7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat 9		7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Wed 13		7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 16		7/2	7/-	52/2	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 20		7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 23		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 27		7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 30		7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 4	May	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat 7		7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 11		7/10	7/6	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	
Sat 14		7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed 18		7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Sat 21		7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 25		7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat 28		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 1	Jun	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 4		7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 8		7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat 11		7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Wed 15		8/-	7/7	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/11	
Sat 18		7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	7/6
Wed 22		7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat 25		7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 29		8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 2	Jul	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 6		8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 9		8/4	8/2	59/3	58/1	
Wed 13		8/7	8/4	61/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Sat 16		8/10	8/10	62/10	62/10	8/8

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Wed	20 Jul 1698	8/10	8/8	62/10	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	23	8/10	8/8	62/10	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	27	8/10	8/10	62/10	62/10	
Sat	30	8/9	8/8	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	3 Aug	8/8	8/6	61/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	6	8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Wed	10	8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Sat	13	8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Wed	17	8/4	8/2	59/3	58/1	
Sat	20	8/3	8/3	58/8	58/8	
Wed	24	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	
Sat	27	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	
Wed	31	8/2	7/8	58/1	54/6	7/8
Sat	3 Sep	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed	7	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	10	7/11	7/10	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	14	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat	17	8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	21	8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	24	8/2	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	28	8/2	8/2	58/1	58/1	
Sat	1 Oct	8/2	8/2	58/1	58/1	
Wed	5	8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	8	8/4	8/2	59/3	58/1	
Wed	12	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8	
Sat	15	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8	
Wed	19	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8	8/3
Sat	22	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	
Wed	26	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	29	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed	2 Nov	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Fri	4	7/7	7/6	53/11	53/4	7/6
Wed	9	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	12	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	16	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat	19	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	23	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat	26	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	30	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat	3 Dec	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	7	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat	10	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	14	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat	17	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed	21	7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat	24	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Wed	28	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Sat	31	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Wed	4 Jan 1699	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat	7	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed	11	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat	14	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Wed 18 Jan 1699	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 21	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 25	8/-	7/11	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 28	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 1 Feb	7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat 4	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 8	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 11	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 15	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 18	8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 22	8/3	8/3	58/8	58/8	
Sat 25	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8	
Wed 1 Mar	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	8/2
Sat 4	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8	
Wed 8	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	
Sat 11	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8	
Wed 15	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8	
Sat 18	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8	
Wed 22	8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Sat 25	8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Wed 29	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8	
Sat 1 Apr	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8	
Tue 4	8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Sat 8	8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Wed 12	8/5	8/4	59/10	59/3	
Sat 15	8/6	8/4	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/3	
Wed 19	8/4	8/2	59/3	58/1	
Sat 22	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	
Wed 26	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	
Sat 29	8/3	8/2	58/8	58/1	
Wed 3 May	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 6	8/2	8/-	58/1	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 10	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat 13	7/10	7/8	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Wed 17	7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6	
Sat 20	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	7/7
Sat 27	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Wed 31	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Sat 3 Jun	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed 7	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Sat 10	7/7	7/6	53/11	53/4	
Wed 14	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Sat 17	7/8	7/6	54/6	53/4	
Wed 21	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Sat 24	7/8	7/7	54/6	53/11	
Wed 28	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2	
Sat 1 Jul	7/4	7/2	52/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 5	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/2
Sat 8	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	
Wed 12	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 15	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	
Wed 19	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Sat 22	Jul 1699	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	6/-
Wed 26		6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Sat 29		7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	
Wed 2	Aug	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 5	Wed 9	7/- 6/10	6/9 6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$ 48/7	48/- 48/7	6/10
Sat 12		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 16		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 19		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 23		6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Sat 26		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 30		7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2	
Sat 2	Sep	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	
Wed 6		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 9		7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	
Wed 13		6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5	
Sat 16		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Wed 20		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 23		7/4	7/-	52/2	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 27		7/4	7/-	52/2	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 30		7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 4	Oct	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	
Sat 7		6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5	
Wed 11		6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 14		6/8	6/4	47/5	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 18		6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 21		6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 25		6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	6/-
Sat 28		6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Wed 1	Nov	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Sat 4		6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Wed 8		6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Sat 11		6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Wed 15		6/7	6/5	46/10	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 18		6/4	6/-	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	
Wed 22		6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8	
Sat 25		6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Wed 29		6/-	5/11	42/8	42/1	
Sat 2	Dec	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Wed 6		6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6	
Sat 9		6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 13		5/9	5/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 16		5/9	5/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/8
Wed 20		5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 23		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 27		5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Sat 30		5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 3	Jan 1700	5/8	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 6		5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9	
Wed 10		5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9	
Sat 13		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Wed 17	Jan 1700	5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 20		5/6	5/6	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 24		5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Sat 27		5/7	5/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 31		5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	5/5
Sat 3	Feb	5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 7		5/7	5/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 10		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 14		5/7	5/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 17		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 21		5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Sat 24		5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 28		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 2	Mar	5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 6		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Sat 9		5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9	
Wed 13		5/3	5/2	37/4	36/9	
Sat 16		5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 20		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 23		5/2	5/2	36/9	36/9	
Wed 27		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 30		5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 3	Apr	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-
Sat 6		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 10		5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 13		5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 17		5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 20		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 24		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 27		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 1	May	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Sat 4		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 8		5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 11		5/-	4/6	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-	
Wed 15		5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 18		4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 22		4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 25		4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	
Tue 28		4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 1	Jun	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 5		4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	4/6
Sat 8		4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10	
Wed 12		4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-	
Sat 15		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 19		5/4	5/3	37/11	37/4	
Sat 22		5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 26		5/6	5/2	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/9	
Sat 29		5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6	
Wed 3	Jul	5/9	5/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/8
Sat 6		5/11	5/10	42/1	41/6	
Wed 10		6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 13		7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7	6/10
Wed 17		6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	
Sat 20		6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize</u>
Wed 24 Jul 1700	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10	
Sat 27	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5	
Wed 31	6/7	6/6	46/10	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 3 Aug	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 7	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 10	6/5	6/2	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	
Wed 14	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10	6/2
Sat 17	5/6	5/4	49/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	
Wed 21	5/4	5/3	37/11	37/4	
Sat 24	5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9	5/2

TABLE B

Table to show Prices of Wheat sold in Oxford Market between
February 1733 and January 1802

<u>Date</u>	Highest Price of Bushel of Wheat (Oxford 9-gall.bushel)	2nd Highest Price	Highest Price of Quarter of Wheat (Winchester Quarter)	2nd Highest Price	Assize College of Bread Price
Sat 10 Feb 1733	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4	
Sat 17	3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4	
Sat 24	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4	
Sat 3 Mar	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4	
Sat 10	3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 17	3/3	3/2	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/6	
Sat 24	3/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/6	25/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	P.D.
Sat 31	3/5	3/4	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 7 Apr	3/5	3/4	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 11	3/4	-	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	
Sat 14	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 21	3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 25	3/3	-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	
Sat 28	3/8	3/2	26/1	22/6	
Sat 5 May	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4	
Sat 12	2/11	2/10	20/9	20/2	
Sat 19	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9	
Sat 26	3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4	
Sat 2 Jun	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4	
Sat 9	3/-	-	21/4	-	
Sat 16	3/-	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	21/4	20/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 23	3/-	2/10	21/4	20/2	
Wed 27	2/11	-	20/9	-	
Sat 30	3/-	2/10	21/4	20/2	
Sat 7 Jul	3/-	2/10	21/4	20/2	
Sat 14	3/-	2/10	21/4	20/2	
Sat 21	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9	20/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 28	2/11	2/9	20/9	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 4 Aug	2/11	2/9	20/9	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 11	3/-	2/9	21/4	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 18	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4	
Sat 25	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4	
Wed 29	3/-	-	21/4	-	
Sat 1 Sep	3/1	3/1	21/11	21/11	
Sat 8	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 15	2/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/9	20/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 19	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Wed 26	3/-	2/-	21/4	14/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	P.D.
Sat 29	3/2	2/10	22/6	20/2	
Sat 6 Oct	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10	21/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	20/2	
Sat 13	3/10	2/10	27/3	20/2	
Sat 20	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9	
Sat 27	3/-	2/10	21/4	20/2	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	3 Nov 1733	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	10	3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat	17	3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	3/3	3/2	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/6		
Sat	1 Dec	3/4	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat	22	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat	5 Jan 1734	3/8	3/6	26/1	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	3/9	2/8	26/8	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	2 Feb	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	9	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	16	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	23	3/11	3/9	27/10	26/8		
Sat	2 Mar	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	9	3/9 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/9	27/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	16	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	23	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6	3/8N	P.D.
Sat	30	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Apr	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 May	3/5	3/4	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	1 Jun	3/11	3/6	27/10	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	3/8	3/6	26/1	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	3/9	3/7	26/8	25/6		
Sat	22	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	29	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	6 Jul	3/4	3/2	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/6		
Sat	13	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	20	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat	27	4/0 $\frac{3}{4}$	4/-	28/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 Aug	4/0 $\frac{3}{4}$	4/-	28/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	3/10	3/6	27/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	24	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	31	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Sep	4/6	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat	14	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4		
Sat	21	4/3	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/6		
Sat	28	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10N	P.D.
Sat	5 Oct	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Wed	9	3/11	-	27/10	-		
Sat	12	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 26	Oct 1734	4/10	4/6	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Wed 30		4/6	-	32/-	-		
Sat 2	Nov	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat 9		4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 16		4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat 23		4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat 30		4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7	Dec	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/10		
Sat 14		4/4	4/2	30/10	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Tue 24		4/-	-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat 28		4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/11	29/4	27/10		
Sat 4	Jan 1735	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11		4/8	4/3	33/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25		4/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	4/3	30/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1	Feb	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8		4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/2	29/11	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15		4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22		4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat 1	Mar	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8		4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15		4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 22		4/6	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		F.D.
Sat 29		4/5	4/4	31/5	30/10		
Sat 5	Apr	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	May	4/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/2	30/6	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 17		4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 31		3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7	Jun	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 14		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 21		4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 5	Jul	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12		4/10	5/-(sic)	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		5/-	4/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/3	4/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sat 2	Aug	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 9		4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat 16		4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat 23		4/5	4/4	31/5	30/10		
Sat 30		4/2	4/2	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6	Sep	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13		5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20		4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		5/6	5/2	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/9	5/6N	P.D.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 4 Oct 1735	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Nov	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat 15	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	34/8	32/-		
Sat 22	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 29	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6 Dec	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13	4/3	4/1	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27	None Sold		None sold			
Sat 3 Jan 1736	None Sold		None sold.			
Sat 10	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat 17	5/-	4/5	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	31/5		
Sat 24	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat 31	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Feb	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 21	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 28	5/-	4/6	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 6 Mar	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 27	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Apr	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 10	4/10	4/6	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 17	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat 24	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat 1 May	4/8	4/-	33/2	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 22	4/10	4/4	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/10		
Fri 28	4/6	-	32/-	-		
Sat 5 Jun	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12	4/4	4/-	30/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 26	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Jul	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat 10	4/4	4/1	30/10	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat 31	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Aug	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	4/4	4/2	30/10	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28	4/5	4/3	31/5	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4 Sep	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat 11	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat 18	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat 25	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	35/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	2 Oct 1736	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	9	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat	16	4/10	4/8	34/4 ¹ / ₂	33/2		
Sat	23	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat	30	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	6 Nov	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	13	4/4	4/2	30/10	29/7 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	20	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	27	4/5	4/4	31/5	30/10		
Sat	4 Dec	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat	11	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat	18	4/10	4/9	34/4 ¹ / ₂	33/9 ¹ / ₂		
Fri	24	4/9	-	33/9 ¹ / ₂	-		
Sat	1 Jan 1737	None sold		None sold			
Sat	8	4/10	4/6	34/4 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	15	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	22	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat	29	4/9	-	33/9 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat	5 Feb	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	12	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat	19	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat	26	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat	5 Mar	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	12	4/9 ¹ / ₂	4/6	34/1	32/-		
Sat	19	5/5 ¹ / ₂	4/9 ¹ / ₂	38/9 ¹ / ₂	34/1		
Sat	26	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹ / ₂	33/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	2 Apr	5/-	4/10	35/6 ¹ / ₂	34/4 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	9	4/10	4/6	34/4 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	16	4/10	4/7	34/4 ¹ / ₂	32/7		
Sat	23	5/-	4/-	35/6 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	30	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	7 May	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	14	4/11	4/10	34/11 ¹ / ₂	34/4 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	21	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat	28	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat	4 Jun	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat	11	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat	18	4/9	4/8	33/9 ¹ / ₂	33/2		
Sat	25	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat	2 Jul	4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	9	4/3	4/2	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/7 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	16	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	23	4/3	4/1	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	30	4/2	-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	-		
Sat	6 Aug	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	13	4/2	-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	-		
Sat	20	4/6	4/2	32/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	27	4/-	4/-	28/5 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	3 Sep	4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	10	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	17	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	24	4/4 ¹ / ₂	4/2	31/1 ¹ / ₂	29/7 ¹ / ₂		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	1 Oct 1737	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	8	4/3	4/2	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/7 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	15	4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	22	4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	29	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Fri	4 Nov	4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	12	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	19	4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	26	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	3 Dec	3/11	3/10 ¹ / ₂	27/10	27/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	10	3/10	3/6	27/3	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	17	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3		
Sat	24	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	31	None sold		None sold			
Sat	7 Jan 1738	4/-	3/11	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/10		
Sat	14	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	21	4/-	3/9	28/5 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	28	3/11	3/8	27/10	26/1		
Wed	1 Feb	3/2	-	22/6	-		P.D.
Sat	4	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	11	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	18	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Wed	22	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	25	4/-	3/8	28/5 ¹ / ₂	26/1		
Sat	4 Mar	4/-	3/11	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/10		
Sat	11	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3		
Sat	18	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3		
Sat	25	3/7 ¹ / ₂	3/7	25/9 ¹ / ₂	25/6		
Sat	1 Apr	3/8	3/6	26/1	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	8	3/6	3/5 ¹ / ₂	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/7		
Sat	15	3/4	3/3	23/8 ¹ / ₂	23/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	22	3/5	3/3	24/3 ¹ / ₂	23/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	29	3/6	3/4	24/10 ¹ / ₂	23/8 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	6 May	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	13	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	20	3/6	3/4	24/10 ¹ / ₂	23/8 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	27	3/6	3/4 ¹ / ₂	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/-		
Sat	3 Jun	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	10	3/6	3/4	24/10 ¹ / ₂	23/8 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	17	3/7 ¹ / ₂	3/6	25/9 ¹ / ₂	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	24	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	1 Jul	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	8	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	15	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	22	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	29	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	5 Aug	3/5	3/4	24/3 ¹ / ₂	23/8 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	12	3/6	-	24/10 ¹ / ₂	-		
Sat	19	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	26	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	2 Sep	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	9	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 ¹ / ₂		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 16	Sep 1738	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Wed 27		2/10	-	20/2	-	2/10H	P.D.
Sat 30		4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7	Oct	4/10	4/6	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 14		4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 21		3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/6		
Sat 4	Nov	3/7	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/6	25/2		
Sat 11		3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/6		
Sat 18		3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 2	Dec	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 9		3/9	3/7	26/8	25/6		
Sat 16		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 23		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 30		None sold		None sold			
Sat 6	Jan 1739	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 13		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 20		3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Feb	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 10		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 17		3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 24		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 3	Mar	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 10		3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/6		
Sat 17		3/8	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/1	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		4/1	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 H	P.D.
Sat 31		3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7	26/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/6		
Sat 7	Apr	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 14		4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 21		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 28		3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 5	May	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 12		4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		4/8	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	29/11		
Sat 2	Jun	4/3	4/1	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9		4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 30		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 7	Jul	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	29/4	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 21		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 4	Aug	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 11		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 18		3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 25		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	1 Sep 1739	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	8	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat	15	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	4/4	-	30/10	-		
Wed	26	4/10	4/6	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-	4/10	4/6 P.D.
Sat	29	5/4	5/-	37/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Oct	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/6		
Sat	20	4/11	4/6	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	27	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat	3 Nov	4/9	4/7	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7		
Sat	10	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat	17	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat	24	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat	1 Dec	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	4/8	4/2	33/2	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat	22	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5 Jan 1740	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat	19	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat	2 Feb	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat	16	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat	23	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat	1 Mar	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/2		
Sat	8	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat	15	4/10	4/10	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/- P.D.
Sat	29	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/3	38/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4		
Sat	5 Apr	5/4	5/3	37/11	37/4		
Sat	12	5/3	5/2	37/4	36/9		
Sat	19	5/3	5/2	37/4	36/9		
Sat	26	5/6	5/4	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11		
Sat	3 May	-	6/3	-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/3	
Sat	10	7/9	6/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5		
Sat	17	-	7/3	-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/3	
Sat	24	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/3	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	31	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/-	50/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Jun	-	6/6	-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/6	
Sat	14	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5		
Sat	21	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	28	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	5 Jul	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/-	50/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7		
Sat	19	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10		
Sat	26	6/7	6/6	46/10	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Aug	6/7	6/6	46/10	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		

Date		Highest Oxford Bushel	2nd Oxford Bushel	Highest Winch. Quarter	2nd Winch. Quarter	Assize of Bread	Price Day
Sat	9 Aug 1740	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5		
Sat	16	6/11	6/6	49/2	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-		
Sat	30	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	6 Sep	-	7/-	-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/-	
Sat	13	7/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	53/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	53/4		
Sat	20	8/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/7	58/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/11		
Sat	27	8/4	8/-	59/3	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/4 18/-	P.
Sat	4 Oct	8/6	8/5	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/10		
Sat	11	8/4	8/3	59/3	58/8		
Sat	18	8/6	8/5	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/10		
Sat	25	7/11	7/10	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	1 Nov	8/6	8/-	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/-	
Sat	15	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Dec	7/-	7/-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	7/2	7/1	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	7/-	7/-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	7/-	-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat	3 Jan 1741	7/2	7/1	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	17	7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	31	6/11	6/10	49/2	48/7		
Sat	7 Feb	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	14	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-		
Sat	21	6/11	6/10	49/2	48/7		
Sat	28	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-		
Sat	7 Mar	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	14	7/0 $\frac{3}{4}$	7/-	50/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/2 1	P.D.
Sat	28	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7		
Sat	4 Apr	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	11	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	7/3	7/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	7/6	7/5	53/4	52/9		
Sat	2 May	7/4	7/3	52/2	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-		
Sat	16	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5		
Sat	23	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10		
Sat	30	6/9	6/7	48/-	46/10		
Sat	6 Jun	6/7	6/6	46/10	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/6	
Sat	13	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	6/7	6/7	46/10	46/10		
Sat	27	6/5	6/4	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Jul	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	6/4	6/3	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	5/4	5/3	37/11	37/4	5/3	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 25	Jul 1741	5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1	Aug	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8		5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15		5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 29		5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5	Sep	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/1	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/2		
Sat 12		5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		5/4	5/3	37/11	37/4		
Sat 26		5/-	-	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 3	Oct	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10		4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat 17		4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	
Sat 31		4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 7	Nov	4/-	4/-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 21		4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5	Dec	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12		4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat 19		4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat 26		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2	Jan 1742	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Fri 29		3/9	-	26/8	-		P.D.
Sat 6	Feb	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 13		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 27		4/6	3/10	32/-	27/3		
Sat 6	Mar	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed 24		4/3	3/4	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		P.D.
Sat 27		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Apr	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 10		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 17		4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 24		3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 1	May	3/5	3/3	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8		-	3/3	-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3	
Sat 15		3/3	3/2	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/6		
Sat 22		3/4	-	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat 29		3/3	3/2	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/6		
Sat 5	Jun	3/5	3/4	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12		3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Jul	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10		-	3/8	-	26/1	3/8	

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Price of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	17 Jul 1742	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/6		
Sat	24	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	31	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Aug	3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	14	3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	3/5	3/4	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	3/5	3/4	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Sep	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	3/8	3/6	24/1	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	3/9	3/7	26/8	25/6		P.D.
Sat	2 Oct	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	9	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	16	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	30	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Nov	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	3/3	3/2	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/6		
Sat	27	3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Dec	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	11	3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat	18	-	3/-	-	21/4	3/-	
Sat	25	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Fri	31	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat	8 Jan 1743	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	15	3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat	22	3/2	3/1	22/6	21/11		
Sat	29	-	3/-	-	21/4		P.D.
Sat	5 Feb	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	12	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat	19	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	26	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat	5 Mar	3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat	12	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	19	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	26	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat	2 Apr	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat	9	3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat	16	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	23	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat	30	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	7 May	3/-	2/10	21/4	20/2		
Sat	14	2/11	2/10	20/9	20/2		
Sat	21	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat	28	2/11	2/10	20/9	20/2		
Sat	4 Jun	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 22	Jul 1743	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9		3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 16		3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 23		3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat 30		2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6	Aug	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13		2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20		2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10	20/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	20/2		
Sat 27		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Sep	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8	19/10	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10		2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17		3/-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4	20/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		2/9	2/6	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed 28		2/2	-	15/5	-		P.D.
Sat 1	Oct	2/9	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	19/3		
Sat 8		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 29		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5	Nov	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Dec	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 31		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7	Jan 1744	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed 1	Feb	2/2	-	15/5	-		P.D.
Sat 4		2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Mar	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17		3/-	2/10	21/4	20/2		
Sat 24		3/1	2/6	21/11	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		P.D.
Sat 31		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7	Apr	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5	May	2/6	2/5	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/2		
Sat 12		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2	Jun	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9		2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23		2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Prio Day</u>
Sat 30 Jun 1744	2/6	2/5	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/2		
Sat 7 Jul	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4 Aug	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11	2/6	2/5	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/2		
Sat 18	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Sep	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed 26	3/-	-	21/4	-		P.D.
Sat 29	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6 Oct	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Nov	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Dec	2/11	2/10	20/9	20/2		
Sat 8	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 15	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 22	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 29	3/-	2/10	21/4	20/2		
Sat 5 Jan 1745	2/11	2/10	20/9	20/2		
Sat 12	2/11	2/10	20/9	20/2		
Sat 19	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2 Feb	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9	19/10	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2 Mar	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 23	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		P.D.
Sat 30	2/10	2/9	20/2	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6 Apr	2/9	2/9	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27	2/9	2/8	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4 May	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Jun	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	2/7	2/6	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	17/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15	2/8	2/7	18/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		

Date		Highest Oxford Bushel	2nd Oxford Bushel	Highest Winch. Quarter	2nd Winch. Quarter	Assize of Bread	Price Day
Sat 22	Jun 1745	2/7	2/6	18/4 ¹ / ₂	17/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 29		2/8	2/7	18/11 ¹ / ₂	18/4 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 6	Jul	2/9	2/8	19/6 ¹ / ₂	18/11 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 13		2/9	2/7	19/6 ¹ / ₂	18/4 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 20		2/8	2/7	18/11 ¹ / ₂	18/4 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 27		2/9	2/8	19/6 ¹ / ₂	18/11 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 3	Aug	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 10		3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat 17		3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 24		3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat 31		2/11	-	20/9	-		
Sat 7	Sep	3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 14		2/11	2/10	20/9	20/9		
Sat 21		3/-	2/11	21/4	20/9		
Sat 28		3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		P.D.
Sat 5	Oct	3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 12		3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat 19		3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat 26		3/2	3/1	22/6	21/11		
Sat 2	Nov	3/1	3/-	21/11	21/4		
Sat 9		3/2	3/1	22/6	21/11		
Sat 16		3/4	3/3	23/8 ¹ / ₂	23/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 23		3/3	3/2	23/1 ¹ / ₂	22/6		
Sat 30		3/4	3/3	23/8 ¹ / ₂	23/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 7	Dec	3/5	3/4	24/3 ¹ / ₂	23/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 14		3/4	3/3	23/8 ¹ / ₂	23/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 21		3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 28		3/6	3/5	24/10 ¹ / ₂	24/3 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 4	Jan 1746	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 11		-	3/6	-	24/10 ¹ / ₂	3/6	
Sat 18		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 25		3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 1	Feb	3/10 ¹ / ₂	-	27/6 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 8		-	4/-	-	28/5 ¹ / ₂	4/-	
Sat 15		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 22		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 1	Mar	4/3	4/2	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/7 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 8		4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Sat 15		4/6	4/4	32/-	30/10		
Sat 22		4/3	4/2	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/7 ¹ / ₂	4/3M	P.D.
Sat 29		3/3(sic)	3/2(sic)	23/1 ¹ / ₂	22/6		
Sat 5	Apr	4/4	4/-	30/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 12		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 19		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 26		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 3	May	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 10		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 17		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 24		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 31		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 7	Jun	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 14		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 21 Jun 1746		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		4/2	4/2	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5 Jul		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 19		3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 26		4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 2 Aug		3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 9		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 16		3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 23		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 30		3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 6 Sep		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 13		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 20		5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		4/4	3/3	30/10	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	P.D.
Sat 4 Oct		5/-	4/6	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 11		5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Nov		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8		4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	29/4	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 22		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 29		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6 Dec		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 20		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 3 Jan 1747		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10		4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 31		4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	29/4	-		P.D.
Sat 7 Feb		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		4/3	4/1	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Mar		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		4/1	3/11	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		P.D.
Sat 28		4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 4 Apr		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 11		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 18		3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 2 May		3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9		3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16		3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 30		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	6 Jun 1747	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	27	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	4 Jul	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	11	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	18	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	25	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	1 Aug	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	8	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	22	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	5 Sep	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	19	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	26	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6N	P.D
Sat	3 Oct	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	10	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	17	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	24	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	31	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	7 Nov	3/9	3/7	26/8	25/6		
Sat	14	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	3/7	3/6	25/6	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	5 Dec	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	12	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	19	3/8	3/6	26/1	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	3/9	3/7	26/8	25/6		
Sat	2 Jan 1748	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	9	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	16	3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat	23	3/6	3/5	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Fri	29	3/6	-	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	6 Feb	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	13	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat	20	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat	27	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	5 Mar	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	19	3/10	3/8	27/3	26/1		
Wed	23	4/-	-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	4/-N	P.D.
Sat	26	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	2 Apr	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	9	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	16	3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat	23	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	30	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat	7 May	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat	14	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat	21	-	4/-	-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	
Sat	28	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Jun	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat	11	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 18	Jun 1748	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 25		3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 2	Jul	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 9		3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 16		3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 23		3/8	3/7	26/1	25/6		
Sat 30		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 6	Aug	3/11	3/9	27/10	26/8		
Sat 13		3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 20		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 27		3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 3	Sep	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 10		3/9	3/8	26/8	26/1		
Sat 17		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 24		3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		P.D.
Wed 28		4/3	4/2	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/7 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 1	Oct	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 8		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 15		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 22		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 29		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 5	Nov	4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 12		4/3	4/1	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 19		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 26		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 3	Dec	4/3	4/1	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 10		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 17		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 24		4/-	3/11	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/10		
Sat 31		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 7	Jan 1749	4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 14		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 21		4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 28		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 4	Feb	4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 11		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 18		4/3	4/1	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 25		4/1	4/1	29/0 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 4	Mar	4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 11		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 18		4/2	4/-	29/7 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 25		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 1	Apr	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 8		4/-	3/11	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/10		
Sat 15		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 22		4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 29		4/-	3/9	28/5 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat 6	May	4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 13		4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3		
Sat 20		4/1	4/-	29/0 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 27 May 1749	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Jun	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 10	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 17	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 24	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 1 Jul	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 15	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 22	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 29	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5 Aug	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 12	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 26	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 2 Sep	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 16	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Wed 27	4/2	-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D
Sat 30	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 7 Oct	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 4 Nov	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 2 Dec	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 9	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 16	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 23	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 30	4/-	-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat 6 Jan 1750	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 13	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 20	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 27	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 3 Feb	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 17	4/1	-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat 24	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Mar	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 10	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 17	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24	4/-	3/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		P.D
Sat 31	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 7 Apr	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 14	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 5 May 1750	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 12	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2 Jun	4/1	-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat 9	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 30	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Jul	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 21	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4 Aug	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 11	4/1	3/11	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 18	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Sep	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22	4/6	4/5	32/-	31/5		
Wed 26	4/1	3/9	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		P.D.
Sat 29	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 6 Oct	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 13	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 20	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 27	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 3 Nov	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 10	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 17	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 24	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 1 Dec	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 8	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 15	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 22	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 29	4/-	-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat 5 Jan 1751	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 12	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 19	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 26	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 2 Feb	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 9	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 16	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 23	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 2 Mar	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 9	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 16	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat 23	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		P.D.
Sat 30	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 6 Apr	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 13	3/11	3/9	27/10	26/8		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 20 Apr 1751	3/10	3/8	27/3	26/1		
Sat 27	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 4 May	3/11	3/9	27/10	26/8		
Sat 11	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 18	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 25	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 1 Jun	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 8	3/11	3/10	27/10	27/3		
Sat 15	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 22	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 29	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6 Jul	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 13	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20	4/-	3/11	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/10		
Sat 27	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Aug	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24	4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 31	4/3	4/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Sep	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	-	4/6	-	32/-	4/6	
Sat 21	4/11	4/6	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 28	5/3	5/1	37/4	36/2	5/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	P.D.
Sat 5 Oct	-	4/9	-	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	
Sat 12	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 26	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2 Nov	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 9	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 16	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 30	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Dec	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	4/11	4/9	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28	None sold		None sold			
Sat 4 Jan 1752	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Feb	4/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	34/1	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 29	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Mar	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	5/-	4/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/2		P.D.
Sat 28	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4 Apr	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 11	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 18 Apr 1752	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 2 May	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 23	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 30	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6 Jun	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4 Jul	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 11	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 25	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 1 Aug	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 29	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16 Sep	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 30	None sold		None sold			
Sat 7 Oct	5/-	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/8		P.D.
Sat 14	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 21	4/11	4/9	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 4 Nov	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 25	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat 2 Dec	4/9	4/3	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat 16	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat 23	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 30	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat 6 Jan 1753	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13	4/9	4/7	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7		
Sat 20	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat 27	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 3 Feb	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10	4/10	4/9	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 24	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Mar	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17	5/-	4/11	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24	5/3	5/1	37/4	36/2		
Sat 31	5/3	5/3	37/4	37/4		
Wed 4 Apr	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/4	38/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	P.D.
Sat 7	5/3	5/2	37/4	36/9		
Sat 14	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	5/4	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 28 Apr 1753	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5 May	5/3	5/3	37/4	37/4		
Sat 12	5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26	5/3	5/2	37/4	36/9		
Sat 2 Jun	5/3	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9	5/3	5/2	37/4	36/9		
Sat 16	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/3	38/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4		
Sat 30	5/3	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Jul	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	5/3	5/2	37/4	36/9		
Sat 28	5/2	5/1	36/9	36/2		
Sat 4 Aug	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18	5/-	5/-	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	5/-	5/-	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Sep	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8	5/-	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/8		
Sat 15	5/-	5/-	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 29	5/-	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/8		
Sat 6 Oct	5/3	4/9	37/4	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		P.D
Sat 13	5/-	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/8		
Sat 20	5/-	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/8		
Sat 27	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Nov	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/8		
Sat 17	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	34/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Dec	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 8	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	34/8	32/-		
Sat 15	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 22	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 29	4/6	4/6	32/-	32/-		
Sat 5 Jan 1754	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 12	4/9	4/3	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19	4/10	4/6	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 26	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	
Sat 2 Feb	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9	4/3	4/3	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		P.D
Sat 16	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 23	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 2 Mar	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 9	4/6	4/6	32/-	32/-		
Sat 16	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 23	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 30	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Wed 3 Apr	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	34/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	P.D
Sat 6	-	-	-	-		
Sat 13	4/9	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 20	April 1754	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 27		4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	34/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4	May	4/9	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11		4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 18		4/6	4/6	32/-	32/-		
Sat 25		4/6	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1	Jun	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8		4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15		4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22		4/3	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4		
Sat 29		-	4/3	-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	
Sat 6	Jul	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 20		4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 3	Aug	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 10		4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 24		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 31		4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7	Sep	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 14		4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 28		4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5	Oct	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed 9		4/2	-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 12		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 19		4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	29/4	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2	Nov	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 9		4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16		4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 30		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 7	Dec	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 14		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 21		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8	3/9	
Sat 28		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 4	Jan 1755	3/10	3/9	27/3	26/8		
Sat 11		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 18		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 25		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 1	Feb	3/9	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Wed 12		3/6	-	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 15		3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22		3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1	Mar	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 8		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 15		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	22 Mar 1755	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	29	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Wed	2 Apr	4/2	-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	5	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	19	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	26	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 May	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	10	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	17	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	31	3/8	3/6	26/1	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Jun	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	14	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	21	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3	24/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	5 Jul	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	2 Aug	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	3/6	3/4	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	16	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	30	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Sep	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	13	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Oct	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	29/4	26/8		
Wed	8	4/2	-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	11	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	4/3	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4		
Sat	1 Nov	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	32/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	
Sat	8	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	4/6	4/2	32/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4		
Sat	29	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Dec	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	4/6	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 Jan 1756	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	4/6	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	31	4/6	4/2	32/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Feb	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	14	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	21	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assine of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u> <u>III</u>
Sat	6 Mar 1756	5/-	4/6	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	13	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4	
Sat	20	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	27	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	34/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 Apr	4/9	-	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	10	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	17	4/10	4/7	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7		
Sat	24	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	1 May	4/9	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/8	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	4/9	4/9	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5 Jun	5/-	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	36/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 Jul	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	5/6	5/3	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/4		
Wed	14	-	5/-	-	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	
Sat	17	5/6	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/9	41/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	31	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/9	41/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Aug	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/-	43/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	14	6/3	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed	18	-	5/9	-	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/9	
Sat	21	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	28	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	4 Sep	6/-	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	41/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/9	41/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Oct	6/-	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8	41/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	6/-	-	42/8	-		P.D.
Sat	16	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/-	43/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	23	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/9	50/8	48/-		
Wed	27	-	6/3	-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/3	
Sat	30	7/6	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed	3 Nov	-	6/9	-	48/-	6/9	
Sat	6	7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	13	7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-		
Sat	27	6/9	6/-	48/-	42/8	6/-	
Sat	4 Dec	7/6	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	50/8	6/6	
Sat	11	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/8		
Wed	15	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	50/8	-		
Sat	18	7/6	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	50/8		
Sat	25	7/6	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	50/8		
Fri	31	7/6	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>High est Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	1 Jan 1757	7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Wed	5	7/6	-	53/4	-		
Sat	8	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Wed	12	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat	15	8/3	7/6	58/8	53/4		
Sat	22	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	29	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/11	7/6	
Sat	5 Feb	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	12	7/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	56/-	53/4		P.D
Wed	16	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat	19	8/1 $\frac{1}{2}$ (old)	7/6 (new)	57/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	26	8/1 $\frac{1}{2}$ (old)	8/- (new)	57/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
			7/6 (old)		53/4		
Sat	5 Mar	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Mon	7	-	-	-	-	7/6	
Sat	12	8/6	8/-	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	8/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/3	61/4	58/8		
Sat	26	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	51/8	8/3	
Sat	2 Apr	9/-	8/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	64/-	63/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		P.D
Sat	9	9/-	8/9	64/-	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	16	9/4	8/9	66/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	9/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	66/8	63/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	30	8/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/9	63/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 May	9/-	8/9	64/-	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	14	8/9	8/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	59/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	9/-	8/9	64/-	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	9/-	8/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	64/-	63/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Jun	9/3	9/-	65/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	64/-		
Sat	11	9/6	9/3	67/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	65/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	9/3	9/-	65/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	64/-		
Sat	25	9/2	9/-	65/2	64/-		
Sat	2 Jul	8/9	8/6	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/6	
Wed	6	8/9	-	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat	9	9/-	8/9	64/-	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	16	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed	27	-	7/9	-	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/9	
Sat	30	7/-	6/6	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Tue	2 Aug	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat	6	6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/9	
Sat	13	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/3	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	7/6	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/9	
Sat	3 Sep	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/3	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	17	7/-	6/6	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	7/-	6/6	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	1 Oct	7/3	6/9	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-		
Sat	8	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		P.D
Sat	15	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	7/3	7/-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	7/3	6/9	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 5 Nov 1757	7/-	6/9	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 12	7/-	6/9	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 19	7/-	6/9	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 26	6/10 ¹ / ₂	6/9	48/10 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 3 Dec	6/10 ¹ / ₂	6/6	48/10 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 10	6/10 ¹ / ₂	6/6	48/10 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂	6/3	
Sat 17	6/10 ¹ / ₂	6/6	48/10 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 24	7/-	6/9	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 31	7/-	6/10 ¹ / ₂	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 7 Jan 1758	7/-	6/9	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 14	7/-	6/6	49/9 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂	6/6	
Sat 21	7/-	6/9	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 28	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 ¹ / ₂		
Wed 1 Feb	-	-	-	-	6/9	
Sat 5	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2		
Sat 12	7/6	7/4 ¹ / ₂	53/4	52/5 ¹ / ₂		P.D.
Sat 19	7/6	7/4 ¹ / ₂	53/4	52/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 26	7/4 ¹ / ₂	7/3	52/5 ¹ / ₂	51/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 4 Mar	7/4 ¹ / ₂	7/3	52/5 ¹ / ₂	51/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 11	7/6	7/4 ¹ / ₂	53/4	52/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 18	7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 25	7/6	7/4 ¹ / ₂	53/4	52/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 1 Apr	7/3	-	51/6 ¹ / ₂	-	6/6 (3rd Apr)	P.D.
Sat 8	7/-	6/10 ¹ / ₂	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 15	7/-	6/9	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 22	7/-	6/6	49/9 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 29	7/-	6/6	49/9 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Wed 3 May	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat 6	7/-	6/6	49/9 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 13	6/9	6/6	48/-	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 20	6/6	6/-	46/2 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Wed 24	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 27	6/6	6/-	46/2 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 3 Jun	6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 10	5/6	5/3	39/1 ¹ / ₂	37/4	5/3	
Pages missing						
Sat 29 Jul	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 5 Aug	5/6	5/3	39/1 ¹ / ₂	37/4		
Sat 12	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 19	5/6	5/3	39/1 ¹ / ₂	37/4		
Sat 26	5/6	5/3	29/1 ¹ / ₂	27/4		
Sat 2 Sep	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 9	5/6	5/3	39/1 ¹ / ₂	37/4		
Wed 13	5/6	5/-	39/1 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Wed 20	5/9	5/3	40/10 ¹ / ₂	37/4		
Sat 23	5/6	5/3	39/1 ¹ / ₂	37/4		
Sat 30	5/9	5/3	40/10 ¹ / ₂	37/4		
Wed 4 Oct	-	5/-	-	35/6 ¹ / ₂	5/-	
Sat 7	6/-	-	42/8	-		P.D.
Sat 14	5/6	5/3	39/1 ¹ / ₂	37/4		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxf ord Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assine of Breed</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	21 Oct 1758	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Nov	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	5/-	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/8		
Sat	18	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	34/8	32/-		
Wed	22	-	4/6	-	32/-	4/6	
Sat	25	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Dec	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	16	-	-	-	-	4/3	
Sat	23	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	30	8/3(sic)	8/-(sic)	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Jan 1759	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 Feb	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	4/3	-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	17	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 Mar	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4		
Sat	17	4/3	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4		
Sat	24	4/6	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	31	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Wed	4 Apr	5/-	4/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9	P.D.
Sat	7	4/9	4/7	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7		
Sat	14	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	21	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5 May	4/6	4/-	32/-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	
Sat	19	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	26	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	29/4	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Jun	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	9	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	29/4	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	
Sat	16	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	30	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Jul	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	14	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	
Sat	21	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Aug	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	18	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	1 Sep	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	29/4	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4	28/9	4/-	
Sat	22	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	6 Oct 1759	4/9	-	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	13	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 Nov	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	1 Dec	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	29/4	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	5 Jan 1760	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	19	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	26	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Feb	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	9	4/-	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		P.D.
Sat	16	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	31/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4		
Sat	1 Mar	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	4/1	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	4/3	4/1	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed	2 Apr	4/4	-	30/10	-		P.D.
Sat	5	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 May	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	4/-	3/10	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat	31	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	7 Jun	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	14	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/4	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	-	3/9	-	26/8	3/9	
Sat	28	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5 Jul	3/8	3/6	26/1	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	3/10	3/6	27/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/11		
Sat	26	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Aug	3/8	3/6	26/1	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	16	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	23	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	30	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Sep	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/11		
Sat	20	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assise of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	4 Oct 1760	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed	8	4/-	-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	11	4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	18	4/-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat	1 Nov	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	3/9	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10		
Sat	22	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	6 Dec	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	20	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3	
Sat	27	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	3 Jan 1761	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	24/-	21/4		
Sat	10	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3	24/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	31	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Feb	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed	11	3/6	-	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	14	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	3/6	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	7 Mar	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	14	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	3/6	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-		
Sat	28	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Apr	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	24/-	-		P.D.
Sat	11	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	18	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3	24/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	2 May	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3	24/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	16	3/3	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	30	3/3	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Jun	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	13	3/3	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	
Sat	20	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	27	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	24/-	21/4		
Sat	4 Jul	3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat	11	3/6	3/2	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/6		
Sat	18	3/3	3/-	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	25	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	1 Aug	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	8	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat	22	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	24/-	21/4		
Sat	29	3/3	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5 Sep	3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assi-c of Broad</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 12	Sep 1761	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/-	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		3/4	3/3	23/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Oct	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Wed 7		3/6	-	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 10		-	-	-	-	3/3	
Sat 17		3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat 24		3/2	3/-	22/6	21/4		
Sat 31		3/-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4	27/6		
Sat 7	Nov	3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat 14		3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	22/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat 21		3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat 28		3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-	24/-	21/4		
Sat 5	Dec	3/-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4	27/6		
Sat 12		3/3	3/-	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	21/4		
Sat 19		3/-	2/9	21/4	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9	20/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2	Jan 1762	3/-	2/9	21/4	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9		2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9	20/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 16		3/-	2/9	21/4	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23		2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	20/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/8		
Sat 30		2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9	20/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6	Feb	3/-	2/9	21/4	19/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed 10		3/2	-	22/6	-		P.D.
Sat 13		3/9	3/3	26/8	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20		3/6	3/3	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4	Mar	3/9	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 20		4/2	4/-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-	
Sat 27		4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Apr	4/2	-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 10		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 17		3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1	May	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 8		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 15		3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 29		3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5	Jun	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 12		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 19		4/-	3/6	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 3	Jul	4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 10		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 24		3/9	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8	25/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 31		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		
Sat 7	Aug	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6	27/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28		4/-	3/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26/8		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Breed</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	4 Sep 1762	3/10 ¹ / ₂	3/9	27/6 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	11	4/-	3/9	28/5 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	18	3/10 ¹ / ₂	3/9	27/6 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	25	4/-	3/9	28/5 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	2 Oct	4/-	3/10 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	9	4/3	-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat	16	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	23	4/2	3/9	29/7 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	30	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	6 Nov	4/-	3/9	28/5 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	13	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	20	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	27	4/-	3/9	28/5 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	4 Dec	4/-	3/10 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	11	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	18	4/-	3/10 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	25	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	1 Jan 1763	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	8	4/3	4/1 ¹ / ₂	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/4		
Sat	15	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	22	-	-	-	-	4/3	
Sat	29	4/3	4/1 ¹ / ₂	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/4		
Sat	5 Feb	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	12	4/3	-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat	19	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	26	4/3	4/1 ¹ / ₂	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/4		
Sat	5 Mar	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	12	4/4 ¹ / ₂	4/3	31/1 ¹ / ₂	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	19	4/4 ¹ / ₂	4/3	31/1 ¹ / ₂	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	26	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	2 Apr	4/3 ² / ₄	-	30/7 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat	9	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3		
Sat	16	4/-	3/6	28/5 ¹ / ₂	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	23	-	-	-	-	3/6	
Sat	30	4/-	3/6	28/5 ¹ / ₂	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	7 May	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	14	4/-	3/6	28/5 ¹ / ₂	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	21	-	-	-	-	3/9	
Sat	28	4/-	3/9	28/5 ¹ / ₂	26/8		
Sat	4 Jun	3/9	3/6	26/8	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	11	4/-	3/6	28/5 ¹ / ₂	24/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	18	4/1 ¹ / ₂	4/-	29/4	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	25	4/-	3/10 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	2 Jul	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	9	4/-	3/10	28/5 ¹ / ₂	27/3		
Sat	16	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	23	4/3	4/1 ¹ / ₂	30/2 ¹ / ₂	29/4		
Sat	30	4/3	4/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂	28/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	6 Aug	4/2	4/1	29/7 ¹ / ₂	29/0 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	13	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	20	4/4 ¹ / ₂	4/3	31/1 ¹ / ₂	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	27	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	3 Sep	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat	10	-	4/-	-	28/5 ¹ / ₂	4/-	
Sat	17	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		

Date		Highest Oxford Bushel	2nd Oxford Bushel	Highest Winch. Quarter	2nd Winch. Quarter	Assine of Broad	Price Day
Sat	24 Sep 1763	5/-	4/6	35/6 ¹	32/-	4/6	
Sat	1 Oct	5/-	4/6	35/6 ¹	32/-		
Sat	8	5/-	-	35/6 ¹	-		P.D.
Sat	15	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹	33/9 ¹		
Sat	22	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	29	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹		
Sat	5 Nov	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	12	4/6	4/4 ¹	32/-	31/1 ¹		
Sat	19	4/4 ¹	4/3	31/1 ¹	30/2 ¹		
Sat	26	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹		
Sat	3 Dec	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	10	4/7 ¹	4/6	32/10 ¹	32/-		
Sat	17	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	24	4/10 ¹	4/9	34/8	33/9 ¹		
Sat	31	4/10 ¹	4/9	34/8	33/9 ¹		
Sat	7 Jan 1764	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹	33/9 ¹		
Sat	14	4/10 ¹	4/9	34/8	33/9 ¹		
Sat	21	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹	33/9 ¹		
Sat	28	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹	33/9 ¹		
Sat	4 Feb	5/1 ¹	4/10 ¹	36/5 ¹	34/8		
Sat	11	4/9	-	33/9 ¹	-		P.D.
Sat	18	5/1 ¹	5/-	36/5 ¹	35/6 ¹		
Sat	25	5/-	4/10 ¹	35/6 ¹	34/8		
Sat	3 Mar	5/6	5/-	39/1 ¹	35/6 ¹		
Sat	10	5/6	5/3	39/1 ¹	37/4		
Sat	17	5/4 ¹	5/1 ¹	38/2 ¹	36/5 ¹		
Sat	24	-	5/-	-	35/6 ¹	5/-	
Sat	31	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹		
Wed	4 Apr	5/3	-	37/4	-		P.D.
Sat	7	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹		
Sat	14	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹	33/9 ¹		
Sat	21	5/1 ¹	4/10 ¹	36/5 ¹	34/8		
Sat	28	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹	33/9 ¹		
Sat	5 May	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	12	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹		
Sat	19	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹		
Sat	26	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	2 Jun	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	9	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹		
Sat	16	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	23	4/7 ¹	4/6	32/10 ¹	32/-		
Sat	30	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹		
Sat	7 Jul	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹		
Sat	14	4/7 ¹	4/6	32/10 ¹	32/-		
Sat	21	4/6	4/3	32/-	30/2 ¹		
Sat	28	4/4 ¹	4/3	31/1 ¹	30/2 ¹		
Sat	4 Aug	4/6	4/4 ¹	32/-	31/1 ¹		
Sat	11	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	18	4/6	4/4 ¹	32/-	31/1 ¹		
Sat	25	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		
Sat	1 Sep	4/9	4/7 ¹	33/9 ¹	32/10 ¹		
Sat	8	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹	32/-		

31/4
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42/8
44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
43/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
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44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
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44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
48/-
46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$

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43/3
44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
43/10
42/8
46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
42/8
44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
43/10
42/8
42/8
42/8
43/6 $\frac{1}{2}$

43/6 $\frac{1}{2}$

5/9

6/-

6/6

6/-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Broad</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 7 Sep 1765	6/3	6/-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 14	6/4 ¹ / ₂	6/1 ¹ / ₂	45/4	43/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 21	6/3	6/-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 28	-	5/9	-	40/10 ¹ / ₂	5/9	
Sat 5 Oct	6/-	5/10 ¹ / ₂	42/8	41/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 12	6/3	5/9	44/5 ¹ / ₂	40/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 19	6/4 ¹ / ₂	6/-	45/4	42/8		
Sat 26	6/3	6/-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 2 Nov	6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 9	6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 16	6/7 ¹ / ₂	6/6	47/1 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 23	6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 30	6/4 ¹ / ₂	6/-	45/4	42/8		
Sat 7 Dec	6/6	6/1 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂	43/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 14	6/3	6/-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 21	6/4 ¹ / ₂	6/3	45/4	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 28	6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 4 Jan 1766	6/4 ¹ / ₂	6/3	45/4	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 11	6/6	6/1 ¹ / ₂	46/2 ¹ / ₂	43/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 18	6/3	6/-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 25	6/1 ¹ / ₂	6/-	43/6 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 1 Feb	6/-	5/10 ¹ / ₂	42/8	41/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 8	6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 15	6/1 ¹ / ₂	6/-	43/6 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 22	6/1 ¹ / ₂	5/9	43/6 ¹ / ₂	40/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 1 Mar	6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 8	6/-	5/6	42/8	39/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 15	5/9	5/6	40/10 ¹ / ₂	39/1 ¹ / ₂	5/6	
Sat 22	5/9	5/6	40/10 ¹ / ₂	39/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 29	5/7 ¹ / ₂	5/4 ¹ / ₂	40/-	38/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 5 Apr	5/9	5/6	40/10 ¹ / ₂	39/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 12	-	-	-	-	5/-	
Sat 19	5/6	5/-	39/1 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 26	5/9	5/1 ¹ / ₂	40/10 ¹ / ₂	36/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 2 May	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 9	5/6	5/-	39/1 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 16	5/9	5/3	40/10 ¹ / ₂	37/4		
Sat 23	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹ / ₂	33/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 31	5/6	5/-	39/1 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 7 Jun	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 14	5/-	4/10 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂	34/8		
Sat 21	5/1 ¹ / ₂	5/-	36/5 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 28	5/6	5/-	39/1 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 5 Jul	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 12	5/6	5/1 ¹ / ₂	39/1 ¹ / ₂	36/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 19	-	-	-	-	5/6	
Sat 26	5/9	5/3	40/10 ¹ / ₂	37/4		
Sat 2 Aug	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 9	6/3	6/1 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂	43/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 16	6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 23	-	-	-	-	6/3	
Sat 30	6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	6 Sep 1766	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/6	47/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat	20	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	6/9	6/6	48/-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Oct	6/-	5/-	42/8	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	
Wed	8	5/-	-	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	18	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat	25	7/-	6/6	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	1 Nov	-	7/6	-	53/4	7/6	
Sat	8	7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-		
Sat	22	7/3	7/-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	7/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	56/7	53/4		
Sat	6 Dec	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	13	7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	7/9	7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	3 Jan 1767	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	10	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	-	-	-	-	8/-	
Sat	31	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Feb	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	14	8/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/3	59/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	21	8/6	8/-	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	8/9	8/6	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7 Mar	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	18 Apr	-	-	-	-	7/6	
Sat	25	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	2 May	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	9	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	16	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	23	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	30	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Jun	8/6	8/-	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	20	8/6	8/-	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	8/9	8/3	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	4 Jul	8/6	8/-	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	18	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	25	-	-	-	-	8/-	
Sat	1 Aug	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	8/6	8/3	60/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8		
Sat	15	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	8/-	7/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/-		
Sat	29	8/3	7/9	58/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5 Sep	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat	12	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	3 Oct	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat	10	8/-	7/10	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Broad</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 24	Oct 1767	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 31		7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7	Nov	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 28		8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6	Dec	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13		7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 20		8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 3	Jan 1768	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10		7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17		8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 30		8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 6	Feb	7/9	7/3	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13		8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 20		7/9	7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		8/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	8/-	57/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5	Mar	8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12		8/-	7/9	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		-	7/9	-	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/9	
Sat 26		8/3	8/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	58/8	57/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 2	Apr	8/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	59/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-		P.D.
Sat 9		7/6	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	52/3 $\frac{3}{4}$		
Sat 16		7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 23		7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 30		7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7	May	7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14		7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 28		7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 4	Jun	7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 11		7/6	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	50/8		
Sat 18		7/6	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25		7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 2	Jul	8/-	7/6	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 9		7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 16		7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 23		7/6	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 30		7/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	56/-	53/4		
Sat 6	Aug	7/9	7/6	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 13		7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 20		7/6	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 27		7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3	Sep	7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	54/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4		
Sat 10		7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 17		7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/3	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24		7/6	7/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/4	52/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1	Oct	-	7/-	-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/-	
Sat 8		8/-	-	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 15		-	6/6	-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/6	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Broad</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 19 Feb 1769	5/3	4/9	37/4	33/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 26	5/6	5/-	39/1 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 4 Mar	5/9	5/-	40/10 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 11	5/10	5/4	41/6	37/11		
Sat 18	5/11	5/6	42/1	39/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 25	5/10	5/6	41/6	39/1 ¹ / ₂	5/3	
Sat 1 Apr	6/3	-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 8	5/9	5/5	40/10 ¹ / ₂	38/6		
Sat 15	5/3	5/1	37/4	36/2		
Sat 22	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 29	5/4	4/10 ¹ / ₂	37/11	34/8		
Sat 6 May	5/4	4/9 ¹ / ₂	37/11	34/1		
Sat 13	5/2	4/9 ¹ / ₂	36/9	34/1	4/9	
Sat 20	5/-	4/8	35/6 ¹ / ₂	33/2		
Sat 27	5/1 ¹ / ₂	4/9	36/5 ¹ / ₂	33/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 3 Jun	5/-	4/10	35/6 ¹ / ₂	34/4 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 10	5/-	4/9 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂	34/1		
Sat 17	5/3	4/10	37/4	34/4 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 24	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 1 Jul	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 8	None sold		None sold			
Sat 15	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 22	5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 29	4/11	4/10	34/11 ¹ / ₂	34/4 ¹ / ₂		
Sat Aug	5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 12	4/11	4/9 ¹ / ₂	34/11 ¹ / ₂	34/1		
Sat 19	None sold		None sold			
Sat 26	None sold		None sold			
Sat 2 Sep	4/11	4/9	34/11 ¹ / ₂	33/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 9	4/10	None sold	34/4 ¹ / ₂	None sold		
Sat 16	5/3	4/9 ¹ / ₂	37/4	34/1		
Sat 23	5/2	4/10 ¹ / ₂	36/9	34/8		
Sat 7 Oct	6/3	-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 14	5/4	4/8	37/11	33/2		
Sat 21	5/3	4/9	37/4	33/9 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 28	-	4/8	-	33/2		
Sat 4 Nov	5/-	4/9 ¹ / ₂	35/6 ¹ / ₂	34/1		
Sat 11	4/11	4/8	34/11 ¹ / ₂	33/2		
Sat 18	4/10	4/6	34/4 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat 25	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat 2 Dec	4/7	4/5 ¹ / ₂	32/7	31/8 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 9	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat 16	4/9	4/6	33/9 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat 23	4/10	4/5 ¹ / ₂	34/4 ¹ / ₂	31/8 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 30	None sold		None sold			
Sat 6 Jan 1770	4/10	4/6	34/4 ¹ / ₂	32/-		
Sat 13	4/11	4/5	34/11 ¹ / ₂	31/5		
Sat 20	None sold		None sold			
Sat 27	5/-	4/9	35/6 ¹ / ₂	33/9 ¹ / ₂		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	3 Feb 1770	5/-	4/6	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		P.D.
Sat	10	5/3	-	37/4	-		
Sat	17	5/2	4/-	36/9	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	5/-	4/7	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7		
Sat	3 Mar	5/-	4/6	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	10	4/10	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat	24	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat	31	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat	7 Apr	4/11	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	14	4/10	4/8	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat	21	4/11	4/8	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/2		
Sat	28	4/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/1	32/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5 May	4/9	4/7	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7		
Sat	12	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/5	31/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	31/5		P.D.
Sat	19	4/8	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	31/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat	9 Jun	4/8	4/6	33/2	32/-		
Sat	16	4/7	4/6	32/7	32/-		
Sat	23	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat	30	5/7	-	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat	4 Aug	5/7	5/4	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11		
Sat	18	5/7	5/4	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11		
Sat	25	5/7	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11	38/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	1 Sep	5/9	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	No wheat in Marke t		No wheat in Market			
Sat	15	6/3	5/8	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	7/-	-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat	6 Oct	6/5	6/3	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	20	6/6	6/3	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	6/3	6/1	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/3	5/6	
Sat	3 Nov	6/3	5/10	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	41/6		
Sat	10	6/3	5/9	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	6/6	6/-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	24	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	1 Dec	6/-	5/7	42/8	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	5/11	5/7	42/1	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	15	6/-	5/7	42/8	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	6/-	5/7	42/8	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	29	6/-	5/6	42/8	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12 Jan 1771	6/3	6/1	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/3		
Sat	26	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Feb	6/7	5/10	46/10	41/6		
Sat	9	6/6	6/3	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	6/4	5/8	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Mar	6/3	5/8	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	6/2	5/10	43/10	41/6		
Sat	16	5/10	5/7	41/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23	6/-	5/8	42/8	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	30	5/10	5/8	41/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	6 Apr	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6		
Sat	20	6/7	5/10	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	41/6		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat	4 May 1771	6/3	5/11	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/1		
Sat	18	6/-	5/11	42/8	42/1		
Sat	25	6/1	5/11	43/3	42/1		
Sat	1 Jun	6/1	5/11	43/3	42/1		
Sat	15	6/6	6/3	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	22	6/4	6/1	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/3		
Sat	29	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat	6 Jul	6/5	6/3	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	6/4	6/3	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/-	
Sat	27	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	3 Aug	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17	6/5	6/3	47/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	14 Sep	6/5	6/3	47/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat	28	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat	5 Oct	6/6	6/3	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	12	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	6/6	6/3	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	6/4	6/3	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	2 Nov	6/5	6/4	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat	16	6/3	6/1	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/3		
Sat	30	6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat	14 Dec	6/3	5/11	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/1		
Sat	21	6/5	6/3	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	4 Jan 1772	6/8	6/6	47/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat	18	6/3	6/1	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/3		
Sat	1 Feb	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/6	46/6	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	8	6/8	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	46/6	6/3	
Sat	15	6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5		
Sat	22	6/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/8	48/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5	6/6	
Sat	29	6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5		
Sat	17 Mar	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7		
Sat	21	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	28	7/1	6/11	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	18 Apr	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7		
Sat	2 May	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10		
Sat	9	7/1	6/10	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7		
Sat	23	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7		
Sat	30	6/11	6/8	49/2	47/5		
Sat	6 Jun	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	13	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	27	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	4 Jul	6/11	6/9	49/2	48/-		
Sat	18	7/1	6/10	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7		
Sat	25	7/1	6/11	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	1 Aug	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat	8	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10		
Sat	15	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat	29	-	-	-	-	6/3	
Sat	12 Sep	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	19	6/8	6/4	47/5	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	17 Oct	6/7	6/5	46/10	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	24	6/4	6/-	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 31 Oct 1772	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat 7 Nov	6/8	6/5	47/5	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 14	6/7	6/5	46/10	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21	6/6	6/3	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5 Dec	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5		
Sat 26	6/8	6/4	47/5	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9 Jan 1773	6/7	6/5	46/10	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23	6/11	6/8	49/2	47/5		
Sat 6 Feb	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5		
Sat 20	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-		
Sat 27	6/11	6/9	49/2	48/-		
Sat 13 Mar	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	6/6	
Sat 27	6/11	6/8	49/2	47/5		
Sat 3 Apr	7/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	56/-	-		P.D.
Sat 17	6/11	6/9	49/2	48/-		
Sat 25	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-		
Wed 29 May	6/8	6/7	47/5	46/10		
Sat 5 Jun	6/9	6/7	48/-	46/10	6/3	
Sat 26	6/7	6/6	46/10	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 Jul	7/-	6/9	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/-	6/9	
Sat 21 Aug	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 2 Oct	7/2	7/-	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 9	8/3 seed wheat	-	58/8	-		P.D.
Sat 16	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23	7/1	7/-	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6 Nov	7/3	7/1	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13	7/-	6/11	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat 20	-	6/9	-	48/-	6/9	
Sat 27	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-		
Sat 4 Dec	6/9	6/8	48/-	47/5		
Sat 11	7/-	6/10	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	48/7		
Sat 18	6/11	6/8	49/2	47/5		
Sat 8 Jan 1774	6/9	6/7	48/-	46/10		
Sat 15	6/7	6/6	46/10	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/6	
Sat 29	6/8	6/4	47/5	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5 Feb	6/6	6/4	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12	6/7	6/3	46/10	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19	6/5	6/2	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat 26	6/7	6/5	46/10	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/3	
Sat 5 Mar	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12	6/6	6/5	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26	6/7	6/6	46/10	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/6	
Sat 2 Apr	7/6	-	53/4	-		P.D.
Sat 9	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/8	48/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5		
Sat 16	6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5		
Sat 23	6/11	6/8	49/2	47/5		
Sat 7 May	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-		
Sat 14	7/1	6/8	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5		
Sat 4 Jun	6/11	6/9	49/2	48/-		
Sat 18	6/10	6/9	48/7	48/-		
Sat 25	6/11	6/8	49/2	47/5		
Sat 2 Jul	6/11	6/9	49/2	48/-		
Sat 20 Aug	7/7	7/4	53/11	52/2		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 24 Sep 1774	8/1	7/11	57/6	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 1 Oct	-	7/6	-	53/4	7/6	
Sat 8	10/-	-	71/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 15	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 22	8/-	7/11	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 5 Nov	8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12	9/-	8/3	64/-	58/8		
Sat 19	7/10	7/7	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/11		
Sat 3 Dec	7/11	7/-	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 10	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 17	7/11	7/10	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 24	7/7	6/3	53/11	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 31	7/4	6/3	52/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Jan 1775	7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6		
Sat 14	7/11	7/9	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/6	
Sat 21	7/7	7/4	53/11	52/2		
Sat 28	7/10	7/9	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11 Feb	7/11	7/10	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 18	7/11	7/9	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 25	7/11	7/7	56/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	53/11		
Sat 11 Mar	8/-	7/8	56/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6		
Sat 25	7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6		
Sat 1 Apr	8/9	-	62/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 8	7/7	7/4	53/11	52/2		
Sat 22	7/8	7/2	54/6	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 6 May	7/4	6/11	52/2	49/2		
Sat 13	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat 27	7/3	6/11	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/2		
Sat 3 Jun	7/4	6/10	52/2	48/7		
Sat 15	7/4	6/9	52/2	48/-		
Sat 12 Aug	-	-	-	-	6/3	
Sat 16 Sep	6/1	6/-	43/3	42/8	5/9	
Sat 23	5/6	5/2	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	36/9		
Sat 7 Oct	-	-	-	-	5/3	P.D.
Sat 21	5/-	4/10	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 11 Nov	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	5/-	
Sat 2 Dec	-	-	-	-	4/9	
Sat 16	4/11	4/7	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7		
Sat 3 Feb 1776	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	
Sat 10	5/2	5/1	36/9	36/2		
Wed 3 April	5/-	-	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 6	-	-	-	-	4/9	
Sat 27	4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 11 May	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat 8 Jun	4/11	4/8	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 22	4/9	4/6	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat 20 Jul	4/10	4/7	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/7		
Sat 24 Aug	4/8	4/3	33/2	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21 Sep	4/10	4/3	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 28	4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat 5 Oct	5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 23 Nov	4/11	4/10	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Dec	-	5/-	-	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	
Sat 21	5/-	4/8	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Broad</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 11 Jan 1777		4/8	4/7	33/2	32/7		
Sat 18		4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat 1 Feb		4/11	4/9	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 15		5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9		
Sat 22		5/9	5/4	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	37/11		
Sat 1 Mar		5/10	5/9	41/6	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/6	
Sat 28		5/7	5/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 26 Apr		5/7	5/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 3 May		5/6	5/5	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6		
Sat 10		5/7	5/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 30		5/9	5/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Jun		6/3	6/-	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	42/8		
Sat 14		6/2	5/11	43/10	42/1		
Sat 21		-	6/-	-	42/8	6/-	
Sat 2 Aug		6/10	6/7	48/7	46/10		
Sat 9		6/11	6/8	49/2	47/5	6/6	
Sat 20 Sep		6/9	6/6	48/-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed 8 Oct		7/6	-	53/4	-		P.D.
Sat 11		7/9	-	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat 25		7/-	6/8	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	47/5		
Sat 1 Nov		6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat 8		6/4	6/3	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/-	
Sat 22		6/3	5/10	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	41/6		
Sat 29		6/2	5/11	43/10	42/1		
Sat 6 Dec		6/1	5/10	43/3	41/6		
Sat 20		6/2	5/11	42/8	42/1		
Sat 3 Jan 1778		6/1	5/10	43/3	41/6		
Sat 11		6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6		
Sat 17		6/1	6/-	43/3	42/8		
Sat 24		6/5	6/3	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 7 Feb		6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Wed 11		6/6	-	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 21		6/4	6/1	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/3		
Sat 28		6/3	6/1	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/3		
Sat 14 Mar		6/4	6/3	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 21		6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat 28		6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat 4 Apr		7/-	-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat 11		6/3	6/2	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/10		
Sat 18		6/2	6/1	43/10	43/3		
Sat 25		6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/6	
Sat 23 May		6/-	5/7	42/8	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 13 Jun		6/-	5/2	42/8	36/9		
Sat 27		5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9	5/-	
Sat 11 Jul		-	-	-	-	4/6	
Sat 6 Mar 1779		-	-	-	-	3/9	
Sat 3 Apr		4/6	-	32/-	-		
Sat 8 May		4/1	-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat 22		4/5	4/3	31/5	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 12 Jun		4/3	4/1	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat 19		4/-	-	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		

Date			Highest Oxford Bushel	2nd Oxford Bushel	Highest Winch. Quarter	2nd Winch. Quarter	Assize of Bread	Price Day
Sat	23	Jul 1779	4/1	-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat	21	Aug	4/2	-	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat	18	Sep	4/1	4/-	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	25		4/4	4/2	30/10	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	9	Oct	5/3	-	37/4	-		P.D.
Sat	23		4/2	4/1	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	Nov	4/4	4/1	30/10	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	11	Dec	4/3	4/-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5	Jan 1780	4/3	-	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		
Sat	19	Feb	4/5	4/-	31/5	28/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26		3/9	-	26/8	-		
Sat	25	Mar	4/8	4/2	33/2	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	1	Apr	5/9	-	40/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	29		4/1	3/10	29/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/3		
Sat	13	May	4/5	4/2	31/5	29/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	27	May	4/4	4/3	30/10	30/2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5	Aug	4/11	4/6	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	32/-		
Sat	26		4/9	4/8	33/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2	4/3	
Sat	23	Sep	4/11	4/8	34/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	33/2		
Sat	7	Oct	6/-	-	42/8	-		P.D.
Sat	21		5/4	5/2	37/11	36/9		
Sat	28		-	-	-	-	5/-	
Sat	4	Nov	5/10	5/4	41/6	37/11		
Sat	2	Dec	5/10	5/7	41/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	16		5/7	5/5	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	38/6		
Sat	20	Jan 1781	5/8	5/6	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	39/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/6	
Sat	3	Feb	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat	10		7/-	-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	24	Mar	6/8	6/5	47/5	45/7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Wed	4	Apr	7/6	-	53/4	-		P.D.
Sat	14		6/4	6/3	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	26	May	6/-	5/8	42/8	40/3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	21	Jul	5/11	5/9	42/1	43/-		
Sat	8	Sep	-	-	-	-	5/6	
Sat	22		5/10	5/7	41/6	39/8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5	Jan 1782	5/5	5/2	38/6	36/9		
Sat	9	Feb	7/3	6/9	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/-		P.D.
Sat	6	Apr	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat	13	May	6/10	6/8	48/7	47/5		
Sat	15	Jun	6/4	6/2	45/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	13	Jul	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat	21	Sep	7/3	7/-	51/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	5	Oct	7/6	7/4	53/4	52/2		
Wed	9		8/3	-	58/8	-		P.D.
Sat	19		7/2	6/3	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	10	Nov	7/4	7/1	52/2	50/4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	23		7/4	7/2	52/2	50/11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	30		-	7/-	-	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7/-	
Sat	12	Feb 1783	7/9	-	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		P.D.
Sat	22	Mar	7/5	7/4	52/9	52/2		
Sat	3	May	7/9	7/8	55/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	54/6		
Sat	1	Jun	7/6	7/-	53/4	49/9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Sat	7		-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat	30	Aug	6/6	6/3	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	44/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	6/-	
Sat	15	Nov	6/6	6/1	46/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	43/3		

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Broad</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 12 Feb 1784	7/-	-	49/9½	-		P.D.
Sat 13 Mar	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat 8 May	8/-	7/9	56/10½	55/11½		
Sat 12 Jun	7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6½		
Sat 28 Aug	7/3	7/-	51/6½	49/9½		
Sat 25 Sep	6/6	5/9	46/2½	40/10½	6/-	
Sat 9 Oct	8/6	-	60/5½	-		P.D.
Sat 13 Nov	-	-	-	-	5/6	
Sat 2 Dec	6/-	5/6	42/8	39/11½		
Sat 15 Jan 1785	6/1	5/2	43/3	36/9		
No date	5/11	5/-	42/1	35/6½		P.D.
Sat 19 Feb	-	-	-	-	5/-	
Sat 2 Apr	6/7½	-	47/2½	-		P.D.
Sat 9	-	-	-	-	5/6	
Sat 30	5/7	5/4	39/8½	37/11		
Sat 21 May	5/6	5/5	39/11½	38/6		
Sat 4 Jun	5/6	5/4	39/11½	37/11		
Sat 11	-	-	-	-	5/-	
Sat 10 Sep	5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6½		
Sat 1 Oct	5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6½		
Sat 5 Nov	5/6	5/3	39/11½	37/4	4/3	
Sat 24 Dec	-	-	-	-	5/-	
Sat 11 Feb 1786	5/8½	-	40/7	-		P.D.
Sat 1 Apr	5/9½	-	40/11½	-		P.D.
Sat 8	5/5	5/3	38/6	37/4	4/3	
Sat 3 Jun	5/3	4/11	37/4	34/11½		
Sat 10	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6½		
Sat 26 Aug	5/-	4/10	35/6½	34/4½		
Sat 16 Sep	5/3	4/9	37/4	33/9½		
Sat 30	5/2	4/8	36/9	33/2		
Sat 6 Nov	5/4	5/-	37/11	35/6½		
Sat 4 Dec	5/6	5/-	39/11½	35/6½		
Sat 13 Jan 1787	5/3	4/9	37/4	33/9½		
Sat 3 Feb	5/-	4/6	35/6½	32/-		
Sat 10	-	-	-	-	3/9	
Sat 21 Apr	-	-	-	-	4/3	
Sat 13 Jul	5/6	5/3	39/11½	37/4		
Sat 21	5/7	5/6	39/8½	38/11½	4/9	
Sat 22 Sep	6/3	6/-	44/5½	42/8		
Sat 29	6/6	6/-	46/2½	42/8		
Sat 6 Oct	7/-	-	49/9½	-	5/-	P.D.
Sat 13	5/-	4/10	35/6½	34/4½		
Sat 20	5/1	4/11	36/2	34/11½		
Sat 3 Nov	5/2	5/-	36/9	35/6½		
Sat 24	5/1	4/11	36/2	34/11½		
Sat 15 Dec	5/3	5/1	37/4	36/2		
Sat 22	5/1	5/-	36/2	35/6½		
Sat 5 Jan 1788	5/3	5/1	37/4	36/2		
Sat 26	5/6	5/3	39/11½	37/4		
Sat 16 Feb	5/9	5/6	40/10½	39/11½	5/6	P.D.
Sat 19 Apr	6/3	6/-	44/5½	42/8		
Sat 3 May	6/2	6/-	43/10	42/8		
Sat 14 Jun	6/-	5/10	42/8	41/6		

Date			Highest Oxford Bushel	2nd Oxford Bushel	Highest Winch. Quarter	2nd Winch. Quarter	Assize of Bread	Price Bak
Sat 22 Jul 1788			6/3	6/-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 9 Aug			6/3	6/2	44/5 ¹ / ₂	43/10		
Sat 6 Sep			6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 24 Jan 1789			6/9	6/6	48/-	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 31			6/6	-	46/2 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 28 Feb			-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 28 Mar			6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 4 Apr			6/9	-	48/-	-		P.D.
Sat 11			6/6	6/3	46/2 ¹ / ₂	44/5 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 25			6/3	6/-	44/5 ¹ / ₂	42/8		
Sat 9 May			6/-	5/9	42/8	40/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 20 Jun			6/9	6/6	48/-	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 11 Jul			7/-	6/9	49/9 ¹ / ₂	48/-		
Sat 18			7/6	7/3	53/4	51/6 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 25			-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat 22 Aug			-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 25 Sep			6/9	6/6	48/-	46/2 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 7 Oct			8/4 ¹ / ₂	-	59/6 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 14 Nov			8/3	8/-	58/8	56/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 3 Dec			8/-	7/9	56/10 ¹ / ₂	55/1 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 23 Jan 1790			7/9	7/6	55/1 ¹ / ₂	53/4		
Sat 6 Feb			8/-	-	56/10 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 13 Mar			7/9	7/6	55/1 ¹ / ₂	53/4		
Sat 3 Apr			8/3	-	58/8	-		P.D.
Sat 9 Oct			8/-	-	56/10 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 30			-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 12 Feb 1791			7/6	-	53/4	-		P.D.
Sat 27 Aug			-	-	-	-	5/6	
Sat 8 Oct			7/-	-	49/9 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 4 Feb 1792			5/3	5/-	37/4	35/6 ¹ / ₂	5/-	
Sat 11			None sold					
Sat 22 Sep			-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 29			-	-	-	-	5/6	
Sat 6 Oct			7/6	-	53/4	-		P.D.
Sat 9 Feb 1793			6/4 ¹ / ₂	-	45/4	-		P.D.
Sat 13			-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 7 Sep			-	-	-	-	5/6	
Sat 9 Oct			7/-	-	49/9 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 8 Feb 1794			7/3	-	51/6 ¹ / ₂	-	6/-	P.D.
Sat 8 Nov			7/6	-	53/4	-		
Sat 13 Dec			-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat 14 Feb 1795			8/6	6/-	60/5 ¹ / ₂	56/10 ¹ / ₂		
Sat 21			-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 4 Apr			8/9	-	62/2 ¹ / ₂	-		P.D.
Sat 13 Jun			10/-	9/5 ¹ / ₂	71/1 ¹ / ₂	67/2	7/6	
Sat 27			-	-	-	-	8/-	
Sat 11 Jul			-	-	-	-	8/6	
Sat 18			-	-	-	-	9/6	
Sat 1 Aug			-	-	-	-	10/-	
Sat 5 Sep			-	-	-	-	9/6	
Sat 12			-	-	-	-	9/-	
Sat 19			-	-	-	-	9/6	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 7 Oct 1795	13/-	-	92/5½	-	10/9	P.D.
Sat 28 Nov	-	-	-	-	10/6	
Sat 12 Dec	-	-	-	-	11/9	
Sat 26	-	-	-	-	12/6	
Sat 9 Jan 1796	-	-	-	-	12/6	
Sat 30	-	-	-	-	12/3	
Sat 6 Feb	-	-	-	-	12/-	
Sat 20	-	-	-	-	12/3	
Sat 27	-	-	-	-	13/-	
Sat 5 Mar	-	-	-	-	13/6	
Sat 26	-	-	-	-	12/6	
Sat 2 Apr	13/-	-	92/5½	-	10/6	P.D.
Sat 9	-	-	-	-	8/6	
Sat 23	-	-	-	-	9/6	
Sat 4 Jun	-	-	-	-	10/3	
Sat 25	-	-	-	-	10/6	
Sat 16 Jul	-	-	-	-	9/6	
Sat 30	-	-	-	-	9/-	
Sat 20 Aug	-	-	-	-	7/9	
Sat 27	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 24 Sep	-	-	-	-	7/6	
Sat 8 Oct	10/-	-	71/1½	-	7/3	P.D.
Sat 19 Nov	-	-	-	-	6/9	
Sat 24 Dec	-	-	-	-	6/9	P.D.
Sat 11 Feb 1797	7/10½	-	56/-	-	6/-	P.D.
Sat 25	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 1 Apr	7/6	-	53/4	-	5/9	P.D.
Sat 6 May	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 20	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat 8 Jul	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 19 Aug	-	-	-	-	7/6	
Sat 2 Sep	-	-	-	-	8/-	
Sat 9	-	-	-	-	8/-	
Sat 7 Oct	7/9	-	55/1½	-	7/9	P.D.
Sat 14	-	-	-	-	7/3	
Sat 4 Nov	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 2 Dec	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 10 Feb 1798	9/3	-	65/9½	-	6/9	P.D.
Sat 17	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 10 Mar	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat 17	-	-	-	-	6/9	
Sat 24	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 31	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 7 Apr	7/-	-	49/9½	-	6/9	
Sat 14	7/-	-	49/9½	-	6/9	
Sat 21	7/-	-	49/9½	-	6/9	
Sat 28	7/-	-	49/9½	-	6/9	
Sat 5 May	-	-	-	-	6/9	
Sat 12	6/9	-	48/-	-	6/6	
Sat 19	6/9	-	48/-	-	6/3	
Sat 26	-	-	-	-	6/3	
Sat 2 Jun	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 9	-	-	-	-	6/-	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 21 Jul 1798	-	-	-	-	5/9	
Sat 4 Aug	-	-	-	-	5/6	
Sat 11	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 6 Oct	8/-	-	56/10½	-		P.D.
Sat 13	-	-	-	-	5/9	
Sat 3 Nov	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 17	-	-	-	-	5/9	
Sat 22 Dec	-	-	-	-	6/-	
Sat 9 Feb 1799	7/6	-	53/4	-	6/3	P.D.
Sat 30 Mar	-	-	-	-	6/6	
Sat 20 Apr	-	-	-	-	6/9	
Sat 4 May	-	-	-	-	7/6	7-
Sat 13 Jul	-	-	-	-	8/3	
Sat 21 Sep	-	-	-	-	8/6	
Sat 28	-	-	-	-	9/-	
Sat 5 Oct	-	-	-	-	9/6	
Sat 9 Oct	12/6	-	88/11	-		P.D.
Sat 12	-	-	-	-	10/6	
Sat 2 Nov	-	-	-	-	11/-	
Sat 16	-	-	-	-	11/9	
Sat 23	-	-	-	-	12/6	
Wed 4 Dec	-	-	-	-	12/6(AVE)	
Sat 7	-	-	-	-	12/-	
Sat 14	-	-	-	-	11/3	
Sat 28	-	-	-	-	12/6	
Sat 25 Jan 1800	-	-	-	-	13/6	
Sat 1 Feb	-	-	-	-	13/9	
Sat 8	-	-	-	-	14/3	
Sat 15	-	-	-	-	14/9	
Sat 22	-	-	-	-	14/3	
Sat 15 Mar	-	-	-	-	13/9	
Sat 22	-	-	-	-	14/3	
Sat 29	-	-	-	-	14/6	
Sat 12 Apr	-	-	-	-	15/-	
Sat 19	-	-	-	-	15/9	
Sat 26	-	-	-	-	16/6	
Sat 3 May	-	-	-	-	16/3	
Sat 10	-	-	-	-	16/-	
Sat 17	-	-	-	-	15/3	
Sat 24	-	-	-	-	14/9	
Sat 31	-	-	-	-	15/9	
Sat 14 Jun	-	-	-	-	16/6	
Sat 21	-	-	-	-	16/9	
Sat 19 Jul	-	-	-	-	15/3	
Sat 26	-	-	-	-	13/-	
Sat 2 Aug	-	-	-	-	10/-	
Sat 16	-	-	-	-	11/-	
Sat 23	-	-	-	-	13/-	
Sat 30	-	-	-	-	14/3	
Sat 13 Sep	-	-	-	-	13/6	
Sat 20	-	-	-	-	9/6	
Sat 27	-	-	-	-	10/6	
Sat 4 Oct	-	-	-	-	12/3 or 13/6	
Sat 11	-	-	-	-	15/3	
Sat 18	-	-	-	-	16/6	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Highest Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>2nd Oxford Bushel</u>	<u>Highest Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Winch. Quarter</u>	<u>Assize of Bread</u>	<u>Price Day</u>
Sat 6 Dec 1800	-	-	-	-	16/6	
Sat 13	-	-	-	-	17/3	
Sat 20	-	-	-	-	18/3	
Sat 27	-	-	-	-	18/-	
Sat 3 Jan 1801	-	-	-	-	17/-	
Sat 10	-	-	-	-	17/6	
Sat 17	-	-	-	-	17/9	
Sat 24	-	-	-	-	19/-	
Sat 31	-	Flour 21/-	-	-	21/- Flour	
Sat 7 Feb	25/-	Flour 23/-	-	-	23/- Flour P.D.	
Sat 28	-	21/-	-	-		
Sat 7 Mar	-	-	-	-	21/6	
Sat 21	-	-	-	-	21/-	
Sat 28	-	-	-	-	20/6	
Sat 11 Apr	-	-	-	-	18/6	
Sat 25	-	-	-	-	17/-	
Sat 2 May	-	-	-	-	15/-	
Sat 9	-	-	-	-	14/6	
Sat 23	-	-	-	-	15/6	
Sat 11 Jul	-	-	-	-	16/6	
Sat 18	-	-	-	-	18/-	
Sat 25	-	-	-	-	17/6	
Sat 1 Aug	-	-	-	-	16/-	
Sat 8	-	-	-	-	14/9	
Sat 15	-	-	-	-	12/9	
Sat 22	-	-	-	-	10/9	
Sat 5 Sep	-	-	-	-	11/6	
Sat 12	-	-	-	-	11/-	
Sat 26	-	-	-	-	9/6	
Sat 3 Oct	-	-	-	-	8/6	
Sat 10	-	-	-	-	7/6	
Sat 17	-	-	-	-	7/-	
Sat 31	-	-	-	-	7/9	
Sat 14 Nov	-	-	-	-	8/6	
Sat 21	-	-	-	-	9/-	
Sat 5 Dec	-	-	-	-	8/6	
Sat 19	-	-	-	-	9/-	

TABLE C

The Prices of Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats and Beans Recorded at
Oxford, Banbury and Henley between 1770 and 1781.

All prices are for the Winchester Bushel.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Oct 6 1770	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9	2/8	2/-	3/4
11	Banbury	6/-	4/6	2/9	2/6	3/9
13	Oxford	5/8	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8	2/4	3/4
18	Banbury	6/9	4/-	3/4	2/-	3/8
20	Oxford	5/8	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8	2/4	3/4
25	Banbury	6/-	3/4	3/-	2/3	3/10
25	Henley	5/1	4/-	2/9	2/3	3/1
27	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	2/2	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nov 1	Banbury	6/3	-	3/1	2/3	3/6
1	Henley	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	Oxford	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	2/2	3/3
8	Banbury	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Henley	4/10	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Oxford	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	2/2	3/3
15	Banbury	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/4	4/-
15	Henley	4/10	-	2/5	2/2	3/1
17	Oxford	5/3	-	2/8	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
22	Banbury	6/5	4/1	3/2	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/11
22	Henley	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
24	Oxford	4/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
29	Banbury	6/2	3/4	3/-	2/1	3/10
29	Henley	4/8	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dec 1	Oxford	4/11	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Banbury	6/1	-	2/10	2/1	3/10
6	Henley	4/9	-	2/4	2/-	3/-
8	Oxford	4/11	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/4 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Banbury	5/9	-	3/-	2/-	3/7
13	Henley	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	Oxford	4/11	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/4 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Banbury	5/8	-	3/1	2/2	3/7
20	Henley	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Oxford	4/11	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/4 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Banbury	5/4	4/2	3/1	2/2	3/8
27	Henley	5/-	-	2/5	2/0 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
29	Oxford	4/11	-	2/6	1/4 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jan 3 1771	Banbury	5/6	-	3/2	2/-	3/6
3	Henley	4/11	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
5	Oxford	5/-	-	2/6	2/-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Banbury	5/9	-	3/3	2/3	3/7
10	Henley	5/7	-	2/6	2/2	3/1
12	Oxford	5/-	-	2/6	2/-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Banbury	5/10	-	2/11	2/2	3/11
17	Henley	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Oxford	5/-	-	2/6	2/-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	6/3	-	3/2	2/2	3/11
24	Henley	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Jan 26 1771	Oxford	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
31	Banbury	6/7	-	3/3	2/3	3/11
31	Henley	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb 2	Oxford	5/4	-	2/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	Banbury	6/10	-	3/2	2/4	3/11
7	Henley	5/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/8	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-
9	Oxford	5/4	-	2/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
14	Banbury	6/10	-	3/2	2/5	4/-
14	Henley	6/-	-	3/-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-
16	Oxford	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
21	Banbury	6/10	-	3/2	2/4	4/-
21	Henley	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Oxford	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{3}{4}$
28	Banbury	7/-	-	3/3	2/5	4/-
28	Henley	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Mar 2	Oxford	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	Banbury	7/2	-	3/4	2/4	4/1
77	Henley	5/9 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Oxford	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$
14	Banbury	7/2	-	3/5	2/4	4/1
14	Henley	6/-	-	3/4	2/4	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
16	Oxford	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$
21	Banbury	7/3	-	3/7	2/5	4/1
21	Henley	6/2	-	3/4	2/4	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$
28	Banbury	7/4	-	3/8	2/5	4/2
28	Henley	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
30	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Apr 4	Banbury	7/3	-	3/10	2/7	4/2
4	Henley	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/10	2/2	-
11	Banbury	7/4	-	3/10	2/7	4/2
11	Henley	6/-	-	3/4	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
13	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3
18	Banbury	7/3	-	3/10	2/7	4/2
18	Henley	6/1	-	3/4	2/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/5 $\frac{3}{4}$
20	Oxford	5/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Banbury	7/-	-	4/-	2/8	4/2
25	Henley	6/2	-	3/8	2/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/4
27	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
May 2	Banbury	6/11	-	4/-	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$
2	Henley	6/2	-	3/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/4
4	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/11 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Banbury	7/-	-	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/2
9	Henley	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Oxford	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
16	Banbury	6/10	-	4/-	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Henley	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	3/4
18	Oxford	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
23	Banbury	7/-	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Henley	5/8	-	3/4	2/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/4
25	Oxford	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
30	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	4/-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/2
30	Henley	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/4	2/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
June	1 1771	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	6	Banbury	6/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/11	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	6	Henley	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	3/4
	8	Oxford	5/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	13	Banbury	6/10	-	4/-	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-
	13	Henley	6/-	-	3/2	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	15	Oxford	6/-	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	20	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/11	2/8	4/1
	20	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/4
	22	Oxford	6/-	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	27	Banbury	7/-	-	4/-	2/7	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	27	Henley	6/2	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	29	Oxford	6/-	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/10
July	4	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1
	4	Henley	6/2	-	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	6	Oxford	6/-	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	11	Banbury	7/3	-	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9	4/2
	11	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{4}$
	13	Oxford	6/-	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	18	Banbury	7/3	-	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	18	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Oxford	6/-	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/4
	25	Banbury	7/2	-	4/-	2/9	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	25	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	27	Oxford	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
Aug	1	Banbury	7/2	-	3/11	2/9	4/1
	1	Henley	6/2	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/7 $\frac{1}{4}$
	3	Oxford	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/4
	8	Banbury	7/2	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{4}$	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	8	Henley	6/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/7 $\frac{1}{4}$
	10	Oxford	6/4	-	-	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	15	Banbury	7/2	-	3/11	2/9	4/1
	15	Henley	6/2	-	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	17	Oxford	6/4	-	-	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	22	Banbury	7/2	-	3/3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	22	Henley	6/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	24	Oxford	6/4	-	-	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	29	Banbury	7/-	-	3/2	2/5	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	29	Henley	6/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	31	Oxford	6/4	-	-	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
Sep	5	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/4	3/11
	5	Henley	6/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	3/7 $\frac{1}{4}$
	7	Oxford	6/4	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	12	Banbury	7/-	-	3/2	2/5	4/-
	12	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/4	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	14	Oxford	6/4	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	19	Banbury	7/-	-	3/3	2/4	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	19	Henley	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/8
	21	Oxford	6/4	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	26	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/3	2/5	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	26	Henley	6/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	3/8
	28	Oxford	Not received	-	-	-	-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Oct 3 1771	Banbury	7/-	-	3/3	2/5	4/-
3	Henley	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/8
5	Oxford	6/8	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/5	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/4	3/8
12	Oxford	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/4	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	3/4
17	Banbury	6/9	-	3/-	2/9	3/9
17	Henley	6/2	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/2	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Oxford	6/6	5/4	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-	3/4
24	Banbury	6/7	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/9
24	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/4	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
26	Oxford	6/4	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
31	Banbury	7/-	-	3/3	2/6	4/2
31	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/4	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nov 2	Oxford	6/4	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-	3/4
7	Banbury	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/0 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/4	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Oxford	6/4	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	3/4
14	Banbury	7/3	-	3/3	2/6	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
14	Henley	5/11	-	2/11	2/1	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Oxford	6/4	-	2/8	2/-	3/4
21	Banbury	7/3	-	3/2	2/5	4/-
21	Henley	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Oxford	6/2	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	3/9
28	Banbury	7/3	-	3/1	2/5	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
28	Henley	5/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/5
30	Oxford	6/2	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dec 5	Banbury	7/3	-	3/2	2/6	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	Henley	5/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/5
7	Oxford	6/2	-	2/8	2/-	3/3
12	Banbury	7/1	-	3/2	2/4	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Henley	5/10	-	3/-	2/1	3/6
14	Oxford	6/2	-	2/8	2/-	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1	2/6	4/-
19	Henley	6/-	-	3/1	2/4	3/6
21	Oxford	6/-	-	2/8	2/-	3/3
26	Banbury	7/1	-	3/2	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/2
26	Henley	6/4	-	3/1	2/2	3/6
28	Oxford	6/-	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-	3/4
Jan 2 1772	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/6	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	Henley	6/4	-	3/1	2/2	3/6
4	Oxford	6/-	-	2/8	2/-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Banbury	7/1	-	3/2	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Henley	6/5	-	3/1	2/2	3/5
11	Oxford	6/-	-	2/8	2/1	3/4
16	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/6	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Henley	6/-	-	3/-	2/2	3/6
18	Oxford	6/2	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Banbury	7/1	-	3/2	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-
23	Henley	6/2	-	3/-	2/2	3/5
25	Oxford	6/2	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
30	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1	2/6	4/-
30	Henley	6/2	-	3/1	2/2	3/6

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Feb	1 1772	Oxford	6/2	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	6	Banbury	7/1	-	3/1	2/5	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	6	Henley	6/4	-	3/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
	8	Oxford	6/2	-	2/10	2/-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	13	Banbury	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1	2/5	4/-
	13	Henley	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	15	Oxford	6/2	-	2/10	2/-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Banbury	7/2	-	3/2	2/6	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Henley	6/4	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	22	Oxford	6/2	-	2/10	2/-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	27	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	27	Henley	6/4	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	29	Oxford	6/2	-	2/10	2/-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mar	5	Banbury	7/-	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
	5	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	7	Oxford	6/4	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	12	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/6	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	12	Henley	6/4 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	3/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/6
	14	Oxford	6/4	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	19	Banbury	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1	2/6	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	19	Henley	6/6	-	3/1	2/2	3/6
	21	Oxford	6/4	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jun	25 1772	Banbury	6/6	-	2/10	2/1	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	25	Henley	6/6	-	-	2/1	3/8
	27	Oxford	6/2	-	2/9	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jul	2	Banbury	6/6	-	3/-	2/1	3/10
	2	Henley	6/8	-	-	-	3/9
	4	Oxford	6/2	-	2/9	2/-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	9	Banbury	6/9	-	2/10	2/1	4/-
	9	Henley	6/9	-	-	2/2	3/-
	11	Oxford	6/2	-	2/9 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	16	Banbury	6/11	-	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/10
	16	Henley	6/9	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	18	Oxford	6/4	-	2/10	2/4	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	23	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/1	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	23	Henley	6/8	-	-	2/2	4/2
	25	Oxford	no return	-	-	-	-
	30	Banbury	7/1	-	3/-	2/1	-
	30	Henley	6/5	-	-	2/4	4/1
Aug	1	Oxford	no return	-	-	-	-
	6	Banbury	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	-
	6	Henley	6/2	-	3/4	2/4	4/4
	8	Oxford	6/4	-	3/-	2/4	4/1
	13	Banbury	7/1	-	3/-	2/1	-
	13	Henley	6/1	-	3/6	2/4	4/2
	15	Oxford	6/4	-	3/-	2/4	4/2
	20	Banbury	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	-
	20	Henley	6/2	-	-	2/4	4/3
	22	Oxford	6/4	-	3/-	2/4	4/2
	27	Banbury	7/-	-	2/10	2/1	-
	27	Henley	6/2	-	-	2/5	4/3
	29	Oxford	6/4	-	3/-	2/4	4/2

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Sep 3 1772	Banbury	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/1	-
3	Henley	6/4	-	-	2/4	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	Oxford	6/4	-	3/-	2/4	4/-
10	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-
10	Henley	6/5	-	-	2/2	4/2
12	Oxford	6/1	-	3/4	2/4	4/2
17	Banbury	7/1	-	3/1	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-
17	Henley	6/6	-	-	2/4	4/3
19	Oxford	6/4	-	3/1	2/4	4/2
24	Banbury	7/8	-	3/2	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4
24	Henley	6/10	-	-	2/4	4/3
26	Oxford	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3
Oct 1	Banbury	7/3	-	3/1	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4
1	Henley	6/10	-	3/4	2/4	4/4
8	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/1	2/5	4/4
8	Henley	6/8	-	3/4	2/4 $\frac{3}{4}$	4/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	Banbury	7/-	-	3/2	2/6	4/6
15	Henley	6/5	-	3/6	2/2	4/4
22	Banbury	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7	4/6
22	Henley	6/6	-	3/6	2/2	4/4
29	Banbury	7/-	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6
29	Henley	6/8	-	3/7	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nov 5	Banbury	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/3	2/7	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	Henley	6/10	-	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Banbury	7/1	-	3/4	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6
12	Henley	6/10	-	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Henley	6/10	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	4/4
26	Banbury	7/1	-	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
26	Henley	6/10	-	3/6	2/4	4/5
Dec 3	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/4	2/8	4/6
3	Henley	6/10	-	3/6	2/6	4/5
10	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/4	2/8	4/6
10	Henley	6/10	-	3/8	2/6	4/5
17	Banbury	7/1	-	3/4	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Henley	6/10	-	3/8	2/6	4/5
24	Banbury	6/10	-	3/4	2/8	4/6
24	Henley	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/6	4/5
Mar 27 1773	Oxford	6/8	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr 1	Banbury	7/1	-	3/11	2/7	4/6
1	Henley	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Henley	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/11	2/7	4/6
15	Henley	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Henley	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/4
24	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
29	Banbury	no return	-	-	-	-
29	Henley	7/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6	2/4	4/4

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
May 1 1773	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6
6	Banbury	6/4	-	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	4/1
6	Henley	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Banbury	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/11	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6
13	Henley	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6	2/4	4/2
15	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Banbury	6/10	-	3/9	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/5
20	Henley	6/10	-	3/6	2/4	4/2
22	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Banbury	no return				
27	Henley	6/9	-	-	2/4	4/2
29	Oxford	6/8	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jun 3	Banbury	7/-	-	3/10	2/4	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	Henley	6/8	-	-	2/4	4/2
5	Oxford	6/8	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Banbury	6/11	-	3/9	2/7	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Henley	6/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4	4/2
12	Oxford	6/8	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Banbury	6/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/9	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4
17	Henley	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4	4/2
19	Oxford	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	6/11	-	3/9	2/6	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Henley	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sep 30	Banbury	7/10	-	3/10	2/6	5/-
30	Henley	6/11	-	3/6	2/6	4/5
Oct 2	Oxford	7/-	-	3/8	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3
7	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	Henley	7/1	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Oxford	7/-	-	3/8	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/3
14	Banbury	7/10	-	3/9	2/6	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
14	Henley	7/-	-	3/6	2/7	4/5
16	Oxford	7/-	-	3/-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4
21	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/9	2/7	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
21	Henley	6/10	-	3/8	2/6	4/5
23	Oxford	7/-	-	3/-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
28	Banbury	7/10	-	3/9	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-
28	Henley	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/6	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
30	Oxford	7/-	-	3/8	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nov 4	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	Henley	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7	4/7
6	Oxford	7/-	-	3/8	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Banbury	7/9	-	3/9	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Henley	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10	2/5	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Oxford	6/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/9	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	Banbury	7/9	-	3/9	2/6	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	Henley	5/10	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-
20	Oxford	6/8	-	3/8	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/9	2/6	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Henley	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Oxford	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/9	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Dec 2 1773	Banbury	7/9	-	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4/-
4	Oxford	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/6	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Banbury	7/9	-	3/10	2/5	5/-
9	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Oxford	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-
16	Henley	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	4/4
18	Oxford	6/8	-	3/8	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Banbury	7/9	-	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Henley	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/7	2/4	4/4
25	Oxford	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
30	Banbury	no return				
30	Henley	5/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/4
Jan 1 1774	Oxford	6/2	-	3/8	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10	2/5	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Henley	6/-	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Oxford	6/2	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-
13	Banbury	7/6	-	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10
13	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10
15	Oxford	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Banbury	7/6	-	3/9	2/6	4/10
20	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/8	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Banbury	7/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10
27	Henley	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/-
29	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb 3	Banbury	7/6	-	3/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	Henley	6/3	-	3/7	2/6	4/4
5	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Banbury	7/6	-	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10
10	Henley	6/3	-	3/7	2/6	3/10
12	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Banbury	7/6	-	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/10
17	Henley	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	7/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6	2/4	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Henley	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-
26	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/4	4/2
Mar 3	Banbury	7/6	-	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10
3	Henley	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10
5	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Banbury	7/6	-	3/9	2/6	4/10
10	Henley	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/4	3/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Oxford	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Banbury	7/7	-	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/10
17	Henley	6/4	-	3/8	2/6	3/10
19	Oxford	6/4	-	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	7/6	-	3/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Henley	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$

Date	Town	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans
Mar 30 1775	Banbury	8/9	-	4/2	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
30	Henley	7/-	-	3/4	2/6	4/-
Apr 1	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Banbury	8/9	-	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/6
6	Henley	7/-	-	3/2	2/6	4/-
8	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Henley	7/-	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Banbury	7/9	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/6
20	Henley	7/-	-	3/2	2/6	4/-
22	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Banbury	7/9	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6
27	Henley	6/10	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
29	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
May 4	Banbury	7/9	-	3/10	2/6	4/6
4	Henley	6/6	-	3/2	2/5	3/1
6	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Banbury	no return	-	-	-	-
11	Henley	6/4	-	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/6
18	Banbury	7/9	-	3/10	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	Henley	6/4	-	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
25	Banbury	7/9	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Henley	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/6
Jun 1	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10	2/6	4/6
1	Henley	6/8	-	3/-	2/5	3/1
3	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
8	Banbury	7/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/10	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Henley	6/10	-	2/9	2/5	3/2
10	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/6
15	Banbury	7/9	-	3/10	2/6	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	Henley	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/6
22	Banbury	7/9	-	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	4/6
22	Henley	6/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Oxford	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/6
Jun 27 1776	Banbury	no return	-	-	-	-
27	Henley	4/6	-	-	2/3	3/1
29	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/-
Jul 4	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
4	Henley	4/7	-	-	2/4	3/-
6	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/-
11	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
11	Henley	4/9	-	-	2/4	3/-
13	Oxford	no return	-	-	-	-
18	Banbury	no return	-	-	-	-
18	Henley	4/10	-	2/4	2/4	3/1
20	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/-
25	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Henley	4/10	-	-	2/4	3/1
27	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Bar ley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Aug 1 1776	Banbury	no return				
1	Henley	4/8	-	-	2/4	3/1
3	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/-
8	Banbury	5/-	-	-	1/10	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Henley	4/6	-	-	2/4	3/1
10	Oxford	no return				
15	Banbury	5/-	-	-	1/10	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	Henley	4/8	-	-	2/4	3/1
17	Oxford	4/8	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Banbury	5/-	-	-	1/10	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Henley	4/11	-	-	2/4	3/1
24	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/-
29	Banbury	5/-	-	-	1/10	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
29	Henley	4/11	-	-	2/3	3/-
31	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/-
Sep 5	Banbury	5/-	-	-	1/10	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	Henley	4/9	-	-	2/3	3/1
7	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
12	Banbury	5/-	-	-	1/10	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Henley	5/-	-	2/8	2/4	3/2
14	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/-
19	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Henley	5/-	-	2/6	2/2	3/1
21	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
26	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
26	Henley	5/-	-	2/6	2/2	3/1
28	Oxford	4/9	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oct 3	Banbury	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	Henley	5/-	-	2/5	2/3	3/3
5	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/2	2/1	3/-
10	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
10	Henley	5/-	-	2/5	2/3	3/3
12	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/2	2/1	3/-
17	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
17	Henley	5/-	-	2/5	2/4	3/2
19	Oxford	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Henley	5/-	-	2/4	2/3	3/2
26	Oxford	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
31	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
31	Henley	5/-	-	2/5	2/4	3/2
Nov 2	Oxford	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	Banbury	5/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
7	Henley	5/3	-	2/4	2/6	3/2
9	Oxford	no ret/urn				
14	Banbury	5/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
14	Henley	5/2	-	2/2	2/3	3/2
16	Oxford	5/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/3 $\frac{3}{4}$
21	Banbury	5/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
21	Henley	5/-	-	2/4	2/4	3/4
23	Oxford	5/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/3 $\frac{3}{4}$
28	Banbury	5/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
28	Henley	4/11	-	2/5	2/4	3/4
30	Oxford	5/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Dec 5 1776	Banbury	5/-	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
5	Henley	5/3	-	2/5	2/4	3/5
7	Oxford	5/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Banbury	no return				
12	Henley	5/1	-	2/6	2/2	3/3
14	Oxford	5/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Banbury	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/4
19	Henley	5/3	-	2/7	2/4	3/4
21	Oxford	5/6	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jun 26 1777	Banbury	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
26	Henley	6/-	-	-	2/4	3/9
28	Oxford	5/6	-	2/4	2/4	3/2
Jul 3	Banbury	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
3	Henley	6/-	-	-	2/4	3/10
5	Oxford	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Banbury	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{3}{4}$
10	Henley	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Oxford	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Banbury	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/11 $\frac{1}{4}$
17	Henley	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Oxford	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/11 $\frac{1}{4}$
24	Henley	5/10	-	2/8	2/4	3/9
26	Oxford	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
31	Banbury	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/11
31	Henley	6/2	-	2/10	2/4	3/10
Aug 2	Oxford	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	Banbury	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
7	Henley	6/5	-	2/10	2/4	3/10
9	Oxford	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
14	Banbury	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
14	Henley	6/9	-	2/10	2/4	3/10
16	Oxford	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
21	Banbury	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
21	Henley	6/5	-	2/10	2/4	3/10
23	Oxford	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
28	Banbury	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
28	Henley	6/5	-	3/-	2/4	3/10
30	Oxford	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
Sep 4	Banbury	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
4	Henley	6/6	-	3/-	2/4	4/-
6	Oxford	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Banbury	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
11	Henley	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/11
13	Oxford	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
18	Banbury	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
18	Henley	6/4	-	2/8	2/4	4/-
20	Oxford	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
25	Banbury	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2 $\frac{3}{4}$
25	Henley	6/6	-	-	2/4	3/11
27	Oxford	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Jan	1 1778	Banbury	No return				
	1	Henley	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-
	3	Oxford	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	8	Banbury	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	8	Henley	5/9	-	3/-	2/2	4/3
	10	Oxford	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	15	Banbury	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	15	Henley	5/6	-	3/-	2/2	4/-
	17	Oxford	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	22	Banbury	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	22	Henley	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	24	Oxford	5/9	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	4/-
	29	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	29	Henley	5/8	-	2/11	2/2	3/10
	31	Oxford	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
Feb	5	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	5	Henley	5/9	-	2/10	2/2	4/1
	7	Oxford	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	12	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	12	Henley	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/9
	14	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	19	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	19	Henley	5/8	-	2/10	2/2	3/10
	21	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	26	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	26	Henley	5/10	-	2/10	2/2	3/9
	28	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mar	5	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	5	Henley	6/-	-	2/11	2/2	4/-
	7	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	12	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	12	Henley	6/1	-	2/10	2/2	3/11
	14	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	19	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	19	Henley	6/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/-
	21	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	26	Banbury	No return				
	26	Henley	5/11	-	2/10	2/2	3/11
	28	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr	2	Banbury	6/6	-	3/2	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	2	Henley	5/10	-	2/11	2/2	3/5
	4	Oxford	5/11	-	2/10	2/3	3/5
	9	Banbury	6/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/2	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	9	Henley	5/10	-	2/11	2/2	3/8
	11	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3	3/5
	16	Banbury	6/3	-	3/2	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	16	Henley	5/8	-	2/10	2/2	3/8
	18	Oxford	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	23	Banbury	6/3	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	23	Henley	5/8	-	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	25	Oxford	5/10	-	2/8	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	30	Banbury	6/3	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	30	Henley	5/8	-	2/10	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
May 2 1778	Oxford	5/10	-	2/8	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
7	Banbury	6/3	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/5
7	Henley	5/7	-	2/10	2/2	3/10
9	Oxford	5/10	-	2/8	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
14	Banbury	No return				
14	Henley	5/7	-	2/10	2/2	3/4
16	Oxford	5/6	-	2/8	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
21	Banbury	6/3	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
21	Henley	5/7	-	2/11	2/1	3/5
23	Oxford	5/6	-	2/8	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6
28	Banbury	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
28	Henley	5/6	-	2/9	2/4	3/5
30	Oxford	5/6	-	2/8	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
Jun 4	Banbury	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	Henley	5/4	-	2/8	2/2	3/6
6	Oxford	5/6	-	2/8	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Banbury	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Henley	5/4	-	-	2/3	3/6
13	Oxford	5/3	-	2/8	2/2	3/2
18	Banbury	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	Henley	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Oxford	5/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Banbury	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Henley	5/5	-	-	2/2	3/7
27	Oxford	5/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jul 2	Banbury	No return				
2	Henley	5/5	-	3/-	2/2	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	Oxford	5/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Banbury	5/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Henley	5/6	-	3/-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7
11	Oxford	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Banbury	5/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Henley	5/6	-	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	Oxford	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Banbury	No return				
23	Henley	5/5	-	-	2/3	3/6
25	Oxford	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
30	Banbury	5/-	-	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
30	Henley	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/3	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Aug 1	Oxford	4/11	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Banbury	4/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Henley	5/4	-	-	2/3	3/8
8	Oxford	4/11	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Banbury	4/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Henley	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/3	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	Oxford	4/11	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Banbury	4/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Henley	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Oxford	4/11	-	2/8	2/2	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Banbury	4/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Henley	5/-	-	-	2/2	3/5
29	Oxford	No return			2/2	

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Sep	3 1778	Banbury	4/6	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	3	Henley	5/-	-	-	2/2	3/5
	5	Oxford	4/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/4
	10	Banbury	4/6	-	2/5	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	10	Henley	5/-	-	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	12	Oxford	4/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/4
	17	Banbury	4/6	-	2/5	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	17	Henley	4/10	-	2/7	2/1	3/6
	19	Oxford	4/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/4
	24	Banbury	4/6	-	2/5	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	24	Henley	4/9	-	2/7	2/3	3/5
	26	Oxford	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Oct	1	Banbury	4/6	-	2/5	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	1	Henley	4/7 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/9 $\frac{1}{4}$
	3	Oxford	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	8	Banbury	4/6	-	2/5	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	8	Henley	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/5	2/2	3/5
	10	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	15	Banbury	4/6	-	2/5	1/8	3/6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	15	Henley	4/4	-	2/6	2/1	3/2
	17	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	22	Banbury	4/6	-	2/5	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	22	Henley	4/6	-	2/6	2/1	3/5
	24	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	29	Banbury	No return	-	-	-	-
	29	Henley	4/6	-	2/6	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	31	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Nov	5	Banbury	4/6	-	2/5	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	5	Henley	4/7 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/6	2/1	3/5
	7	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	12	Banbury	4/6	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	12	Henley	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6	2/1	3/5
	14	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	19	Banbury	4/6	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	19	Henley	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/6	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	21	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	26	Banbury	4/6	-	2/2	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	26	Henley	4/8	-	2/5	2/2	3/5
	28	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Dec	3	Banbury	4/6	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	3	Henley	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/5	2/2	3/3
	5	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	10	Banbury	4/6	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	10	Henley	4/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/5	2/2	3/2
	12	Oxford	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4	2/2	3/1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	17	Banbury	4/6	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	17	Henley	4/8	-	2/5	2/3	3/3
	19	Oxford	4/2	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-	3/-
	24	Banbury	4/6	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	24	Henley	4/8	-	2/5	2/-	3/9
	26	Oxford	4/2	-	2/3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-	3/-

Date	Town	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Peas
Mar 27 1779 (i)	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/-
Apr 1	Banbury	4/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2
1	Henley	4/3	-	2/5	2/-	3/-
3	Oxford	No return				
8	Banbury	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2
8	Henley	4/3	-	2/4	2/1	3/-
10	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/-
15	Banbury	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2
15	Henley	4/2 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/4	2/1	2/11
Apr 17 1779	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/-
22	Banbury	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2
22	Henley	4/3	-	2/4	2/1	3/-
24	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/-
29	Banbury	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2
29	Henley	4/5	-	2/4	2/1	3/-
May 1	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/-
6	Banbury	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/2
6	Henley	4/8	-	2/4 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-
8	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/-
13	Banbury	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Henley	4/7 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/6	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-
15	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/-
20	Banbury	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Henley	4/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/7 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{3}{4}$
22	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/-
27	Banbury	4/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Henley	4/8	-	2/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/0 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/1
29	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/-
Jun 3	Banbury	4/1	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	Henley	4/6	-	2/6 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	Oxford	No return				
10	Banbury	4/2	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Henley	4/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Banbury	4/2	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Henley	4/7 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	-	2/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Oxford	4/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	4/2	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Henley	4/8	-	-	2/1 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sep 30	Banbury	3/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/11
30	Henley	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/11	3/-
Oct 2	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$
7	Banbury	3/9 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/11
7	Henley	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-
9	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$
14	Banbury	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	1/5	2/11
14	Henley	4/3 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	2/1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/11
16	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10	1/10	2/9 $\frac{1}{4}$

(i) From this date the returns are no longer dated and the dates have had to be ascertained from other sources; it is possible that the dates given here could be incorrect but by one week only.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Oct 21 1779	Banbury	No return				
21	Henley	4/5	-	2/-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
28	Banbury	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
28	Henley	4/5	-	1/11	1/10	2/9
30	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nov 4	Banbury	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	Henley	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/11	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Banbury	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Henley	4/4	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/11	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	Banbury	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	Henley	4/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/11	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Banbury	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Henley	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dec 2	Banbury	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	Henley	4/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Banbury	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
9	Henley	4/4	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	Oxford	3/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Banbury	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Henley	4/4	-	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	No other returns for December except					
30	Henley	4/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/11	1/11	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jan 1 1780	Oxford	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Banbury	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Henley	4/4	-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Oxford	No return				
13	Banbury	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Henley	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/11	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7
15	Oxford	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Banbury	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Henley	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Oxford	No return				
27	Banbury	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
27	Henley	4/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
29	Oxford	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb 3	Banbury	No return				
3	Henley	4/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	Oxford	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Banbury	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3	2/10
10	Henley	4/4	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	Oxford	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Banbury	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3	2/10
17	Henley	4/4	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Oxford	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	3/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/3	2/10
24	Henley	4/6	-	2/1	1/9	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
26	Oxford	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Mar	2 1780	Banbury	3/2 ⁸	-	1/9 ¹	1/3	2/10
	2	Henley	4/6 ¹	-	2/1 ¹	1/10	2/5
	4	Oxford	4/-	-	1/10 ¹	1/4 ¹	2/6
	9	Banbury	3/2 ⁷	-	1/9 ¹	1/3	2/10
	9	Henley	4/4	-	2/2	1/10	2/6
	11	Oxford	4/-	-	1/10 ¹	1/4 ¹	2/6
	16	Banbury	3/7 ¹	-	1/10	1/3	2/10
	16	Henley	4/4	-	2/1 ¹	1/11	2/6
	18	Oxford	4/-	-	1/10 ¹	1/4 ¹	2/6
	23	Banbury	3/7 ¹	-	1/10	1/3	2/10
	23	Henley	4/4 ¹	-	2/0 ¹	1/8 ¹	2/6 ¹
	25	Oxford	4/-	-	1/10 ¹	1/4 ¹	2/6
Jun	23 1781	Oxford	5/2 ¹	-	1/10 ¹	2/0 ¹	2/5 ¹
	28	Banbury	5/3	-	-	1/7 ¹	3/0 ¹
	28	Henley	5/11 ¹	-	-	2/1 ¹	2/8 ¹
	30	Oxford	5/2 ¹	-	1/10 ¹	2/0 ¹	2/5 ¹
Jul	5	Banbury	5/3	-	-	1/7 ¹	3/0 ¹
	5	Henley	5/9 ¹	-	-	2/2 ¹	2/9
	7	Oxford	5/2 ¹	-	1/10 ¹	2/0 ¹	2/5 ¹
	12	Banbury	5/8 ¹	-	-	1/6 ¹	2/11 ¹
	12	Henley	6/-	-	1/11 ¹	2/1 ¹	2/9
	14	Oxford	5/2	-	-	1/10 ¹	2/5 ¹
	19	Banbury	4/8 ¹	-	-	1/6 ¹	2/11 ¹
	19	Henley	6/2	-	-	2/1 ¹	2/9
	21	Oxford	5/2	-	-	1/10 ¹	2/5 ¹
	26	Banbury	4/8 ¹	-	-	1/6 ¹	2/11 ¹
	26	Henley	6/3 ¹	-	-	1/11 ¹	2/8
	28	Oxford	5/2	-	-	1/10	2/5 ¹
Aug	2	Banbury	No return				
	2	Henley	6/4	-	-	2/0 ¹	2/9 ¹
	4	Oxford	5/2 ¹	-	1/10 ¹	2/-	2/6 ¹
	9	Banbury	4/8 ¹	-	-	1/5	2/11 ¹
	9	Henley	5/10 ¹	-	-	2/1	2/8 ¹
	11	Oxford	5/2 ¹	-	1/10 ¹	2/-	2/6 ¹
	16	Banbury	4/8 ¹	-	-	1/5	2/11 ¹
	16	Henley	5/11 ¹	-	2/2	2/3	2/9 ¹
	18	Oxford	5/2 ¹	-	1/10 ¹	2/-	2/6 ¹
	23	Banbury	4/8	-	-	1/5	2/11 ¹
	23	Henley	6/0 ¹	-	-	2/-	2/10
	25	Oxford	5/2 ¹	-	1/10 ¹	1/9	2/10
	30	Banbury	4/8 ¹	-	-	1/5	2/11 ¹
	30	Henley	6/1 ¹	-	2/4	2/3	2/9
Sep	1	Oxford	5/2 ¹	-	1/10 ¹	1/9	2/10
	6	Banbury	4/8 ¹	-	-	1/5	2/11 ¹
	6	Henley	5/11 ¹	-	2/2	2/1	2/9
	8	Oxford	4/9 ¹	-	1/10	1/10 ¹	2/6 ¹
	13	Banbury	4/8 ¹	-	2/-	1/5	2/11 ¹
	13	Henley	5/11 ¹	-	1/11 ¹	1/11	2/9
	15	Oxford	4/9 ¹	-	2/-	1/7	2/11
	20	Banbury	4/8 ¹	-	2/-	1/5	2/11 ¹
	20	Henley	5/4 ¹	-	1/11 ¹	1/10	2/10
	22	Oxford	4/9 ¹	-	2/-	1/7	2/11
	27	Banbury	5/2 ¹	-	2/-	1/4 ¹	2/11 ¹
	27	Henley	5/6	-	1/11	1/11	2/9
	29	Oxford	4/10 ¹	-	1/8	1/10 ¹	2/6 ¹

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Oct 4 1781	Banbury	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	Henley	5/4	-	2/3	2/3	2/10
6	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/8	1/8	2/10
11	Banbury	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	unclear		
11	Henley	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/11	1/11	2/9
13	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/8	1/8	2/10
18	Banbury	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
18	Henley	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/9
20	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/8	1/8	2/10
25	Banbury	5/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	Henley	5/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	-
27	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/8	1/8	2/10
Nov 1	Banbury	5/3	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/-
1	Henley	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/2	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/9
3	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/8	1/8	2/10
8	Banbury	5/3	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/-
8	Henley	5/10	-	2/1	1/11	3/-
10	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/8	1/8	2/10
15	Banbury	5/3	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/-
15	Henley	5/6	-	2/1	1/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/-
17	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10	1/8	2/10
22	Banbury	5/3	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/3
22	Henley	5/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10	3/7
24	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10	1/8	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
29	Banbury	5/3	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3
29	Henley	5/6	-	2/1	1/11	3/-
Dec 1	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10	1/8	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	Banbury	5/3	-	2/-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3
6	Henley	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1	1/11	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10	1/8	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	Banbury	5/3	-	2/-	1/8	3/3
13	Henley	5/6	-	2/1	1/10	3/3
15	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10	1/8	2/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Banbury	No return				
20	Henley	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/11	1/11	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	Oxford	No return				
27	Banbury	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/8	3/3
27	Henley	5/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{4}$	1/11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
29	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jan 3 1782	Banbury	No return				
3	Henley	5/6	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	2/11
5	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	Banbury	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3
10	Henley	5/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/11
12	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
17	Banbury	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3
17	Henley	5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/1	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	Banbury	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3
24	Henley	5/11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/3	1/9	2/10
26	Oxford	4/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
31	Banbury	5/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3
31	Henley	5/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/-	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Feb	2 1782	Oxford	4/10 ¹ / ₂	-	1/10 ¹ / ₂	1/8	2/8 ¹ / ₂
	7	Banbury	5/0 ¹ / ₂	-	1/10 ¹ / ₂	1/6 ¹ / ₂	3/3
	7	Henley	5/11 ¹ / ₄	-	2/-	1/11 ¹ / ₄	2/9
	9	Oxford	4/10 ¹ / ₂	-	1/11	1/9	3/-
	14	Banbury	5/0 ¹ / ₂	-	1/10 ³ / ₂	1/5	3/3
	14	Henley	5/11 ¹ / ₄	-	2/-	1/9 ³ / ₂	2/9
	16	Oxford	4/10 ¹ / ₂	-	1/11	1/9	3/-
	21	Banbury	5/0 ¹ / ₂	-	1/10 ³ / ₂	1/6 ³ / ₂	3/3
	21	Henley	6/-	-	1/11 ³ / ₂	1/11	2/9
	23	Oxford	4/10 ¹ / ₂	-	1/11	1/9	3/-
	28	Banbury	5/0 ¹ / ₂	-	1/10 ³ / ₂	1/6 ³ / ₂	3/3
	28	Henley	5/11 ¹ / ₄	-	1/11 ¹ / ₂	1/11	2/9
Mar	2	Oxford	4/10 ¹ / ₂	-	1/11	1/9	3/-
	7	Banbury	5/0 ¹ / ₂	-	1/11 ¹ / ₂	1/7 ³ / ₂	3/4 ¹ / ₂
	7	Henley	5/11 ¹ / ₄	-	2/-	1/10 ¹ / ₂	2/9
	9	Oxford	4/10 ¹ / ₂	-	1/11	1/9	3/-
	14	Banbury	No return	-			
	14	Henley	5/11 ¹ / ₄	-	2/0 ¹ / ₂	1/11 ¹ / ₂	2/7 ¹ / ₂
	16	Oxford	No return	-			
	21	Banbury	5/3	-	2/3	1/7 ³ / ₂	3/4 ¹ / ₂
	21	Henley	6/-	-	2/3	1/11 ¹ / ₂	2/9
	23	Oxford	4/10 ¹ / ₂	-	1/10	1/8 ¹ / ₂	2/9 ³ / ₂
	28	Banbury	5/6	-	2/3	1/7 ¹ / ₂	3/7 ¹ / ₂
	28	Henley	6/0 ¹ / ₂	-	2/1	1/11 ¹ / ₂	2/9
	30	Oxford	5/4	-	1/11 ¹ / ₂	1/10 ¹ / ₂	2/9 ¹ / ₂
Apr	4	Banbury	5/6	-	2/2 ¹ / ₂	1/7 ¹ / ₂	3/7 ¹ / ₂
	4	Henley	6/0 ¹ / ₂	-	2/1	1/11	2/9
	6	Oxford	5/4	-	1/11 ¹ / ₂	1/10 ¹ / ₂	2/9 ¹ / ₂
	11	Banbury	5/6	-	2/2 ¹ / ₂	1/7 ¹ / ₂	3/7 ¹ / ₂
	11	Henley	6/0 ¹ / ₂	-	2/1	1/11 ¹ / ₂	2/3 ¹ / ₂
	13	Oxford	5/4	-	1/11	1/10	2/9 ¹ / ₂
	18	Banbury	5/11 ¹ / ₂	-	2/3 ³ / ₂	1/7 ¹ / ₂	3/7 ¹ / ₂
	18	Henley	6/-	-	2/1	1/10	2/9
	20	Oxford	5/4	-	1/11	1/10	2/9 ¹ / ₂
	25	Banbury	6/3 ¹ / ₂	-	2/5	1/8 ³ / ₂	3/9 ¹ / ₂
	25	Henley	6/0 ¹ / ₂	-	2/2 ¹ / ₂	1/10	2/9
	27	Oxford	5/4	-	2/2 ¹ / ₂	1/9 ¹ / ₂	2/7 ¹ / ₂
May	2	Banbury	6/3 ¹ / ₂	-	2/5	1/8 ³ / ₂	3/9 ¹ / ₂
	2	Henley	6/0 ¹ / ₂	-	2/4	1/11 ¹ / ₂	2/9
	4	Oxford	5/4	-	2/2 ¹ / ₂	1/9 ¹ / ₂	2/7 ¹ / ₂
	9	Banbury	6/3 ¹ / ₂	-	2/5	1/8 ³ / ₂	3/9 ¹ / ₂
	9	Henley	6/2 ¹ / ₂	-	2/4 ¹ / ₂	1/11 ¹ / ₂	2/9
	11	Oxford	5/4	-	2/2 ¹ / ₂	1/9 ¹ / ₂	2/7 ¹ / ₂
	16	Banbury	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	2/5	1/8 ³ / ₂	3/9 ¹ / ₂
	16	Henley	6/0 ¹ / ₂	-	2/3	1/11 ¹ / ₂	2/9
	18	Oxford	5/4	-	2/2 ¹ / ₂	1/9 ¹ / ₂	2/7 ¹ / ₂
	23	Banbury	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	2/5	1/8 ³ / ₂	3/6 ³ / ₂
	23	Henley	6/1 ¹ / ₂	-	2/3 ¹ / ₂	2/-	2/10
	25	Oxford	5/4	-	2/2 ¹ / ₂	1/9 ¹ / ₂	2/7 ¹ / ₂
	30	Banbury	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	2/5	1/8 ³ / ₂	3/6 ³ / ₂
	30	Henley	6/0 ¹ / ₂	-	2/4	1/11 ¹ / ₂	2/10

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Jun	1 1782	Oxford	5/4	-	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	6	Banbury	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	6	Henley	6/2	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
	8	Oxford	No return				
	13	Banbury	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/5	1/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	13	Henley	6/2	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	2/10
	15	Oxford	5/4	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Banbury	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	1/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Henley	6/3	-	-	2/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	22	Oxford	5/4	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	27	Banbury	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	27	Henley	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/2	3/-
	29	Oxford	5/4	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jul	4	Banbury	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	4	Henley	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/3	3/0 $\frac{1}{2}$
	6	Oxford	5/4	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	11	Banbury	No return				
	11	Henley	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/5 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	13	Oxford	5/4	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	18	Banbury	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	18	Henley	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	Oxford	No return				
	25	Banbury	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/8 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/5
	25	Henley	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	27	Oxford	No return				
Aug	1	Banbury	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	1	Henley	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/5	3/3
	3	Oxford	No return				
	8	Banbury	6/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	1/10	3/3
	8	Henley	6/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	10	Oxford	No return				
	15	Banbury	6/9	-	-	2/-	3/4
	15	Henley	6/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/6	3/4
	17	Oxford	No return				
	22	Banbury	6/9	-	-	2/-	3/4
	22	Henley	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4
	24	Oxford	No return				
	29	Banbury	6/10	-	-	2/-	3/4
	29	Henley	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/5
	31	Oxford	No return				
Sep	5	Banbury	6/10	-	-	2/-	3/4
	5	Henley	6/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	7	Oxford	No return				
	12	Banbury	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/-	3/4
	12	Henley	6/-	-	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	14	Oxford	6/4	-	2/11	2/0 $\frac{3}{4}$	3/5
	19	Banbury	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/10 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/-	3/4
	19	Henley	6/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	21	Oxford	6/6	-	3/6	2/2	3/5
	26	Banbury	6/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/3 $\frac{3}{4}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	26	Henley	6/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	2/9	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-
	28	Oxford	6/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/10	3/5 $\frac{3}{4}$

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>
Oct	3 1782	Banbury	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	3/6 ¹ / ₂	2/2 ¹ / ₂	3/7 ¹ / ₂
	3	Henley	6/7	-	-	2/7	3/0
	5	Oxford	6/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/5 ¹ / ₂	1/10	3/5 ¹ / ₂
	10	Banbury	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	3/9 ¹ / ₂	2/2 ¹ / ₂	3/7 ¹ / ₂
	10	Henley	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	3/7	2/7	3/9
	12	Oxford	6/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/5 ¹ / ₂	1/10	3/5 ¹ / ₂
	17	Banbury	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	3/9 ¹ / ₂	2/2 ¹ / ₂	3/7 ¹ / ₂
	17	Henley	6/6	-	3/5 ¹ / ₂	2/7	-
	19	Oxford	6/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/2	2/3 ¹ / ₂	3/9
	24	Banbury	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	3/7	2/2 ¹ / ₂	3/7
	24	Henley	6/8 ¹ / ₂	-	3/5	2/5 ¹ / ₂	3/11
	26	Oxford	6/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/2	2/3 ¹ / ₂	3/9
	31	Banbury	6/7 ¹ / ₂	-	3/10	2/5 ¹ / ₂	3/9 ¹ / ₂
	31	Henley	6/10	-	3/5 ¹ / ₂	2/5 ¹ / ₂	-
Nov	2	Oxford	6/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/2	2/3 ¹ / ₂	3/9
	7	Banbury	6/9	-	3/10	2/5 ¹ / ₂	3/8 ¹ / ₂
	7	Henley	6/11 ¹ / ₂	-	3/5	2/6	3/6 ¹ / ₂
	9	Oxford	6/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/2	2/3 ¹ / ₂	3/9
	14	Banbury	6/9	-	3/10	2/5 ¹ / ₂	3/9 ¹ / ₂
	14	Henley	7/-	-	3/7 ¹ / ₂	2/6	3/0
	16	Oxford	6/-	-	3/0 ¹ / ₂	2/1 ¹ / ₂	4/-
	21	Banbury	7/2 ¹ / ₂	-	4/0 ¹ / ₂	2/9 ¹ / ₂	3/11 ¹ / ₂
	21	Henley	6/10	-	3/8 ¹ / ₂	2/8	4/1
	23	Oxford	6/-	-	3/0 ¹ / ₂	2/1 ¹ / ₂	4/-
	28	Banbury	7/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/11 ¹ / ₂	2/8 ¹ / ₂	4/1 ¹ / ₂
	28	Henley	7/0 ¹ / ₂	-	3/8 ¹ / ₂	2/7	-
	30	Oxford	6/-	-	3/0 ¹ / ₂	2/1 ¹ / ₂	4/-
	30	Oxford	6/-	-	3/0 ¹ / ₂	2/1 ¹ / ₂	4/-
Dec	5	Banbury	7/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/10 ¹ / ₂	2/8 ¹ / ₂	4/4 ¹ / ₂
	5	Henley	6/8	-	3/9 ¹ / ₂	2/6 ¹ / ₂	4/1 ¹ / ₂
	7	Oxford	6/-	-	3/0 ¹ / ₂	2/1 ¹ / ₂	4/-
	12	Banbury	7/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/10 ¹ / ₂	2/8 ¹ / ₂	4/4 ¹ / ₂
	12	Henley	6/10 ¹ / ₂	-	3/8 ¹ / ₂	2/6 ¹ / ₂	4/1 ¹ / ₂
	14	Oxford	6/-	-	3/0 ¹ / ₂	2/1 ¹ / ₂	4/-
	19	Banbury	7/2 ¹ / ₂	-	3/10 ¹ / ₂	2/8 ¹ / ₂	4/4 ¹ / ₂
	19	Henley	6/10 ¹ / ₂	-	3/9 ¹ / ₂	2/6 ¹ / ₂	4/1 ¹ / ₂

TABLE D

1

To show the Highest and Lowest Prices of Wheat, Barley, Oats,Beans and Pease between September 1795 and November 1800 in Oxford Market.

The prices have been converted from Oxford to Winchester

Measure and are believed to be accurate to within 1d.

The top price is the highest recorded price, the bottom is the lowest.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Sep 19 1795	80/- 74/8			49/9 43/-	
26	96/- 76/5	27/7	22/3 21/4		
Oct 3	94/3 81/9	28/11 28/5	20/5		
10	92/5 83/6	29/9	21/4 18/8	49/9	20/5
17	99/7 81/9	31/1 29/9		39/1	
24	100/11 83/7	32/11 29/4	23/1 22/3	51/1	
31	99/7 80/-	33/9 30/3	23/1 21/7	40/11 39/1	
Nov 7	94/3 83/7	34/8 32/11	23/7 22/3	51/7 39/1	
14	94/3 74/8	34/8 32/11		53/4	42/8
21	89/9 76/5	33/4 32/11	24/- 20/11	37/4 35/7	
28	90/8 75/7	33/9 31/1	23/1 21/9	39/1	
Dec 5	93/4 82/3	33/9 32/11	23/1	53/4 37/4	42/8
12	103/1 85/4	33/9 32/-	23/7 23/1		
19	106/8 96/-	34/8 33/9	25/4 23/4	52/2 42/8	
26	110/3 99/7	35/7 33/4	25/9 25/4		
Jan 2 1796	106/8 96/-	37/9 34/8	24/11 20/5		42/8
9	103/1 96/-	38/3 33/9	24/11 23/1	52/- 41/9	42/8 41/9
16	110/3 96/-	38/3 35/7			
23	106/8 96/5	37/4 34/8	24/11 24/5		
30	104/- 90/8	36/5 32/-	24/- 23/7		40/11
Feb 6	95/1 88/-	35/7 33/9	24/11 24/-	52/3 43/10	
13	96/11 88/11	35/7 28/5	24/5 23/1		42/8 40/11

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Feb 20 1796	106/8	36/5	23/9	40/11	41/-
	90/8	33/9	21/4	37/4	
27	110/3	37/4	24/-	49/9	40/11
	99/7	34/3			
Mar 5	113/-	37/9		49/9	
	106/8	35/7		37/4	
12	115/7	38/3	24/11		
	106/8	36/11	23/1		
19	110/3	38/3	24/11		40/11
	96/-	35/7	22/3		
26	103/1	38/8	25/4		
	87/1	35/7	22/8		
Apr 2	92/5	36/5	24/11	42/8	40/11
	71/1	34/8	23/7	39/7	37/4
9	74/8	35/7			
	62/3	33/4			
16	71/1	34/8	23/1		
	56/11	32/11	22/3		
23	87/1	32/11	23/1	34/8	
	76/5	31/7			
30	87/1	32/11	22/3		
	69/4	32/-			
May 7	85/4	32/11	22/3		
	74/8	32/-	21/7		
14	85/4	32/5	22/3		
	75/7	31/1			
21	88/5	30/3			
	76/5				
28	87/1	31/1		33/3	
	83/7	30/3			
Jun 4	88/11	32/-			
	81/9	28/5			
11	88/11			35/7	
	84/5			34/8	
18	88/11	32/11			
	83/7				
25	90/8			34/11	
	87/1				
Jul 2	88/11				
	84/5				
9	86/3		21/9		
	80/11				
16	83/7			35/7	
	71/1				
23	78/3			34/3	
	72/11			33/9	
30	78/3				
	67/7				
Aug 6	80/-		20/11		
	71/1				
13	71/1				
20	64/-				
	60/5				
27	56/11			32/-	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Sep 3 1796	64/- 49/9	28/-	21/4 19/1		
10	67/7 57/9		20/-	33/9 32/-	
17	64/- 56/11	28/5		32/-	
24	71/1 57/9	30/3 29/4	19/7	32/-	
Oct 1	64/11 51/7	30/8 29/9	21/4	33/9	
8	71/1 56/11	31/7 30/3	20/5 18/8	28/5 26/8	
15	71/1 56/11	34/3 32/-	18/8 17/9	34/8 30/3	
22	71/1 56/11	33/9 32/-	21/9 18/8	35/7 35/1	
29	77/1 55/1	34/3 32/11	21/9		
Nov 5	67/7 57/9	36/5 33/9	19/7 18/8		35/7
12	64/- 57/9	35/7 28/5	22/3 17/9	35/7 32/-	35/7
19	63/1 53/4	33/4 30/3	20/11 20/-	35/7 34/8	35/7 33/9
26	62/3 56/-	32/- 29/4	20/11 19/7	35/1 34/8	
Dec 3	58/8 56/11	32/5 28/-	20/5	29/4 28/5	35/7
10	61/4 56/-	28/5 27/1	19/4 17/9	32/-	35/7 30/3
17	62/3 53/4	27/7 25/9	18/8 16/11	30/3 21/4	
24	56/11 53/9	26/8 24/11	17/9 16/11	24/11	
31	60/- 47/1	26/8 25/4	16/5	24/11	
Jan 7 1797	61/4 53/4	26/8 24/-	17/9 13/4	24/11	32/11 29/9
14	59/8 53/4	24/11 24/-	16/5 15/1	24/11	
21	60/5 51/7	24/11 23/1	16/5 15/7	26/8 24/11	
28	60/5 54/3	24/11 22/3	15/4 15/1	28/5 20/-	31/1 24/11
Feb 4	57/9 55/1	26/3 21/4	16/11 13/9	26/3 24/11	21/4
11	56/- 52/5	21/9 18/3	15/7 14/8	24/11 23/1	24/11
18	56/- 52/5	20/5 18/8	16/- 12/11	24/11	
25	53/4 42/8	20/- 18/3	16/11 10/8	24/11	

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Mar	4 1797	52/5 46/3	18/3	16/11 12/5		
	11	52/5 46/5	19/7 17/9	16/- 15/1	26/8 17/9	
	18	51/7 47/1	22/3 19/7	16/- 14/3	26/8	44/5 42/8
	25	52/5 45/4	23/7 20/11	16/- 14/8		
Apr	1	53/4 46/3	22/3 20/5	17/4 13/4	25/9 21/11	
	8	52/5 48/-	21/4 20/5	16/- 14/3		
	15	52/5 48/-	20/11 19/7	16/-	21/4	
	22	51/7 44/5	20/11 18/8	16/11 13/4	21/4	24/11
	29	51/7 44/11	21/4 19/1	17/1 13/9		
May	6	51/7 39/1	21/4 16/11	15/7 15/1	24/11 21/4	
	13	52/5 43/7	22/8 21/4	16/11 12/11	23/1 21/4	
	20	52/5 42/8	23/1 22/8	16/- 14/3	22/5	
	27	52/5 46/3	23/1 21/4	16/- 12/5	23/1 22/3	
Jun	3	51/11 48/-	24/- 22/3	16/11 13/9		
	10	52/11 39/3	23/1 21/4	16/5 14/3	23/1 22/5	
	17	53/4 47/7	23/1 21/9	15/8 12/5	23/1	
	24	52/5 43/1	23/1	16/5 13/9	19/-	
Jul	1	53/9 48/-	24/11 23/7	16/11 16/5		
	8	56/5 52/5		18/8 17/9	26/1 22/5	
	15	53/4		17/9 17/4	26/8	
	24	54/3 53/4		17/9 14/3	28/5 27/7	
	29	55/1 50/8	28/5 24/-	18/3 15/1	28/5 24/11	
Aug	5	56/11 49/9		18/8 17/9	27/1	
	12	58/8 51/7	24/11	18/3 16/-	28/5 24/11	
	19	59/8 53/4		17/9 16/11	26/8	
	26	60/5 56/-		17/9 16/11	28/5	
Sep	2	67/2 56/11		18/8 17/9	29/4 28/5	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Sep 9 1797	71/1 60/5	26/8	18/8 16/5	28/5	
16	74/8 60/5		19/7 16/5	32/-	
23	73/9 56/11	33/9	19/7 18/3	32/- 26/8	35/7
30	74/8 53/4	32/11	22/3 21/4	39/1 29/4	
Oct 7	76/5 55/1	32/11 27/7	21/9 15/7	36/5 29/4	35/7
14	76/5 47/2	32/11 28/5	21/4	39/1 24/11	
21	71/1 49/9	31/7 28/-	21/9 19/7	32/- 24/11	
28	71/1 42/8	31/1 24/-	23/7 20/-	32/11 24/11	
Nov 4	70/8 39/1	31/1 20/-	21/4 20/11	33/7 24/11	34/-
11	71/1 46/3	30/3 18/8	24/- 19/7	33/9 24/11	
18	69/4 46/3	28/5 21/4	24/11 20/-	34/8 30/3	
25	69/4 42/8	26/8 22/3	24/11 18/8		32/- 28/5
Dec 2	67/7 40/-	25/9 18/8	20/5 16/-	29/4	
9	68/5 45/4	25/4 16/11	20/5 18/8	28/5	
16	69/9 39/1	24/11 16/-	22/3	28/11 27/7	
23	69/4 44/10	25/9 18/8	20/11 18/8	28/- 23/8	23/5
30	67/7 46/3	26/3 17/4	20/5 14/3	23/8	24/11
Jan 6 1798	65/9 42/8	26/3 17/9	21/1 17/4		
13	67/7 44/5	26/8 20/11	20/- 16/-	28/5 23/8	28/5 24/11
20	67/7 48/-	26/8 18/8	20/11 16/-	27/1 26/3	24/11
27	65/9 46/3	26/8 17/9	19/1 13/4	28/5 18/8	24/11
Feb 3	67/7 41/9	25/9 13/9	19/1 16/-	20/5	
10	65/9 42/8	26/3 18/8	19/7 14/3	26/8 21/4	26/1
17	65/9 40/11	24/11 15/7	19/7 17/9	28/5 24/11	29/5
24	62/3 44/5	25/9 22/3	20/- 17/9	28/5 24/11	28/5
Mar 3	65/9 40/11	26/8 16/5	21/4 18/8	28/5 23/1	
10	65/9 42/8	26/8 18/5	20/5 16/-		39/1 28/5

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Mar 17 1798	64/-	27/7	22/3	30/3	39/1
	35/7	22/3	18/8	26/8	
24	64/-	25/9	22/3	27/1	35/7
	44/3	19/9	17/9	26/8	28/5
31	65/9	28/-	21/9	28/-	28/5
	48/-	21/4	20/-	26/8	
Apr 7	65/9	28/5	24/-	28/-	
	47/1	21/4	20/-		
14	65/9	26/8	26/8	29/4	
	46/3	22/8	22/3		
21	65/9	27/7	24/-	28/5	
	43/7	25/9	22/8		
28	65/9	26/8	24/11	29/4	
	47/1	22/3	23/1		
May 5	64/-	26/8	25/4		
	44/10	20/5	24/-		
12	53/4	26/8		24/11	
	46/3	23/1			
19	56/11	26/8	25/4	30/3	
	47/1	21/4			
26	56/11	25/9	25/9	28/5	
	44/10	19/7	22/8	26/8	
Jun 2	56/11	23/1	25/9	28/5	
	43/7	20/5	22/3	23/1	
9	49/9		24/11	28/3	
	44/10		22/3	27/3	
16	53/9		24/11	25/9	
	41/-		23/1		
23	56/11	20/-	26/3	21/4	
	42/8		23/7		
30	48/-	18/8	25/9		
	42/8		20/5		
Jul 7	53/4	19/7	24/11	32/-	
	42/8		24/-	25/4	
14	52/11	23/1	26/8	30/3	
	42/8		20/5	24/11	
21	49/9	22/3	24/11	28/5	
	42/8		21/4	26/8	
28	52/3		24/-	26/8	
			15/1	24/11	
Aug 4	49/9	22/3	24/3	29/6	
	39/1		24/-		
11	51/7		24/11		
			19/1		
18	51/7		23/1	33/9	
	43/7			29/6	
25	51/7		24/-	27/7	
	44/10		23/1	26/1	
Sep 1	49/9		24/-	28/5	
	44/10			26/8	
8	52/11	28/5	25/9	31/1	29/4
	46/3	22/3	20/5	26/8	
15	53/4	26/8	24/11	28/-	32/-
	44/10	24/11	20/5	27/7	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Sep 22 1798	56/11	24/11	24/-	28/5	
	39/1	22/8	18/8	27/7	
29	56/11	24/11	28/-	32/-	32/-
	40/11	22/8	18/8	22/3	
Oct 6	56/11	24/11	25/4	29/1	28/5
	40/-	23/1	17/4	25/9	
13	56/11	24/11	23/7	30/3	28/5
	41/-	23/7	18/8	21/4	
20	53/4	24/11	22/8	32/-	
	44/5	24/5	19/7	27/7	
27	53/4	25/8	23/1	28/5	32/-
	44/5	24/5	18/8	27/7	28/5
Nov 3	51/7	26/3	22/3	30/3	
	44/10	24/5	18/8	28/5	
10	52/5	25/9	23/1	29/4	
	42/8	21/7	17/9	27/1	
17	51/7	25/7	23/1	29/8	33/7
	39/1	21/4	18/8	24/-	27/10
24	51/7	24/11	21/9	29/8	
	42/8	22/3	18/8	26/1	
Dec 1	48/6	25/9	19/1	28/5	
	46/3	23/1			
8	48/6	24/11	22/3	27/7	
	46/3	24/-	17/9	26/8	
15	51/7	25/9	26/3	28/5	
	45/8	23/1	19/7	26/3	
22	51/7	24/11	23/1	27/1	26/1
	45/9	23/7	19/7	26/1	
29	51/7	24/11		28/5	
	35/7	24/5			
Jan 5 1799	51/7	25/9	20/8	26/8	
	44/10	24/-	18/8		
12	53/4	25/9	24/11	28/5	
	40/11	24/5	19/7	23/1	
19	52/5	24/11	21/4	28/5	28/5
	45/4	23/7	19/7	26/1	27/7
26	53/4	25/4	21/4	32/-	40/-
	44/5	23/7	19/7	26/8	28/5
Feb 2	52/-	25/4	20/-		26/1
	48/6	24/5			
9	53/4	26/3	22/3	29/4	30/3
	48/6	24/5	18/8	28/5	
16	56/-	25/4	21/4	32/-	39/1
	44/5	24/-	20/-	28/5	29/4
23	53/4	26/3	23/1	29/4	28/5
	45/4	23/1	19/7	27/7	
Mar 2	56/-	27/7	24/11	29/11	39/1
	46/3	24/5	20/-	29/4	
9	55/1	26/8	23/1	30/3	
	46/3	24/11	19/7		
16	54/3	28/-	22/8	30/10	35/7
	48/-	25/9	20/-	28/5	
23	54/3	28/5	24/-	30/3	37/4
	49/9	26/3	21/4		
30	57/4	29/9	21/9	30/-	
	49/9	26/8	20/5	29/10	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Apr 6 1799	56/11	30/3	23/7	31/1	
	42/3	28/-	21/4	28/5	
13	58/8	31/7	24/-	30/3	
	49/9	29/4	22/3	28/5	
20	59/8	30/3	24/11	32/-	
	47/7		23/1		
27	64/-	32/11	26/8	25/4	
	52/5		24/11	24/-	
May 4	64/11	31/7	28/5	35/7	
	55/1	23/1	24/11	28/5	
11	65/9	31/1	35/7		
	55/7		30/3		
18	67/2	35/7	33/9	41/-	
	61/4	32/-	29/9	32/-	
25	67/2	32/-	32/11	42/8	
	60/5			39/1	
Jun 1	65/9	32/11	31/7	40/11	
	56/-	30/3	30/3	37/4	
8	64/11		32/11	39/1	
	58/8		30/3	36/5	
15	63/1		32/-	39/1	
	53/4		30/8	31/7	
22	64/-		32/5	39/1	
	53/4		31/7		
29	64/-		34/8	42/8	
	59/7		33/4	39/1	
Jul 6	65/9	33/9	35/7	43/7	
	56/11		32/11	42/8	
13	71/1		35/7	44/5	
	64/-		33/9	40/11	
20	72/-		36/5	44/9	
	64/-		33/9	44/5	
27	72/-	18/8	35/7		
	65/9				
Aug 3	72/11		35/7	46/3	
	53/4		33/4		
10	71/1	37/4	35/7	46/3	
	49/9		32/11		
17	74/8	35/7	34/5	48/5	
	64/-		31/7	48/-	
24	74/8		35/7	48/11	39/1
	64/-		30/3	47/1	
31	74/8		32/11	48/6	
	69/4		24/11	48/8	
Sep 7	69/11		32/11	49/9	39/1
	64/-		23/1	48/11	
14	80/-	39/1	34/8	48/11	38/3
	60/5	35/7	26/8		37/4
21	81/9	39/1	35/7	52/5	20/5
	55/1		33/9	49/9	
28	85/4		37/4	55/1	41/9
	71/1		32/11	54/3	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Oct 5 1799	90/- 71/1		40/- 28/5	56/11 56/-	48/-
12	95/1 78/3	31/1	35/7 31/1	67/2 64/-	
19	102/3 78/3	37/4	42/8 25/9	68/11 44/5	53/4 51/7
26	99/7 67/7	44/5 35/7	42/8 25/9	67/7 37/4	53/4 48/11
Nov 2	99/7 84/5	31/1	48/11 24/-	72/- 69/4	
9	103/1 88/11	36/5 28/-	39/1 24/-	71/1 33/9	56/11
16	106/8 71/1	37/4 26/8	37/4 31/1	88/11 71/1	65/9 48/-
23	112/- 93/4	47/1 25/9	42/- 25/9	72/11 42/8	56/11
30	112/- 92/5	37/4 32/-	39/1 22/3	74/8 35/7	56/11 49/9
Dec 7	106/8 85/4	31/1 20/5	42/8 24/11	71/1 32/-	53/4
14	99/7 78/3	36/5 22/8	37/4 33/9	71/1 26/8	53/4 49/9
21	106/8 78/3	33/9 21/4	37/4 34/8	37/4 33/9	
28	113/9 88/11	33/9 23/1	37/4 24/11	66/8 35/7	76/5
Jan 4 1800	112/- 95/1	40/- 23/1	39/1 33/4	67/7 65/9	
11	112/- 92/5	49/9 16/-	35/7 17/9	71/1 30/10	51/1 49/9
18	113/9 92/5	47/7 22/3	36/- 19/7	71/1 32/-	81/9 50/8
25	117/4 99/7	32/- 22/3	39/1 22/3	74/8 28/5	85/4
Feb 1	121/- 102/7	56/11 26/8	40/11 24/11	73/9 40/11	52/5
8	123/- 103/1	56/- 17/9	44/5 26/8	72/11 39/1	56/- 53/4
15	131/7 106/8	64/- 24/-	46/8 24/-	78/3 54/3	64/-
22	128/- 99/7	34/8 22/3	44/5 29/9	59/9 40/11	56/11 30/3
Mar 1	124/5 106/8	40/- 25/9	46/8 29/4	58/4 55/1	
8	120/11 97/9	44/5 25/9	42/8 26/8	87/1 53/4	71/1 67/7
15	122/8 96/-	42/8 32/-	48/11 43/7	88/11 55/1	
22	124/- 107/7	56/- 32/-	44/5	88/11 53/4	74/8
29	124/5 112/-	63/1 34/8	48/11 37/4	71/1 40/5	74/8 71/1

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Peas</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Apr 5 1800	128/-	44/5	48/11	96/-	
	87/1	28/5	41/9	62/3	
12	131/7	68/11	50/8	71/1	
	113/9	19/7	40/-	64/-	
19	136/11	72/-	53/4	74/8	88/11
	119/1	30/3	42/8		
26	142/3	68/5	56/-	96/-	
	124/5	37/4	46/8	71/1	
May 3	142/3	53/4	56/-	74/8	
	92/5	36/5	40/-		
10	135/1	58/8	53/4	99/7	
	119/1	39/1	49/9	67/7	
17	131/7	66/8	56/-	74/8	
	110/3	42/8	46/8	70/8	
24	135/1	51/7	56/-	78/3	
	99/7	23/1	48/11	71/1	
31	142/3	62/3	62/3	81/9	
	106/8	42/-	52/5	78/3	
Jun 7	145/9	65/4	55/1	81/9	
	113/9	25/9	42/8	62/4	
14	145/9	37/4	56/-	77/4	
	127/1			74/9	
21	149/4	56/-	58/8	80/-	
	128/-	30/3	44/5	65/9	
28	144/-	62/3	58/8	81/9	
	129/9	44/5	56/-	62/3	
Jul 5	149/4	62/3	58/8	85/4	
	128/-	37/4		67/7	
12	149/4	43/7	56/-	71/7	
	117/4	31/1	33/4		
19	135/1	57/9	48/1	69/4	
	90/8	48/-		56/-	
26	113/9				
	80/11				
Aug 2	88/11	26/8		49/9	
	67/7				
9	92/5			42/8	
	58/8			39/1	
16	110/3		40/-	40/11	46/3
	70/3		26/8	37/4	42/8
23	124/5		28/5	51/7	
	92/5		39/1	49/9	
30	142/3	58/8	28/5	60/5	46/3
	106/8	50/8	28/-	51/7	
Sep 6	131/7		31/1	49/9	
	117/4		26/8		
13	135/1	37/4	37/4		72/11
	92/5		29/4		46/3
20	71/1	35/7	32/-		49/9
	71/1		30/3		
27	131/7	53/4	41/9	55/1	53/4
	64/11	37/4	32/-	48/-	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pence</u>
Oct 4 1800	135/1	62/3	34/3	59/9	
	60/5	51/1	31/1	49/9	
11	142/3	67/7	40/-	66/8	55/1
	94/3	45/4	26/8	35/7	
18	149/4	70/3	44/5	72/11	59/7
	120/11	35/7	31/1	53/4	
25	149/4	71/1	44/5	71/1	56/11
	92/5	38/3	38/3	56/11	54/3
Nov 1	149/4	82/3	46/3	72/11	69/4
	103/1	45/9	35/7	56/11	

TABLE E

To show the Average price of a Quarter (Winchester Measure)
of Wheat, Barley, Oats, Beans and Pease at Burford in 1795.

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Jun	3 1795	53/4	35/6	25/8	46/2	49/10
	10	53/4	35/6	25/8	46/2	49/8
	17	56/10	34/8	25/8	46/2	53/4
	24	58/8	34/8	25/8	46/2	53/4
	31	60/4	34/8	25/8	46/2	53/4
Feb	7	60/4	34/8	25/8	46/2	53/4
	14	60/4	34/8	26/8	46/2	53/4
	21	60/4	35/6	26/8	46/2	53/4
	28	60/6	35/6	26/8	46/2	53/4
Mar	7	60/6	35/6	26/8	46/2	53/4
	14	60/4	35/6	26/8	46/2	53/4
	21	58/8	35/6	26/8	46/2	53/4
	28	58/8	35/6	26/8	46/2	53/4
Apr	4	60/4	35/6	26/8	46/2	51/6
	11	60/4	37/4	26/8	46/2	49/8
	18	60/4	37/4	26/8	46/2	49/8
	25	62/2	37/4	26/8	46/2	46/2
May	2	62/2	37/4	26/8	46/2	46/2
	9	62/2	37/4	26/8	46/2	46/2
	16	62/2	37/4	26/8	46/2	
	23	62/2	37/4	27/6	46/2	
	30	62/2	37/4	27/6	46/2	
Jun	6	62/2	37/4	27/6	46/2	
	13	64/-	37/4	26/8	46/2	
	20	67/7	37/4	27/6	46/2	
	27	71/-	37/4	27/6	46/2	
Jul	4	74/8	39/2	27/6	46/2	
	11	74/8	39/2	29/4	46/2	
	18	81/8	40/10	30/2	46/2	
	25	85/4	40/10	30/2	46/2	
Aug	1	92/4	40/10	30/2	49/8	
	8	99/6	42/8	31/-	49/8	
	15	113/8	42/8	32/-	55/2	
	22	99/8	-	32/-	55/2	
	29	99/8	-	32/-	55/2	
Sep	5	81/8	-	32/-	55/2	
	12	71/2	34/8	27/6	49/8	51/4
	19	81/8	30/-	24/10	41/10	40/10
	26	81/8	27/6	23/-	40/10	39/2
Oct	3	92/4	32/-	24/10	41/10	40/10
	10	92/4	30/2	23/2	41/10	39/2
	17	92/4	30/2	21/4	41/10	39/-
	24	92/4	30/2	21/4	41/10	39/2
	31	92/4	30/2	21/4	41/8	39/2
Nov	7	92/4	32/-	21/4	41/8	39/2
	14	80/-	34/8	21/4	41/10	41/10
	21	85/4	34/8	23/2	41/10	46/2
	28	85/4	34/8	24/10	41/10	46/2
Dec	5	81/8	34/8	23/2	41/10	44/6
	12	85/4	34/8	24/10	41/10	44/6
	19	85/4	34/8	24/10	41/10	44/6
	26	92/4	32/-	23/2	40/10	44/6

TABLE F

To show the Average Price of a Quarter (Winchester Measure) of
Wheat, Barley, Oats, Beans and Pease at Burford, Henley and
Oxford in 1800.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Jan 4 1800	Burford	99/6	42/8	33/8	60/4	53/4
	Henley	100/-	40/6	30/-	56/-	56/-
	Oxford	101/4	28/5	31/6	51/6	85/4
11	Burford	99/6	42/8	33/8	64/-	60/4
	Henley	94/-	38/6	30/-	57/-	57/-
	Oxford	102/8	31/6	36/2	66/10	-
18	Burford	99/6	42/8	33/9	64/-	60/4
	Henley	93/-	38/6	31/6	57/6	58/6
	Oxford	102/2	32/10	26/8	50/11	50/5
25	Burford	99/6	42/8	33/8	60/4	56/10
	Henley	99/-	38/6	31/6	57/-	57/-
	Oxford	103/-	34/10	27/9	51/6	66/2
Feb 1	Burford	99/6	42/8	33/9	60/5	56/10
	Henley	102/-	37/6	32/-	56/-	57/-
	Oxford	108/5	27/1	30/8	51/6	65/4
8	Burford	99/6	42/8	33/9	60/4	56/10
	Henley	109/-	39/6	34/-	57/-	57/-
	Oxford	111/9	39/4	32/10	57/4	52/-
15	Burford	106/8	44/4	35/6	60/4	56/10
	Henley	110/-	41/6	37/-	61/-	58/-
	Oxford	114/8	36/10	35/6	56/-	54/8
22	Burford	106/8	44/4	35/6	60/4	56/10
	Henley	112/-	45/6	41/-	63/-	58/-
	Oxford	119/1	44/-	35/2	66/2	64/-
Mar 1	Burford	113/3	44/4	37/4	64/-	67/4
	Henley	112/-	46/-	39/-	61/-	67/6
	Oxford	113/9	28/5	37/1	50/3	62/5
8	Burford	113/8	44/4	37/4	64/-	60/4
	Henley	108/6	46/6	39/-	65/-	60/-
	Oxford	115/6	32/10	38/-	56/9	-
15	Burford	113/8	44/4	37/4	64/-	60/4
	Henley	105/6	47/-	39/-	63/-	67/-
	Oxford	113/9	35/1	34/8	70/2	69/4
22	Burford	106/8	44/4	37/4	64/-	63/4
	Henley	105/-	47/-	39/-	63/-	63/-
	Oxford	109/4	37/4	46/2	72/-	71/1
29	Burford	113/8	53/4	37/4	64/-	60/4
	Henley	111/-	47/6	40/-	66/-	60/-
	Oxford	115/2	44/-	44/5	71/1	74/3
Apr 5	Burford	113/8	53/4	40/10	71/-	64/-
	Henley	109/6	47/9	40/-	67/-	61/-
	Oxford	118/2	48/10	48/1	71/4	72/10
12	Burford	113/8	53/4	40/10	71/-	64/-
	Henley	113/6	49/-	42/-	68/-	60/-
	Oxford	107/6	36/5	45/4	79/1	-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Potato</u>
Apr 19 1800	Burford	113/8	62/2	40/10	71/-	64/-
	Henley	114/-	54/-	43/-	71/-	71/6
	Oxford	122/8	44/2	45/4	67/6	-
26	Burford	120/10	57/9	40/10	71/-	64/-
	Henley	119/6	52/-	46/-	73/6	63/6
	Oxford	128/5	51/1	49/10	74/8	65/10
May 3	Burford	120/10	57/7	40/10	74/8	64/-
	Henley	132/-	53/-	54/-	72/-	70/-
	Oxford	134/2	52/10	50/2	63/6	-
10	Burford	120/10	-	42/8	74/8	-
	Henley	132/-	53/-	54/-	81/-	86/-
	Oxford	117/4	44/10	48/-	74/8	-
17	Burford	124/4	62/2	44/4	74/8	-
	Henley	123/6	50/-	50/-	60/-	70/6
	Oxford	130/8	48/10	51/6	83/6	-
24	Burford	124/4	62/2	46/2	78/2	-
	Henley	117/-	47/6	51/-	78/-	77/-
	Oxford	120/10	56/-	51/4	72/8	-
31	Burford	124/4	62/2	40/10	85/4	-
	Henley	117/-	51/6	51/-	73/-	66/-
	Oxford	117/4	37/4	52/10	74/8	-
Jun 7	Burford	124/4	62/2	53/4	88/10	-
	Henley	117/6	51/6	51/-	73/-	66/-
	Oxford	129/9	52/1	60/7	80/-	-
14	Burford	124/4	62/2	53/4	88/10	-
	Henley	127/-	49/6	50/-	71/6	85/6
	Oxford	129/9	45/6	48/10	75/6	-
21	Burford	124/4	62/2	53/4	88/10	-
	Henley	132/6	53/6	50/-	76/-	70/-
	Oxford	136/5	37/4	54/8	76/-	-
28	Burford	124/4	62/2	57/7	88/10	-
	Henley	131/6	53/6	50/-	76/-	70/-
	Oxford	138/8	43/1	51/6	72/10	-
Jul 5	Burford	124/4	62/2	57/7	88/10	-
	Henley	142/9	48/6	52/-	74/-	71/6
	Oxford	136/10	53/4	57/4	74/-	-
12	Burford	124/4	62/2	57/9	92/4	-
	Henley	142/-	53/6	50/-	76/-	70/-
	Oxford	138/6	49/9	52/4	76/5	-
19	Burford	128/-	62/2	57/9	92/4	-
	Henley	133/6	50/-	50/6	79/-	-
	Oxford	139/6	37/4	44/8	71/1	-
26	Burford	124/4	57/9	53/4	88/1	-
	Henley	127/3	50/-	47/6	78/6	-
	Oxford	118/6	52/10	48/10	62/8	-
Aug 2	Burford	106/8	53/4	44/4	78/2	-
	Henley	100/-	48/6	48/6	68/6	-
	Oxford	101/4	-	-	-	-
9	Burford	88/10	44/4	40/10	71/-	-
	Henley	92/6	48/-	38/-	65/-	61/6
	Oxford	78/2	26/8	-	49/9	-
16	Burford	88/10	42/8	38/-	60/4	-
	Henley	83/-	42/-	34/-	59/6	46/-
	Oxford	79/9	-	-	40/10	-

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pease</u>
Aug 23 1800	Burford	88/10	44/4	32/-	60/4	-
	Henley	97/-	41/-	28/-	46/-	41/6
	Oxford	97/1	-	33/4	43/1	44/5
30	Burford	106/8	53/4	32/-	60/4	-
	Henley	111/6	41/-	28/-	47/-	42/-
	Oxford	108/5	-	33/8	50/8	-
sep 6	Burford	124/4	57/7	32/-	60/4	-
	Henley	126/-	44/-	33/-	53/6	44/-
	Oxford	124/5	54/8	32/8	56/-	46/2
13	Burford	124/4	62/2	32/-	60/4	-
	Henley	128/-	45/-	34/-	51/-	52/-
	Oxford	126/8	-	30/6	49/9	-
20	Burford	124/4	62/2	32/-	60/4	-
	Henley	122/6	49/-	34/-	59/-	54/-
	Oxford	113/9	34/4	33/4	-	57/6
27	Burford	106/8	53/4	33/8	56/10	-
	Henley	112/6	57/9	33/-	56/6	56/-
	Oxford	75/6	35/6	31/1	-	48/2
Oct 4	Burford	106/8	53/4	33/8	56/10	-
	Henley	100/-	54/-	34/-	58/6	60/-
	Oxford	98/2	45/4	36/10	50/8	53/4
11	Burford	106/8	57/7	35/6	60/4	56/10
	Henley	119/-	55/-	34/-	60/-	61/6
	Oxford	101/6	56/8	32/8	54/8	-
18	Burford	106/8	57/7	35/6	60/4	56/10
	Henley	124/-	55/-	36/-	59/6	64/-
	Oxford	118/2	56/5	31/1	52/8	55/1
25	Burford	124/4	62/2	35/6	60/4	56/10
	Henley	137/-	55/3	37/-	63/6	63/6
	Oxford	135/1	52/10	35/-	64/-	60/6
Nov 1	Burford	128/-	57/7	35/6	60/4	56/10
	Henley	135/-	51/6	35/-	62/-	71/-
	Oxford	121/2	54/8	41/4	64/-	63/1
8	Burford	120/10	62/2	35/6	60/4	56/10
	Henley	126/6	55/6	35/-	66/-	69/6
	Oxford	132/8	63/9	40/10	64/10	63/4
15	Burford	120/10	62/2	37/4	71/-	64/-
	Henley	127/-	59/-	39/-	67/-	67/-
	Oxford	130/8	55/9	41/9	52/8	76/2
22	Burford	120/10	62/2	37/4	71/-	64/-
	Henley	127/6	57/-	40/-	66/-	69/-
	Oxford	134/2	62/5	37/6	64/-	-
29	Burford	123/-	58/10	44/4	71/-	64/-
	Henley	127/6	60/6	41/-	68/-	71/-
	Oxford	136/10	69/8	40/10	67/6	-
Dec 6	Burford	129/-	71/-	44/4	71/-	71/-
	Henley	133/-	62/-	39/-	63/-	72/-
	Oxford	124/5	66/4	42/4	64/-	71/6
13	Burford	128/-	71/-	44/-	74/8	71/-
	Henley	132/6	66/-	40/-	71/-	72/6
	Oxford	133/8	68/2	37/9	69/8	69/4
20	Burford	142/2	58/10	44/4	73/2	74/8
	Henley	146/6	66/6	42/-	70/-	71/6
	Oxford	140/5	74/8	41/9	74/-	68/2

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Pence</u>
Dec 27 1800	Burford	142/2	88/10	44/4	78/2	74/8
	Henley	156/-	69/-	43/-	74/-	78/6
	Oxford	147/6	76/5	44/6	60/5	50/-
Jan 3 1801	Burford	142/2	88/10	44/4	78/2	74/8
	Henley	146/6	71/-	43/-	72/-	72/-
	Oxford	149/4	78/8	47/2	75/10	76/5

TABLE GTo show the Prices of Barley, Oats, Beans and Maltsold at Oxford Market 1692 - 1700.

The prices have been converted from Oxford to Winchester
Measure and are believed to be accurate to within 1d.

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Barley n.Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats n.Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans n.Qtr.</u>	<u>Malt n.Qtr.</u>
S	Sep 24 1692	15/7			
W	28		10/8	19/6 ¹	18/10
S	Oct 1	16/-			
W	5	17/4			
S	8	17/6			
S	15	17/9			
W	19	18/5			
S	22	18/8			
W	26	19/1			
S	29	19/7			
F	Nov 4	19/7			
W	9	19/7			
S	12	19/7			
W	16	19/7			
W	23	19/7			
S	26	19/5			
W	30	19/7			
S	Dec 3	19/7			
W	7	19/7			
S	10	20/-			
W	14	20/2			
S	17	20/5			
S	21	20/11			
S	24	20/9			
S	Jan 7 1693	20/9			
W	9				22/7 Assize of Beer
W	11	20/5			
S	14	20/5			
W	18	20/5			
W	21	20/8			
W	25	20/5			
S	28	20/9			
S	Feb 1	20/7			22/7
S	4	20/9			
W	8	20/11			
S	11	21/1			
W	15	21/2			
S	18	21/8			
W	22	22/3			
S	25	22/8			
S	Mar 4	23/1			
W	8	23/3			
W	11	23/4			
W	15	23/7			
S	18	23/8			
W	22	24/2	15/5	24/10 ¹	26/4
S	25	24/11			
W	29	25/8			

<u>Date</u>		<u>Barley p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Malt p.Qtr.</u>
S	Apr 1 1693	25/11			
W	5	25/9			
W	12	26/3			
S	15	26/8			
W	19	27/3			
S	22	28/7			
W	26	28/7			
S	29	28/7			
W	May 3	25/9			
S	6	25/4			
T	9	23/7			
S	13	24/-			
W	17	25/4			
S	20	24/11			
W	24	23/1			
S	27	20/-			
W	31	21/7			
S	Jun 3	21/1			
W	7 ¹⁰	20/5	21/4		
T	13	20/-			
S	17	19/1			
W	21	17/9			
W	28	16/-			
S	Sep 9	22/8			
S	16	24/-			
W	20	24/5			
S	23	24/-			
W	27	24/5	14/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	24/10 $\frac{1}{2}$	28/10
S	30	24/-			
W	Oct 4	23/7			
S	7	24/-			
T	10	24/-			
S	14	24/9			
W	18	24/2			
S	21	24/11			
W	25	25/4			
S	28	25/8			
W	Nov 1	25/9			
S	4	25/4			
W	8	24/4			
S	11	24/11			
W	15	24/11			
S	18	24/11			
W	22	24/5			
S	25	24/5			
W	29	24/5			
S	Dec 2	24/7			
W	6	24/11			
S	9	25/4			
W	13	25/9			
S	16	26/3			
W	20	26/6			
S	23	26/8			
S	30	26/3			

<u>Date</u>			<u>Barley p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Malt p.Qtr.</u>
W	Jan	3 1694	26/8			
S		6	26/8			
W		10	26/3			
S		13	26/8			
W		17	26/8			
S		20	26/11			
W		24	26/3			
S		27	26/8			
W		31	26/8			No Malt Sold
S	Feb	3	26/8			
W		7	27/-			
S		10	26/8			
W		14	26/8			
S		17	27/7			
W		21	27/7			
S		24	27/1			
W		28	25/9			
S	Mar	3	25/9			
W		7	25/9			
S		10	26/3			
W		14	27/1			
S		17	27/7			
W		21	27/7			
S		24	27/1	14/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	20/2	26/10
S		31	27/4			
W	Apr	4	27/7			
S		7	27/7			
S		14	27/7			
W		18	26/3			
S		21	26/8			
W		25	25/4			
S		28	25/-			
W	May	2	26/3			
S		5	26/8			
W		9	26/3			
S		12	26/3			
W		16	26/8			
S		19	26/8			
S	Sep	1	20/5			
W		5	19/1			
S		8	16/11			
W		12	17/9			
S		15	16/11			
T		18	16/5			
S		22	16/5			
W		26	17/4	14/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	23/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	27/4
S		29	17/9			
W	Oct	3	19/1			
S		6	18/8			
W		10	17/9			
S		13	17/9			
W		17	18/8			
S		20	17/9			
W		24	17/9			
S		27	17/4			
W		31	17/4			

<u>Date</u>			<u>Barley n.Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats n.Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans n.Qtr.</u>	<u>Malt n.Qtr.</u>
S	Nov	3 1694	17/4			
W		7	16/11			
S		10	16/11			
W		14	16/11			
S		17	16/11			
W		21	16/5			
S		24	16/5			
W		28	16/5			
S	Dec	1	15/7			
W		5	16/-			
S		8	16/-			
W		12	16/-			
S		15	16/-			
W		19	16/-			
S		22	16/-			
W		26	16/11			
S		29	16/11			
W	Jan	2 1695	16/-			
S		5	16/-			
W		9	16/-			
S		12	16/2			
W		16	16/5			
S		19	16/-			
W		23	16/-			
S		27	16/-			
T		29	15/7			18/10
S	Feb	2	16/-			
W		6	16/-			
S		9	16/3			
W		12	16/-			
S		16	15/7			
W		20	15/7			
S		23	16/-			
W		27	15/7			
S	Mar	2	16/-			
W		6	16/-			
S		9	16/-			
W		13	16/-			
S		16	16/-			
W		20	16/-			
S		23	16/-	7/1 $\frac{1}{2}$	14/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/10
W		27	15/6			
S		30	15/7			
W	Apr	3	16/-			
S		6	15/7			
W		10	15/1			
S		13	15/1			
W		17	14/8			
S		20	14/2			
W		24	14/2			
S		27	13/9			
W	May	1	13/9			
S		4	13/9			
W		8	16/-			
S		11	16/-			
W		15	15/1			

<u>Date</u>		<u>Barley p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans p. tr.</u>	<u>Malt p. tr.</u>
S	May 18 1695	18/3			
W	22	16/5			
S	25	13/9			
T	28	13/4			
S	Jun 1	13/9			
W	5	16/-			
S	8	16/-			
W	12	16/-			
S	15	16/-			
S	Sep 28	20/5	17/9 ¹ / ₂	29/7 ¹ / ₂	25/1.
W	Oct 2	21/4			
S	5	23/1			
W	9	22/3			
S	12	24/-			
W	16	22/3			
S	19	22/8			
W	23	22/3			
S	26	22/8			
W	30	22/3			
S	Nov 2	21/9			
W	6	21/4			
F	8	20/11			
W	13	21/4			
S	16	21/4			
W	20	21/4			
S	23	21/4			
W	27	20/11			
S	30	20/11			
W	Dec 4	20/5			
S	7	20/5			
W	11	21/4			
S	14	20/11			
T	17	21/4			
S	21	22/3			
S	28	21/4			
T	31	22/3			
S	Jan 4 1696	22/3			
W	8	20/5			
S	11	20/11			
W	15	21/4			
S	18	21/4			
W	22	21/4			
S	25	21/9			
W	29	21/4			
S	Feb 1	22/3			
W	5	21/4			
S	8	21/9			
W	12	21/9			
S	15	22/3			
W	19	22/8			
S	22	22/3			
W	26	22/3			
S	29	23/1			
W	Mar 4	23/1			
S	7	22/3			
W	11	23/1			
S	14	22/8			

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Barley n. Str.</u>	<u>Oats n. Str.</u>	<u>Beans n. Str.</u>	<u>Malt n. Str.</u>
W	Mar 18 1696	22/8			
S	21	23/1	21/4	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/1
W	25	23/1			
S	28	22/3			
W	Apr 1	21/4			
S	4	20/5			
W	8	20/5			
S	11	19/1			
W	15	19/7			
S	18	19/7			
W	22	19/7			
S	25	19/1			
W	29	18/8			
S	May 2	18/8			
W	6	16/11			
S	9	16/-			
W	13	16/-			
S	16	16/-			
W	20	16/11			
S	23	16/-			
W	27	16/-			
S	30	16/-			
S	Jun 6	16/-			
S	Sep 19	16/-			
W	23	16/-			
S	26	18/8			
W	30	18/8	16/-	33/2	21/4
S	Oct 3	18/8			
W	7	18/8			
S	10	19/1			
W	14	19/7			
S	17	20/11			
W	21	21/4			
S	24	20/11			
W	28	20/11			
S	31	20/11			
W	Nov 4	20/11			
S	7	22/3			
W	11	20/11			
S	14	20/11			
W	18	20/11			
S	21	20/11			
W	25	22/3			
S	28	21/4			
W	Dec 2	21/4			
S	5	22/3			
W	9	22/3			
S	12	21/4			
W	16	21/4			
S	19	21/4			
W	23	20/5			
S	26	No corne in Markett			
W	30	20/5			
S	Jan 2 1697	20/5			
W	6	20/5			
S	9	20/11			

<u>Date</u>		<u>Barley p. str.</u>	<u>Oats p. str.</u>	<u>Beans p. str.</u>	<u>Malt p. str.</u>
W	Jan 13 1697	20/5			
S	16	20/11			
M	20	20/11			
S	23	20/11			
T	27	20/11			
F	29	21/2			23/10
W	Feb 3	20/11			
S	6	20/11			
M	10	20/11			
S	13	20/5			
T	17	20/-			
S	20	20/-			
T	24	19/7			
S	27	19/7			
M	Mar 3	20/-			
S	6	19/7			
M	10	18/8			
S	13	19/7			
T	17	20/5			
S	20	20/-			
T	24	20/5	12/5	22/6	No Malt sold
S	27	20/5			
T	31	20/5			
S	Apr 3	20/11			
M	7	20/11			
S	10	21/4			
T	14	22/3			
S	17	21/9			
T	21	21/4			
S	24	21/4			
M	28	21/4			
S	May 1	22/8			
T	5	20/11			
M	19	18/8			
S	22	18/8			
M	26	18/8			
T	28	18/8			
W	Jun 2	19/1			
S	5	18/8			
T	9	18/8			
S	Jul 17		14/2 ¹	21/4	
S	Sep 11	17/9			
T	15	18/8			
S	18	18/5			
T	22	17/9			
S	25	18/8	12/5 ¹	20/9	27/7
T	29	18/8			
W	Oct 2	19/1			
S	6	18/8			
T	9	18/8			
S	13	18/8			
T	16	20/2			
S	20	20/-			
T	23	20/5			
S	27	20/5			
T	30	20/11			

<u>Date</u>		<u>Barley p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Malting Qtr.</u>
W	Nov 3 1697	20/11			
S	6	20/11			
W	10	20/5			
S	13	20/5			
W	17	20/5			
S	20	20/11			
W	24	20/11			
S	27	21/4			
W	Dec 1	21/4			
S	4	21/9			
W	8	21/9			
S	11	22/8			
W	15	22/8			
S	18	22/8			
W	22	22/3			
Th	24	21/9			
W	29	21/4			
Th	31	21/4			
W	Jan 5 1698	21/9			
S	8	21/9			
W	12	21/9			
Th	15	21/9			
W	19	21/9			
S	22	21/9			
Th	26	21/9			
S	29	22/2			
W	Feb 2	21/9			No Malt sold
S	7	21/9			
W	9	21/9			
S	12	21/9			
Th	16	22/3			
S	19	21/9			
W	23	21/9			
S	26	21/9			
W	Mar 2	21/9			
S	5	21/9			
Th	9	22/8			
S	12	23/1			
W	16	23/7			
S	19	24/-			
W	23	24/2	13/0 $\frac{1}{2}$	18/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/1
S	26	24/-			
W	30	23/7			
S	Apr 2	24/-			
Th	6	24/-			
S	9	24/5			
W	13	24/8			
S	16	24/-			
W	20	24/5			
S	23	24/5			
W	27	24/5			
S	30	24/11			
W	May 4	24/5			
S	7	24/5			
W	11	24/5			
S	14	25/4			

<u>Date</u>		<u>Barley p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Malt p. Qtr.</u>
W	May 18 1698	24/5			
S	28	25/9			
W	Jul 20		15/5	21/4	
S	Sep 24	24/5			
W	28	24/-	16/-	26/1	31/4
S	Oct 1	25/3			
S	8	26/-			
W	12	25/9			
S	15	28/5			
W	19	28/5			
S	22	29/4			
W	26	26/8			
S	29	28/5			
W	Nov 2	28/5			
W	4	26/8			
W	9	25/9			
W	12	25/9			
W	16	25/4			
W	19	24/11			
W	23	24/11			
S	26	24/11			
S	30	24/11			
S	Dec 3	25/4			
S	7	26/3			
S	10	26/8			
S	14	26/3			
S	17	26/8			
W	21	26/8			
S	24	26/8			
W	28	27/7			
S	31	26/8			
W	Jan 4 1699	25/9			
S	7	26/8			
S	11	26/8			
S	14	27/7			
W	18	28/5			
S	21	28/5			
W	25	28/-			
S	28	28/-			
W	Feb 1	28/5			33/11
S	4	28/5			
W	8	28/5			
S	11	29/4			
W	15	29/4			
S	18	31/1			
W	22	32/-			
S	25	31/1			
W	Mar 1	31/1			
S	4	31/1			
W	8	32/-			
S	11	32/-			
W	15	31/1			
S	18	31/1			

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Bar lev p. str.</u>	<u>Oats p. str.</u>	<u>Wheat p. str.</u>	<u>Alt p. str.</u>
W	Mar 22 1699	30/3	18/8	28/5 ²	30/6
S	25	29/4			
W	29	29/4			
S	Apr 1	28/11			
T	4	28/3			
S	8	27/7			
W	12	28/5			
S	15	27/7			
W	19	28/5			
S	22	29/4			
W	26	30/3			
S	29	29/4			
W	May 3	29/4			
S	6	28/5			
W	10	26/8			
S	13	27/7			
W	17	24/11			
S	20	23/1			
W	24	25/9			
S	Sep 2	29/4			
W	6	30/3			
S	9	31/1			
W	13	28/5			
S	16	28/5			
W	20	29/4			
S	23	28/5			
W	27	28/5	19/6 ²	39/1 ²	33/11
S	30	28/5			
W	Oct 4	28/5			
S	7	28/5			
W	11	28/5			
S	14	28/5			
W	18	28/5			
S	21	27/7			
W	25	28/5			
S	28	28/5			
W	Nov 1	28/5			
S	4	28/5			
W	8	27/7			
S	11	26/8			
W	15	27/1			
S	18	27/1			
W	22	27/7			
S	25	28/5			
W	29	28/5			
S	Dec 2	28/5			
W	6	28/5			
S	9	28/5			
W	13	28/11			
S	16	29/4			
W	20	28/11			
S	23	28/11			
W	27	29/4			
S	30	29/4			

<u>Date</u>			<u>Barley p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Malt p. Qtr.</u>
W	Jan	3 1700	28/5			
S		6	28/5			
W		10	28/5			
S		13	27/7			
W		17	26/8			
S		20	27/7			
W		24	27/7			
S		27	27/1			
W		31	25/8			
S	Feb	3	25/9			
W		7	25/9			
S		10	25/4			
W		14	24/11			
S		17	24/11			
W		21	24/11			
S		24	24/-			
W		28	24/-			
S	Mar	2	24/-			
W		6	23/7			
S		9	23/1			
W		13	22/3			
S		16	21/4			
W		20	19/7			
S		23	21/4	23/11	33/2	30/1
W		27	21/4			
S		30	21/9			
W	Apr	3	21/9			
S		6	22/3			
W		10	22/3			
S		13	22/8			
W		17	23/1			
S		20	23/1			
W		24	21/4			
S		27	21/9			
W	May	1	21/9			
S		4	21/9			
W		8	20/11			
S		11	21/4			
W		15	20/11			

26/4
Assize of
Beer

TABLE H

To show the Prices of Barley, Oats, Beans and Malt
sold in Oxford Market 1733 - 1800.

The prices have been converted from Oxford to Winchester
 Measure and are believed to be accurate to within 1d.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Barley p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Beans p.Qtr.</u>	<u>Malt p.Qtr.</u>
Mar 24 1733	15/7	12/-	16/7	22/7
Sep 8	12/11			
15	12/11			
19 Wed	13/4			
26 Wed	11/9	10/8	15/1	
Dec 8	13/9			
15	13/9			
Mar 23 1734	13/6	12/5	16/7	
18 Wed	13/4			
25 Wed	13/4			
28	13/11	14/3	16/-	
Mar 22 1735	14/-	12/5	16/-	
Sep 27	13/9	16/-	16/-	
Mar 24 1736	13/9	12/5	14/2	
Sep 27	16/-	13/-	17/9	22/7
Jan 29 1737	18/8	11/10	17/9	24/6
Mar 23				26/4
Sep 28 Wed	18/8		19/-	26/4
Feb 1 Wed 1738	16/11	11/10	17/9	24/6
Jan 31 Wed 1739	12/5			22/7
Mar 24	15/7	13/4	21/4	22/7
Sep 26		12/5		26/4
Mar 22 1740	20/4	13/4	16/- old	28/3
Sep 27	20/5	16/-	23/8	
Mar 21 1741	20/-	16/11	24/11	
Sep 26	17/9		22/6	
Jan 29 Fri 1742	20/-			
Mar 24 Wed				28/3
Sep 25	19/1	17/9	23/8	28/3
Jan 29 1743	16/5			
Mar 23 Wed				26/4
Sep 28 Wed				24/6
Feb 1 Wed 1744	10/8			20/8
Mar 24	11/1	10/8		20/8
Jan 29 Tue 1745				20/8
Mar 23	11/7	11/7	15/1	
Sep 28	9/9	13/4		
Feb 1 1746	10/8 and 11d. over in the load			18/10
Mar 22	12/5	11/7	17/9	18/10
Sep 27	10/5	11/7	15/5	
Jan 31 1747	11/1			
Mar 21	12/5	9/9	15/5	
Sep 26	11/7	11/1	15/5	
Jan 29 1748	13/4			28/3
Mar 23 Wed				22/7
Mar 22 Wed 1749				24/6
Mar 24 1750	13/9	14/3	21/4	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Barley p. str.</u>	<u>Oats p. str.</u>	<u>Beans p. str.</u>	<u>Malt p. str.</u>
Sep 26 1750				22/7
Mar 23 1751	14/8	14/3		
Sep 28	17/9	15/1	22/6	24/6
Mar 21 1752	16/-	14/3	21/4	26/4
Oct 7	13/9	11/7	19/-	24/6
Apr 4 1753				26/4
Oct 6	17/4	15/1	21/4	26/4
Feb 9 1754	16/-			
Oct 9 Wed				24/6
Apr 3 1756	14/3			22/7
Oct 9	19/1	16/-	23/1	26/4
Apr 2 1757	27/7	18/3	28/5	33/11
Oct 8	24/11	17/9	30/3	33/11
Apr 1 1758	25/7	19/7	30/3	33/11
Oct 7	20/3	14/3	30/3	30/1
Feb 10 1759	15/7			26/4
Apr 4				22/7
Oct 6	15/1	11/3	19/-	24/6
Feb 9 1760	15/7			24/6
Apr 2				26/4
Oct 8				24/6
Feb 7 1761	12/4			
Apr 4	13/4	13/4	13/4	22/7
Oct 7 Wed				22/7
Feb 10 Wed 1762	11/10			
Apr 3	14/3	13/4	17/9	
Oct 9	20/-	18/8	23/1	30/1
Feb 12 1763	24/-			33/11
Apr 2	23/1	17/9	23/1	33/11
Oct 8	24/11	19/7	33/9	35/9
Feb 11 1764	19/7			33/11
Apr 4				33/11
Oct 6	19/1	17/9	35/-	30/1
Feb 9 1765	19/7			30/1
Apr 3				30/1
Oct 9				33/11
Oct 8 1766	17/9			32/-
Oct 7 Wed 1767				33/11
Feb 10 1768	33/9			
Apr 2	24/-			33/11
Oct 8	20/5			32/-
Apr 1 1769	16/11	15/1		30/1
Oct 7	15/5			28/3
Feb 10 1770	14/8			26/4
Apr 4				28/3
Oct 6	21/4			30/1
Apr 3 1771				35/9
Oct 9	22/8			35/9
Apr 4 1772	24/5	19/1	28/5	35/9
Oct 7				37/8
Apr 3 1773	29/9			41/5
Oct 9	29/4			39/6

<u>Date</u>	<u>Barley p. Qtr.</u>	<u>Oats p. tr.</u>	<u>Beans p. tr.</u>	<u>Malt p. tr.</u>
Apr 2 1774	29/9			39/6
Oct 8	27/7			39/6
Apr 1 1775	28/5			39/6
Oct 7	27/7			39/6
Apr 3 1776				33/11
Oct 9				30/1
Apr 2 1777				30/1
Oct 8 Wed				30/1
Feb 11 1778	23/1			30/1
Apr 4	22/3			33/11
Apr 3 1779	19/7			30/1
Oct 9	15/1			28/3
Apr 1 1780	15/1			28/3
Oct 7	16/-			32/-
Feb 10 1781	15/7			
Apr 4				32/-
Oct 5	14/8			32/-
Feb 9 1782	14/11			32/-
Apr 3				33/11
Oct 9				41/5
Feb 12 1783	28/5			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oct 8				41/5
Feb 12 1784	31/1			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr 3	30/8			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oct 9	23/1			41/5
Feb - 1785	21/4			41/5
Apr 2	19/1			37/8
Oct 8	31/1			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb 11 1786	25/9			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr 1	23/7			41/5
Oct 7				37/8
Apr 4 1787				39/6
Oct 6	21/9			39/6
Feb 16 1788	20/5			37/8
Apr 2				37/8
Oct 8				37/8
Feb 31 1789	19/7			37/8
Apr 4	20/5			37/8
Feb 6 1790	21/4			37/8
Apr 3	24/5			41/5
Oct 9	20/5			37/8
Feb 12 1791	21/4			40/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr 2	22/8			41/5
Oct 8	35/1			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb 11 1792	25/4			37/8
Apr 4				43/4
Oct 6	28/5			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb 9 1793	30/3			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr 3				47/1
Oct 9				48/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb 8 1794	35/7			48/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr 12				48/11 $\frac{1}{2}$

<u>Date</u>	<u>Barley n. Otr.</u>	<u>Oats n. tr.</u>	<u>Beans n. tr.</u>	<u>Malt n. Otr.</u>
Feb 7 1795	34/3			48/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr 4	37/4			50/10
Jun 13		30/3	46/3	
Oct 7				48/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Apr 2 1796	35/7			52/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oct 8	31/7			48/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb 11 1797	21/9			37/8
Apr 1	22/3			45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oct 7	32/11			
Feb 10 1798	26/3			38/7
Apr 4				45/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oct 6	24/11			
Feb 9 1799	26/3			
Oct 9	40/11			
Feb 8 1800	56/-			56/5 $\frac{1}{2}$